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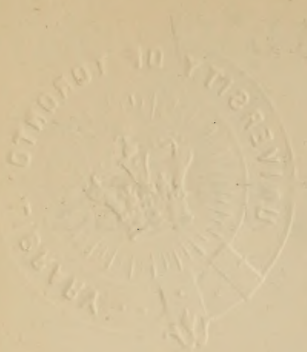
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PREFACE

THE present work is an attempt to compress into a single volume, for the use of students, an introduction to all the main branches of Hellenic antiquities—social, religious, and political. Hitherto, in England, such information as is here supplied has appeared only in the form of dictionaries. For many purposes the alphabetic arrangement under subjects is best, but a more logical and systematic arrangement has also its advantages. In Germany several monumental works have appeared in which Greek antiquities have been systematically treated, such as the Handbooks of Schömann, Hermann, and Iwan von Müller. Writing on a far smaller scale, we make no attempt to rival these great works in fulness or detail; but we do endeavour to present to the English reader the elements of the subject in a more readable form.

The share in the work taken by each of the two contributors is stated on the title-page. Each writer is wholly responsible for the part which he has contributed. In dealing with a subject of such vast extent, it is clear that no two scholars could in all cases write from complete or first-hand

knowledge. This is a defect inseparable from the plan of the work.

Illustrations are sometimes introduced, especially in Books III. and IV., but limits of space required the reduction of their number to a minimum. A complete and ordered series of illustrations for all branches of Greek Antiquities will be found in Schreiber's *Atlas of Classical Antiquities*, edited in English by Mr. W. C. F. Anderson, which may advantageously be used as a companion to the present volume.

August 1895.

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A

MANUAL OF GREEK ANTIQUITIES

BOOK I

THE SURROUNDINGS OF GREEK LIFE

CHAPTER I

THE LAND AND PEOPLE

It is universally allowed that the position and physical features of a country have great influence on the life and manners of its inhabitants, and nowhere may we more clearly trace such influence than in the case of Greece. Although Greece is not so large as Portugal, yet the extent of its coast is greater than that of the whole coast of the Iberian Peninsula. Everywhere deep bays and long arms of the sea stretch inland, so that scarcely any race of Greeks was out of sound, and none out of sight, of the sea. Cicero with truth writes,¹ "*ipsa Peloponnesus fere tota in mari est.*" Only the people of Arcadia, of Doris, and a few other parts were without a port. And as the sea ran into the land, so the land ran into the sea in long promontories continued far out by chains of islands. The voyage from Greece to Asia, to Italy, to Sicily, and to Crete may be made without ever venturing more than a few leagues from land. If overtaken by a storm anywhere in his own seas, the Greek could in a very short time reach either a protected harbour or an island to leeward of which he could lie in quiet and safety.

In the infancy of navigation the effect of the chains of islands which lured the mariner from the mainland from one

¹ *De Republ.* ii. 4.

to another, and offered him constant shelter and protection, in producing a roving and mercantile spirit, must have been very great. Starting from Argos, for instance, a ship could sail northwards to Thessaly, or crossing the isthmus, by the Gulf of Corinth, to Leucas and Epirus, without once reaching the open sea; and could pass eastwards amid a cluster of islands as far as Rhodes. If the west coast of Scotland were bright and fertile, the sea there warm and calm, and America only fifty miles beyond the Hebrides, then Scotland might resemble Greece, and it is easy to imagine how wealthy and powerful it would have become in the Middle Ages. In Greece the winter lasts but four months, and for all the rest of the year in the morning a breeze blows down the Ægean from the north, falling towards sunset and being replaced in the night by a light wind from the south.¹ Therefore the sailor can rely on the winds to favour his course, and can calculate his times with nicety.

The configuration of the Peloponnesus was compared in ancient times to that of a plane leaf, and in the Middle Ages to that of a mulberry leaf, and the comparison is apt. If a mulberry, a vine, or sycamore leaf be taken and laid on its face, the back will present a set of ridges starting from the stalk and ending at the points of the leaf, with valleys between the ridges. The highlands of northern Arcadia represent the stalk, and from them run five ridges, one westwards through Achaia, one eastwards through Argolis, and three southwards towards the three great southern promontories of Greece. Arcadia itself is partly a medley of rocks and hills strewn in Alpine profusion, and partly a lofty tableland surrounded by higher hills, and having a comparatively rigorous climate. Between the offspringing ranges of hills are river-valleys, fertile, rich, and warm, dotted in ancient times with wealthy towns, and now at last beginning to recover some of their ancient prosperity.

The same formation is repeated in northern Greece. The great ranges of the Cambunian Mountains and of Illyria in the north shut off Greece from the lands of the barbarians, and Pindus and its offshoots run south to the extremities of Attica and of Eubœa, breaking off the land into small districts, each with its own valley, and each with its own lake or river. Thus it results that the whole of Greece proper may be divided into three sets of districts, each with different physical characters, and appropriate each to a different kind of life.

¹ Curtius, *History of Greece*, chap. i.

The first set of districts comprises the plains about the mouths of streams. The largest rivers of Greece, leaving aside the Epirote Achelous, such as the Alpheus and Eurotas, are but small streams; some of the most celebrated, as the Inachus and Ilissus, are but mountain torrents. The upper courses of these streams are straitened by the hills, but as they approach the sea their bed widens out, and they pass through a triangle of alluvial soil. In such deltas are built almost all the oldest great and wealthy Greek cities, Athens, Argos, Sicyon, Messene, and the rest. Landwards these cities only have communications by mountain-passes or along a narrow belt of shore; but their face is towards the sea, and their natural outlet in that direction.

The second class of districts consists of the mountain regions. Among these the most important are Epirus, Ætolia, Doris, Locri, and the greater part of Arcadia. The nature of the Greek highlands is determined by the character of the rocks of which they are composed. This is almost everywhere calcareous stone; and the consequence is the existence of a multitude of sharp or rounded peaks, of caves and of fissures, *κατάβοθρα*, mostly natural, though in some cases made by man, through which rivers often flow for a considerable distance without reaching the surface. In ancient times the mountains of Greece were covered with forest, and inhabited by a numerous and hardy race of herdsmen and hunters. The mountain valleys were highly cultivated, producing abundance of corn, and up the sides of many of the hills may still be traced the artificial terraces formed for the culture of the vine.

The third class of districts comprises the elevated inland plains or tablelands surrounded by mountains. This is an ordinary formation in Greece. The largest tableland is that of Thessaly, the whole surface of which is drained by the branches of a single river; the Peneius, which cuts through the mountain barrier at the vale of Tempe, and so reaches the sea. The greater part of Bœotia is likewise a plain encircled by mountains, as is the district of Mantinea and Tegea in Arcadia. These districts belong neither to the mountain nor the sea; they are mostly rich and fertile; but their climate is bleaker and severer than that of the plains near the sea. "In March," writes Ernst Curtius, "one finds Tripolitza (Tegea) in deep winter, in Laconia and Argos the spring is progressing, while at Calamata (Messenia) a summer sun already glows."¹ But

¹ *Peloponnesos*, i. 52.

of course by winter is not to be understood a winter of snow and ice.

Greece lies in a region particularly subject to the influence of earthquakes and volcanic action. At present there are no active volcanoes in the country ; but in the second century B.C. there was a terrible submarine eruption close to the island Thera, when flames rose through the sea, and a new island was thrown up between Thera and Therasia. In the days of Pliny these islands were still liable to eruptions. Earthquakes have been frequent in certain regions from the earliest times. Sparta was visited thus more than once in the course of her history. In B.C. 464 the houses of the town were shattered, many Lacedæmonians lost their lives, and Taygetus itself lost one of its peaks. Achaia and the Corinthian Gulf are especially in the track of these subterranean convulsions : the Achaian cities of Helice and Bura were destroyed in historic times, B.C. 372. Athens, on the contrary, is comparatively exempt, whence it results that so much of the Parthenon is still standing, while most of the temples in other parts of Greece have been completely shattered by earthquakes. Earthquakes also have had much to do with the deep fissures of the mountains, their caves and rugged edges, and have produced in many cases deep and narrow, or even subterranean courses for the streams.

The climate of Greece was praised by the ancients for its avoidance of the extremes both of heat and cold. This is its character as compared with the plains of Asia Minor or the highlands of Syria, which suffer from both extremes, rather than as compared with Western Europe. Attica is especially free from cold and wet, and the heat in the middle of summer is tempered by a charming sea-breeze. Still the present average of annual temperature (63.5 degrees) is rather high, according to our notions. About the middle of January snow falls, but does not lie long. It is succeeded by rains, and usually by the beginning of March spring is in full progress. The corn is cut in May, after which a few months of heat and drought occur. Such is now the climate of Attica. Some of the sea-board plains of the south, such as that of Messenia, are still warmer, and the air being less bright and clear than in Attica, the heat there is more oppressive. On the other hand the hilly districts and tablelands of the interior experience a very severe winter at times. In Arcadia and Bœotia the snow sometimes lies for weeks, and most of the hills of Epirus are capped with snow from November to March. The summer

heat in these inland districts is also great, and not tempered by proximity to the sea. The wind from the north-east, *Boréas*, is the coldest; the north-west wind, *Zéphuros*, soft and dry; the south-west, *Nóros*, moist. The scirocco, which blows from the south-east, is noted for causing lassitude and depression of spirits.

Greece is still an extremely picturesque and beautiful country. For those who specially admire bold outline of hill and rock, and distant views of mountain, sea, and island seen through an atmosphere of brilliant purity and sometimes tinged with splendid colours at sunrise and sunset, no country could be more admirable. The prospects are wide and varied. From the Rock of Corinth, Parnassus and Athens seem quite near to the spectator. From the moderate height of Pentelicus, near Athens, one can watch the shadows on the hills of Eubœa. At sea landmarks at a distance of twenty miles are perfectly clear. But in the softer and more pleasing features of landscape Greece is deficient. The lakes and rivers are insignificant, the culture of the valleys, except near Patræ, poor. Above all there is a terrible want of trees on the hills. There is little doubt that in the early times of Greek history the country was well wooded; and as a result the rainfall was much greater than at present, the rivers fuller, the land more fertile, and the climate cooler and more temperate. At the same time the swamps, now a constant source of malaria and fever, were kept drained by the industry of the inhabitants. The wasting-away of the forests began very early. Even Plato¹ laments the decline of vegetation, and compares the bare hills of Greece to the limbs wasted by disease of a once robust body. Within historical times in ancient Greece the size and energy of the rivers greatly decreased, and plains which had once been fertile, like that of Mycenæ, became dry and barren. Therefore we must not forget, in judging ancient Greece by modern, that the former was cooler, more rainy, and more fertile, with a richer vegetation, and waving forests where now there is only bare stone and rock.

During the historical age only a moderate proportion of the Hellenes dwelt in Hellas. They were spread over all the shores of the Mediterranean and Euxine, and experienced all climates from the burning heat of Cyrene to the fogs and frosts of the Crimea. Throughout lower Italy, Sicily, and Asia Minor all the harbours and the strips of land by the sea-shore

¹ *Critias* 111 B.

were in their hands.¹ Yet we are justified in confining our remarks on the physical surroundings of the Greeks to Hellas. When the Hellenes went out to found colonies they were already a nation with formed manners and customs, and disposition which might indeed be modified by new surroundings but could not be radically altered. The facile Greek could easily adapt himself to his neighbours, and become, while still retaining his cherished native tongue, half-Gaulish at Massilia, half-African in Cyrene, half-Scythian in Russia. But it was European Hellas, with the islands, and the kindred coast of Asia Minor alone which formed the Greek race and impressed upon it the characters which it was to bear for all time. In no Greek colony did a moral or intellectual life arise capable of eclipsing or rivalling that of the mother country. In population and wealth Tarentum and Antioch might surpass Argos and Athens, but could not rival them in art and literature.

In fact in both the physical and the moral characteristics of the Greeks may be seen the influence of their native country. Their bodily frames acquired vigour from toiling up the mountains and labouring at the oar, while the genial winds and fostering sun gave grace and symmetry to their limbs. Their strength and activity were nurtured by daily gymnastic exercise, and a glow of health maintained by constant bathing and an open-air life. Of their physique it is fair to judge from their art, for although this no doubt loves the ideal, yet the sculptors must have found their prototypes in real life. All Greeks were not so happily framed, but some must have been; and it is hard to imagine that so splendid an ideal of manly and womanly beauty could have arisen in any other country. To this day travellers often remark on the extreme beauty in face and shape of young Greek peasants in certain districts. The peoples of the south do not eat and drink like those of the north, and lack their restless energy and hardy perseverance; but under favourable circumstances they are more supple, as muscular, and as active. If we may trust most the later and more realistic sculptors, the ancient Greeks were not so much distinguished for force, though by no means wanting in that, as for beauty of outline and a noble proportion throughout. We know less of the forms of Greek women, because the statues which have come down to us preserve comparatively few types; and realistic statues of beautiful

¹ Cicero, *Republ.* ii. 4, "All the lands of the barbarians are surrounded by a sort of Greek fringe."

women were for obvious reasons rare. A soft and sensuous beauty specially distinguished the ladies of Ionia, and the sinewy Laconian girls must have furnished apt models for the statues of Artemis the huntress.

The moral character of the race also owed much to mountains and to sea. The mountains, by dividing town from town and shutting off tribe from tribe, encouraged in them a strong love of independence, and a spirit to preserve it. It is ever the people of the hills who maintain their autonomy in the face of an invader to whom the plains submit. The presence of the sea stimulated their faculties and roused their curiosity. Every day brought strangers and new kinds of merchandise to their shores, to furnish fresh stimulus and to prevent them from rusting in sloth. Their land was not rich enough to save them from the necessity of daily toil and exertion, yet it answered readily to their efforts. Their climate was gentle and genial enough to encourage a somewhat sensuous and pleasure-loving disposition, such a disposition as art and poetry love best, and yet not soft enough to produce enervation and luxury. In disposition, in temper, and stability, the Greek races differed much one from the other. But as a whole the people of Hellas surpassed all nations, ancient and modern, in one quality. This is the love and perception of a mean or measure in all things. In physical growth, intellectual pursuits, and moral conduct they seemed to move by a certain rhythm. The sense of measure marks their philosophy, their poetry, and their art, and there can be no doubt that the more of measure that we discover in their religion, their thought, and their private life, the nearer we shall be to understanding them.

To the above-mentioned threefold division of the physical surface of Greece correspond the classes of its inhabitants. We might divide these by races into Dorian, Ionian, and Æolian. But far deeper than the distinctions of race lie those produced by life and employment. When the Dorians settled at a maritime city like Sicyon or Ægina, they soon came to resemble the Ionians in manners and external character, only preserving some remains of their gravity and staidness of demeanour. The term Æolians, too, includes races differing one from the other so much as the Bœotians and the Ætolians. We shall therefore prefer the division which was recognised in Attica in Solon's time, and divide Greeks into three classes, as inhabitants of the mountains, the shore, and the plains. To the end the peoples of the mountains remained comparatively rude and therefore simple, retaining the virtues and the vices

of semi-barbarians. In the later times of Greece they became mercenaries in troops, like the Swiss in the Middle Ages. In earlier times they composed the armies which marched under the headship of Sparta. Sparta, though situated in a river-valley, was yet the head of the hill-tribes. Its manners and customs all bespeak an origin among rude herdsmen and hunters. The conservatism of Sparta corresponds to the stagnation of the clans living in remote mountain glens, on whom the course of Greek development had no effect, who knew nothing of arts, or letters, or commerce. In Arcadia the primitive, even the pre-Hellenic religions of Greece found a dwelling-place. It was the land of nymphs and river-gods, of Pan and his rout, of the herdsman's god Hermes. Superstitions of all kinds sheltered themselves among its hills. The people of Ætolia never, until the Roman conquest, gave up their predatory and piratical habits. Like the Highland clans of Scotland some centuries ago, they lived by the plunder which they amassed in incursions into neighbouring lands. All the cities near had to pay them tribute. The Epirotes, who may fairly be considered as Greeks by blood, long maintained a rugged independence under native chiefs, who were little more than leaders in war.

It was in the cities of the shore and the islands that all that we think of as specially Hellenic in art, philosophy, and literature developed. Yet Greece could not have spared her rude mountaineers. As the mountains formed a backbone to the land, so the mountaineers formed a backbone to the race. But for the Arcadian and the Dorian, the fate of Miletus would have overtaken Athens. As in modern England so in Greece there was a constant overflow from the country to the cities; and when a new colony was planned or an expedition undertaken, many of the recruits came from the hills. The Greek of the shore and the sea was more quick-witted and active than the mountaineer, with far more understanding, taste, and refinement, but with a certain tendency towards idleness and gossiping, and towards overreaching. In modern Greece these vices are very widely spread; but one may still get beyond them after a day's march into the hills of the interior.

In the plains and tablelands there was space for a wider division between rich and poor than among the mountains or in trading cities. This was especially the case in Thessaly, where a chivalrous aristocracy possessed the soil and oppressed its cultivators. This wealthy class was given to horse-riding and gymnastics, and possessed the usual virtues of slaveholders,

while the poor, the Penestæ, acquired the vices of slaves. In Bœotia the people were noted for their gross feeding and gluttony, which was a consequence of the richness of their soil, and reacted upon their brains, which were duller than those of their neighbours. Other plains of Greece were small; but their tendency, as far as it went, was towards producing social inequalities and aristocratical government. In Attica, in the time of Solon, the *Pediæi* were devoted to aristocracy, and the flatter countries were the strongholds of oligarchical institutions. Even the rich valleys of Laconia and Messenia were in later times full of the large properties of a few wealthy proprietors. But the only aristocracies which encouraged literature and art were those of the great cities.

As the special home of culture, Athens needs a few separate remarks. Whatever might be the case with the Piræus, Athens itself was by no means exclusively a city of the sea. The Athenian territory comprised all Attica, a district greater than that of any other city of Hellas, except Sparta. Attica consists of an agreeable mixture of hills and plains. In the latter, barley, the olive, and the fig flourished abundantly, though the soil was somewhat poor and needed careful tilling. Parnes and Pentelicus afforded good pasturage for sheep and goats, and Hymettus fed innumerable bees. In early Athenian times each wealthy citizen spent much of his time at his country house: it was not until the Peloponnesians had made themselves masters of the country that all Athenians were cooped up in the city and became a purely urban population. And the Athenians themselves were ready to acknowledge their debt to the climate of their district. The air of Athens is the driest and brightest in Greece; and the ancients used to say that the wits of the people partook of the character of their air, while on the other hand the fogs and mists of Bœotia¹ tended to induce, no less than their rustic plenty and habits of gluttony, stupidity in the Bœotian population. It is not fanciful to connect with this clearness of air the keenness of sense which the Athenians enjoyed, and the finish which that keenness of sense caused them to cultivate in their works of plastic art, temples, and pictures, and in their music and acting. And the fine taste which accompanies fine sense they exercised in other fields, oratory, philosophy, and poetry; while the keenness of wit which was native to them made them quick in discovery and ever ready to imbibe new ideas.

¹ So in Pindar, *Bœotia* ὄs, *Ol.* vi. 153.

CHAPTER II

THE CITIES: ARRANGEMENT AND PLAN

SCATTERED as they were through all lands, from the banks of the Indus to the coast of Spain, and from the Crimea to the deserts of Africa, men of Greek race must have experienced all climates, and changed, in accordance with their material surroundings, many of their customs. But wherever they dwelt out of Hellas proper, one feature specially distinguished them, that they dwelt in *cities*; and about the city all their life grouped itself. Alexander the Great's plan for holding the East rested entirely on the frequent foundation of Greek cities, and to this day there is an irresistible tendency among those of Greek race to flock into towns and leave the life of the country to duller races.

But of course, though to us the Greeks appear as a race of citizens, their cities were gradually evolved out of earlier forms. The city resulted from a combination of villages, *κῶμαι*, and if it fell into the hands of its enemies, was broken up into villages again. The history of Mantinea is in this respect specially interesting. When the Spartans conquered Mantinea,¹ they destroyed the wall, and compelled the people to separate into their original villages; and it was not until the victories of Epaminondas that the wall of Mantinea was again built to enclose the inhabitants. So Athens, as Thucydides tells us,² sprang from an amalgamation of early hamlets, in the time and under the influence of Theseus.

Greece is a land of hills; and whenever the traveller in Greece sees before him a detached hill advancing from the main range into one of the little plains which open on to the sea, he is at once almost sure that he is looking on the site of an early city. On such eminences, at some distance from the shore for security from pirates, yet not out of reach of it, and surrounded by a plain, were situate Athens, Argos, Corinth, Mycenæ, and almost all the cities which were early great.

Recent excavations have enabled us clearly to trace in the case of acropolis hills of early cities, such as Athens, Mycenæ, and Tiryns, three uses in three successive ages.³ In the earliest

¹ *Hellen.* v. 2, 4.

² ii. 15.

³ See, among other works, Bötticher's *Akropolis von Athen*, Schliemann's *Tiryns*, &c.

period which we can discover they were roughly walled in and covered with small cabins, mere village-fastnesses, whither the dwellers in the plains around could flee in case of invasion or attack by pirates. Some early graves cut in the rock belong to this stage. Next we find them surrounded by far more carefully made and elaborate walls, and occupied by the splendid palaces of races of wealthy rulers, of which palaces that unearthed at Tiryns may best give us a notion. It was thus that acropolis-rocks were used by the lines of kings of whom we hear in legend, and of whom the Homeric poems are full. In the third period, which belongs to recorded history, the heights are used no longer for the dwellings of men but for the temples of the deities of the state, as well as, in the last resort, fortified posts whence tyrants might control the cities around, or from the walls of which the citizens might repel the attacks of the enemy.

With the growth of security and population the cities spread downwards; an agora and a town were formed at the foot or on the lower slopes of the hill, the top of which remained fortified and the seat of ancient religious cults.¹ At the nearest point of the coast a small harbour-town was formed, a sort of marine suburb of the mother city. Thus Athens had Piræus; Corinth, Lechæum and Cenchreæ; Argos, Nauplia; and Megara, Nisæa. At a later time long walls² were in many cases built from city to harbour, in order to prevent an enemy from cutting off the one from the other; but this did not take place until after the Persian wars. The circumstances under which those of Athens were built are notorious. Some part of their course may even yet be traced. When in and after the ninth century B.C. the Greeks began to found colonies, they often chose sites in foreign lands close to the sea-shore or on the banks of a great river, as suited the interests of trade; and commercial cities so founded always looked back with the utmost veneration to the rock where stood the oldest shrines of their mother city.

Of the cities of the times of Homer we have to judge partly from the terms in which he speaks of them, partly from the facts revealed in the recent disinterment of Mycenæ. The most frequent phrase of Homer in reference to cities is *εὐκτίμενον πολίεθρον*, well built, on which phrase the admirably

¹ See Thuc. ii. 15, for a full account of this process in the case of Athens.

² For representations of Greek walls and gates, see Schreiber's *Bilderatlas*, pl. xlviii.-1.

preserved walls of Tiryns and Mycenæ, walls of massive cyclopean construction, form the best commentary. What is above said as to the position of early cities is confirmed by Homer's occasional application to them of the term *ἠνεμόεις*, windy. The use of other Homeric epithets seems less appropriate. When he calls a city *εὐρύχορος* and *εὐρύναια*, broad-spaced and broad-streeted, we must allow a considerable margin for poetic and imaginative fervour, for in ancient as in modern cities the oldest streets were almost always the most narrow and irregular. So, too, when Homer calls a city populous, *εὐναιόμενον*,¹ we must understand the phrase in connection with the usual size of early cities, and suppose that the poet meant to contrast it with a mere open village. This Homer shows himself, for when he distinguishes a group of Argive cities, he does so not by any characteristic belonging to their importance or position in commerce, but by the circumstances of their position and territory. Thus Ira is grassy, *ποιήεσσα*,² Antheia deep-meadowed, *βαθύλειμος*, Pedasus and Pyrasus are flowery, Epidaurus vine-clad, and so forth. Such language shows how much in its infancy was the pushing, restless, trading city-life of later Greece. Nevertheless, in his mention of the agora, he shows us the germs of that life.

As time went on and commerce increased in the Greek cities, many of the functions for which the agora had served were carried on in more convenient and sheltered places. First the administration of justice was removed. Next went the meetings of political and deliberative assemblies, though these lingered longer in democratic than in aristocratic communities.³ Even at Athens the Ecclesia was transferred from the agora to the Pnyx, and later to the Theatre of Dionysus. By degrees the agora was appropriated to commerce and social union.

Pausanias⁴ distinguishes two kinds of agora, the old, and the Ionian or new. The former was more rambling and scattered, and the streets went through, not merely to it. The latter was square or oblong, surrounded by continuous arcades; often even completely enclosed by arcades and doors. In the later Greek foundations the market-place was of immense size. Thus at Syracuse a large number of troops under Dion encamped in the

¹ The word *εὐναιόμενον* may, however, mean well situate or well built.

² *Il.* ix. 150.

³ At the same time the word *ἀγορά* ceased to be used of the assembled people as well as the place. Cf., however, *Æsch. in Ctes.* 27: *ἀγορὰν ποιῆσαι τῶν φυλῶν*. The verb *ἀγορεύειν* bore testimony to the old use.

⁴ *vi.* 24.

agora,¹ and when, in Timoleon's time, the population of the city had fallen off, cattle could pasture on the grass which grew there in places.² The arcades also gained in stateliness, trees were planted for the convenience of loungers, and fountains built, and the whole place rendered attractive.³ In the neighbourhood of the agora of most cities were the great temples, especially those of local heroes; here statues were erected in vast quantities, and here the *βουλευτήριον* and other public offices were to be found. Through the arcades, *στοαί*, and at the feet of the statues, were crowded the stalls of the vendors of all kinds of commodities, a particular part of the area being appropriated to the sale of each class of ware. These separate divisions and districts were named from the articles sold in each, such name being sometimes singular in form and sometimes plural; each was full of *σκηναί*, or booths, divided one from another with wicker crates, *γέρρα*,⁴ which seem to have been permanent or only cleared away in case of necessity. The most important of all the markets to Athenian tastes was the *ἰχθῦς*, or fish-market; next to it came the *χύτραι*, or crockery-market, the wine-market, and the slave-market. One region was called the *γυναικεία ἀγορά*,⁵ a phrase which has caused much controversy in modern times, chiefly because it is known that women did not frequent the market as purchasers. Some think that in the *γυναικεία ἀγορά* specially womanly articles, such as paint and perfumes, were sold; some think that the sellers there were women, who certainly did sometimes act in that capacity; and some think that women stood there for hire. Some special articles were not only sold in the agora, but taken also round to the houses by women; thus bread was dispensed by the *ἄρτοπώλιδες*, and ribbons by a *ταινιόπωλις*. No doubt when the agora was full the noise and confusion were distracting; sellers calling their wares, purchasers cheapening goods, and the *ἀγορανόμοι* wandering about to detect false weights and settle the many disputes which were sure to arise. Also the agora was frequented by all who sought publicity—the masters of the Socratic elenchus, rhapsodists, poets who wanted to recite their verses, and musicians whose art claimed recognition. Probably to most of the latter classes the bell which announced the opening of the fish-market, ringing at a fixed time every day,

¹ Diod. xxi. 10. Cp. Cic. *Verr.* iv. c. 53.

² Plut. *Timol.* 22.

³ So by Cimon at Athens. Plut. *Cimon*, 13.

⁴ Demosth. *de Cor.* § 169.

⁵ Theophr. *Char.* 2; Pollux, x. 18.

was a formidable rival. While it was considered churlish for a man entirely to absent himself from places of public resort, yet the ordinary Athenian gentleman would not spend too much of his time in the agora. Loungers, *ἀγόραιοι*, had a bad reputation.

At Athens the principal market was in the inner Ceramicus.¹ On one side of it was the *βασίλειος στοά*, so named from the King Archon who sat there, near which were portrait-statues of Timotheus, Conon, and Evagoras, the Cyprian king, together with an image of Zeus Eleutherius. By these was the stoa, containing pictures of the twelve great gods, also of Theseus, Demos, and Democracy, and of the battle of Mantinea, in which the Athenians fought on the Spartan side. Next stood a temple of Apollo Patroüs, and one of the Mother of the Gods, and close by the Senate-house of the five hundred. Further on was the Tholus where the Prytanes sacrificed, and the statues of the Athenian eponymous tribal heroes, on the basis of which the official notices of the government were posted. Besides these might be mentioned the temples of Hephæstus and Aphrodite Urania and Pandemos, together with the stoa called Pœcile, containing the pictured battles of the Athenians, the altar of Pity, and many other erections. The whole market-place was a vast museum of splendid works of art, as indeed are those of all the cities described by Pausanias. By a strange contrast in the open space in the midst of the agora camped the Scythian *τοξόται*, the policemen who kept order in the Athenian assemblies. Athens had other smaller markets besides that of the Ceramicus, for instance, a corn-market, *στοὰ ἀλφιτόπωλις*, built by Pericles.² In addition Piræus had two markets, one close to the sea and one further inland.

A very appropriate adornment of one of these lesser Athenian markets was the building now often called the Tower of the Winds, but more properly the Clepsydra of Andronicus of Cyrrhus. We may suppose such buildings to have been in Hellenistic times very usually erected by wealthy citizens for the public use. It is adapted for several purposes. First, it is a clepsydra or water-clock. The grooves in the stone by which the water ran still remain. Sundials, *πόλοι* or *γνώμονες*, are carefully marked out on its flat sides. It is octagonal, and on each side is an appropriate relief representing the particular wind which blew from the quarter towards which it is turned. On the top a bronze Triton turned with the breeze, and indicated

¹ Pausan. i. 3.

² Aristoph. *Eccles.* 686.

with a staff which wind was blowing. Thus the building answered the double purpose of a town-clock and a weather-cock. Representations of it are given in many modern books, such as that of Guhl and Koner.

In Sparta in early times the agora was kept free of buildings and adornment, the great legislator Lycurgus fearing that these would divert the attention of the people from business, or perhaps not wishing to make the place too attractive. But after the Persian wars the Spartans erected on the later market-place from Persian spoils a stately series of arcades, where were the offices of government. Of the other noble market-places of Greece, such as those of Argos, Corinth, and Magalopolis, complete descriptions are given by Pausanias the traveller.

One noteworthy feature of many agoras was the inclusion in them of a tomb or a shrine of the founder, real or mythical. Thus in the agora of Patræ was the grave of Patreus, in that of Cyrene the grave of Battus; and in the agora of Elæa in Mysia was a stone on which the people sacrificed to Thersander.¹

Athens being the most important of Greek cities, and at the same time one of the best preserved, it will be advisable to give a few other details as to its plan. As the Agora was the centre of the commercial and social life of Athens, so the Acropolis was the centre of the religious and the Pnyx of the political life. The Acropolis rises abruptly from the plain. The extreme dimensions of the rock on which it is built are at the summit about 1100 feet by 450. The height above the level of the city is nearly 300 feet. Inside the walls of the Acropolis stood the Parthenon and Erechtheum and the colossal standing figure of Athena. The approach from the city, which has been traced by means of the excavations of Beulé, passed through the magnificent Propylæa of Pericles, works of the highest architectural beauty, full of the paintings of great masters, and commanding a grand view of hills and sea. Close under the lofty walls of the Acropolis is a cluster of public buildings—the Theatre of Dionysus, where the plays of the great tragedians were continually acted; the Odeum of marble erected in the time of the Antonines by Herodes Atticus; the Temple of Asklepius, which was practically the great hospital of Athens, and other buildings. Close to the Acropolis, on the north-west, is the rugged rock called the Hill of Ares, 'Ἀρείος πᾶγος, the Mars' Hill of the New Testament, where met in old days the court of the Areopagus, up which one may still climb by the

¹ Pausan. vii. 20, 5; Pindar, *Pyth.* v. 87; Pausan. ix. 5, 14.

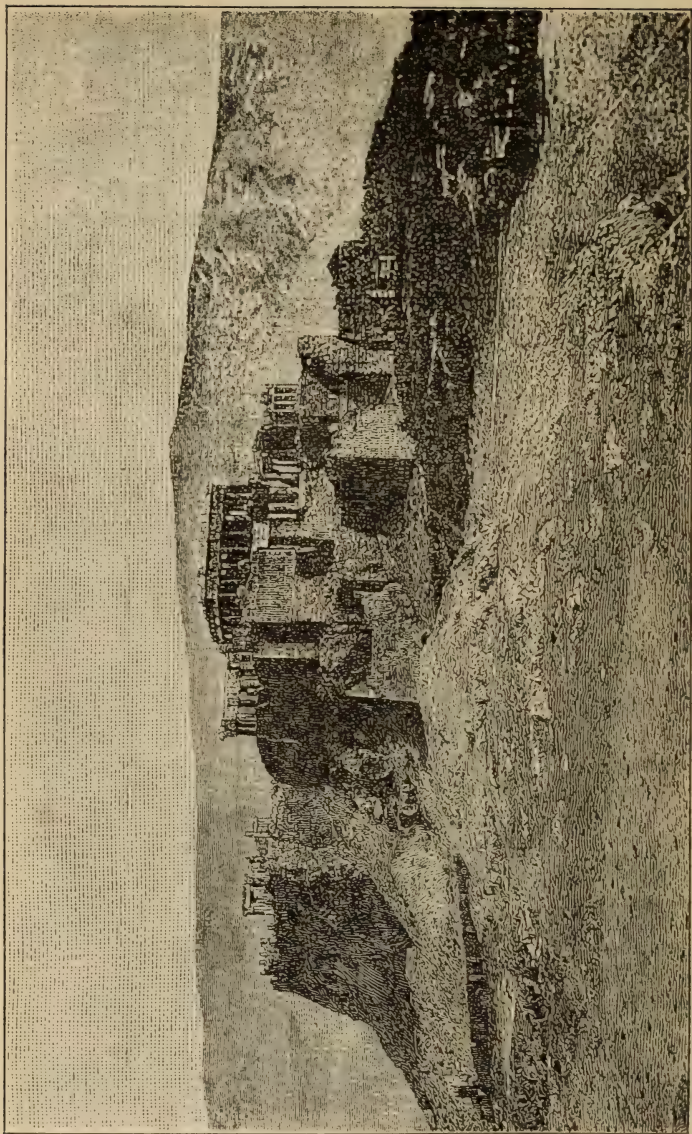


FIG. I.—THE ACROPOLIS OF ATHENS.
From Betticher, "Die Akropolis von Athen."

rough stone staircase used in ancient times, and whence one may look down into the gloomy cleft sacred to the Erinnyes. A little beyond this hill lies another, on the summit of which is an enclosure of horse-shoe form, and in the midst an altar of Zeus Hypatus. Formerly this spot was taken for the Pnyx, but Curtius and other modern writers have rejected this view. About the foot of these hills, to the north and west of the Acropolis, clustered thickest the houses of the Athenian people, an open space here and there marking the site where stood a temple or other public building.

Proceeding in the opposite direction, towards the east, from the Acropolis would be passed first the *τέμενος* of Zeus, where the splendid Temple of Hadrian, of which the remains are still stately, afterwards stood, and then the bed of the Ilissus, which might usually be passed in summer dry-shod.¹ Beyond was the Panathenaic stadium, which hides, after the manner of stadia, its head in the hills, and which was rebuilt in white marble by Herodes Atticus. It was necessary to pass outside the walls of Athens to reach the Academy, the Lyceum, the Cynosarges, and the other great gymnasia where the Athenian youth exercised themselves.

The streets of the older Greek cities were mostly narrow and crooked. At Athens the despot Hippias found it necessary to impose a tax on the owners of houses whose doors opened outwards, or whose upper story projected beyond the lower.² After his expulsion the Areopagus passed regulations on the subject, and inflicted fines for transgressions. Pavements, such as those of the Pompeian streets, were very unusual in Greece before the Roman times, and lighting of streets was unknown. Torches, *δαῖδες* or *λαμπάδες*, were carried by all who went abroad, unless the moon happened to be very bright.³ Aristophanes in the *Wasps*⁴ gives us an amusing description of a party of men picking their way through the unpaved streets at night with the help of a lantern, and in great fear of mischance. The mud through which these worthies wade is deep, although the weather seems from the context to be dry. We find frequent allusions in the comedians to the dirt of the streets and open places, in which no doubt the inhabitants piled their refuse of all kinds, trusting that the scavengers would take it away.⁵ If we add that the Athenian houses, and all buildings

¹ Plato, *Phædrus*, 229 A.

² Arist. *Æconom.* ii. 5.

³ Arist. *Clouds*, I. 614, *μὴ πρίω, παῖ, δᾶδ' ἐπειδὴ φῶς Σεληναίης καλόν.*

⁴ Lines 245 sqq.

⁵ Thucydides says of the streets of Plataeæ, *ἐν σκότῳ καὶ πηλῷ* (ii. 4).

except those belonging to the State or the gods, were built of wood and unburned brick,¹ though sometimes coated with fine plaster, *κονίαμα*, and presented to the narrow street a dead wall, only sometimes varied with device or decoration, and with very small breaks for windows, we shall destroy the notion that the Athenian streets were stately and attractive, whatever the open spaces may have been. In fact, the crowding of the country-

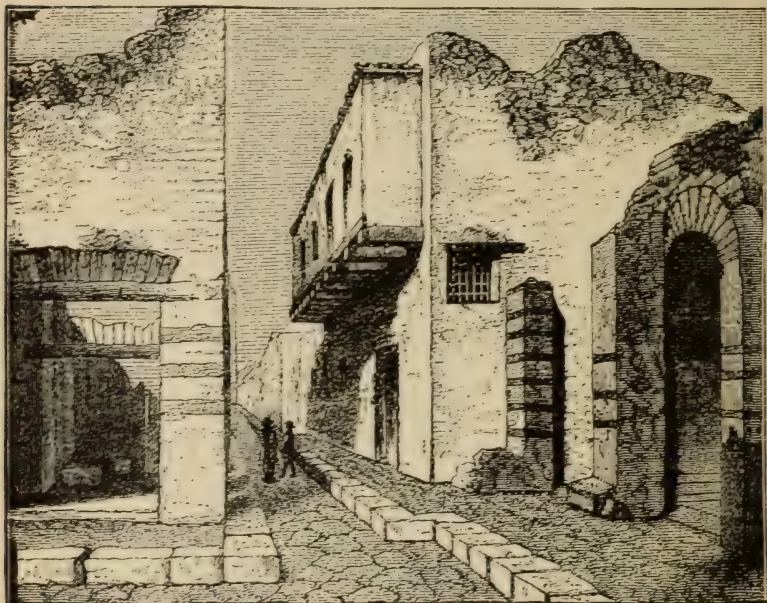


FIG. 2.—A STREET IN POMPEII. (OVERBECK, *Pompeii*, p. 233.)

folk into Athens at the time of the Peloponnesian war prevented the rich burghers from building fine houses, as they otherwise might have done had fresh space been available. And for this reason the private houses of Athens were, until a late period, less splendid than those of other cities. But

¹ Whence the phrase for housebreaking, *τοιχωρυχῆν*, to dig through walls of houses as did the Platæans. Thuc. ii. 3. So Plut. *Dem.* ii., *τοὺς τοίχους πηλίνους ἔχομεν*.

fine houses doubtless arose in the suburbs in later times. The narrowness of the streets of Argos was fatal to Pyrrhus when he forced his way into the city. But the streets through which processions passed must have been broader and more imposing. Thus the street of the Tripods, wherein were set up the tripods won by Athenians in musical and other contests, and the street of the Hermæ¹ at Athens were wider and adorned with many fine monuments. These contained the better houses. Many streets were appropriated to the dealers in particular articles; for instance, the *κιβωτοποιοί* (boxmakers) and the *έρμογλυφαί* at Athens had streets named after them. In front of most of the houses stood rude pillar-like figures of Apollo Ἄγνιεύς, and often also of Hecate. Little shrines of these and other deities were of frequent recurrence.

Hippodamus of Miletus² was the first to introduce regularity into town building. This architect laid out the Piræus and the new cities of Thurii in Italy and Rhodes. Dinocrates, following in his footsteps, constructed Alexandria on most methodical plans. These cities were laid out with wide streets at right angles one to the other, and had many open spaces. Temples were erected in them, not on spots hallowed by legend, but where they would show best and be most accessible. Large stoæ and gymnasia adorned the most frequented streets. The streets of Alexandria in particular were really fine; we are told that one stretched uninterrupted from the western to the eastern gate, a distance of thirty stades, or more than a league, and had a breadth of more than a hundred feet. The houses of the same city were all built of stone or brick, and never of wood, which was in older cities a common material. Some of these houses rose to a height of three storeys, and from their flat roofs a good view over the city might be obtained. In the same city a great feature was the Royal Palace of the Ptolemies, which occupied from a fifth to a third of the entire area of the town, and included, together with endless halls and apartments, the Museum with all its literary treasures. The places above mentioned being maritime, the builders of them bestowed on their docks and arsenals great labour and expense. Moles were built to protect their harbours from injury, and on the island of Pharos at Alex-

¹ The Hermæ were not, however, confined to this street, but to be found in all parts of the city. On these Hermæ Hipparchus engraved moral saws. Plato, *Hipparch.* 228.

² Arist. *Pol.* ii. 5. For fuller information on these matters see Krause's *Deinokrates*.

andria was erected the great lighthouse which has ever since been renowned.

Some of the cities built by the successors of Alexander in Asia were constructed most methodically, and included refinements quite new in the history of civic architecture. Thus of the city of Nicæa, built by Lysimachus, it was said that you could stand by a stone in the agora and look through the four principal gates of the city, which were turned to the four points of the compass. At Antioch on the Orontes there were pillared arcades on each side of the principal streets, so that a man might go on wet days dry-shod for mile after mile. Close to the same city was the park of Daphne, a place where all that was beautiful in nature was cultivated in profusion. Older towns had their trim olive and myrtle groves, but this was the first city to possess something like what we should call a park.

The suburbs of ancient as of modern cities were more loosely built, with spaces between the houses, gardens, and open places. In the immediate vicinity of the principal city gates, outside them, the roads were flanked with rows of handsome marble monuments erected over the dead. But these were not of a character to cause depression and melancholy, rather calculated, on the other hand, to please and refresh by the beauty of their designs and reliefs. Frequently on the outskirts of a town was the temple of some popular deity, with its spaces and groves, and a little town of the ministrants to the temple. Thus in the suburb of Corinth called Craneion was situate the great temple of Aphrodite, which was the centre of the dissolute life of the place, as the agora was of the commercial life. We can better understand the life and character of Diogenes the Cynic if we reflect that it was here that his cask was placed during part of his life.

These suburban temples were in some cases the seats of games. Then they were surrounded by an extensive *τέμενος*, which included a stadium, a theatre, the shrines of inferior deities and dæmons, and a number of statues set up by grateful cities or by winners at the games. There were also, in the case of the great centres of worship, treasuries belonging to various cities and states specially erected to contain their votive offerings. Around the *τέμενος* at the time of the solemn festival were set up the tents and huts of thousands of visitors from all parts of Greece, and the booths of those who frequented such places of assembly with goods for sale. The whole neighbourhood bore for the time the appearance of a fair, and sacrifices, processions, and feasts crowded one another all day.

The water supply of the Greeks was rendered easier from the fact that Greece is a land of springs and streams, and it was seldom necessary to bring a supply from a distance by canals or aqueducts. When such necessity was imposed the Greeks did not raise their watercourses in Roman fashion on arches striding imperially over the valleys, but made the best use of existing slopes and gradients.¹ At the city end of an aqueduct, or over a city spring, was almost always erected a stately grotto, with marble pillars and steps. Hither in the morning would flock the girls with their water-pots, as we see them flocking in the paintings on those very hydriæ which they carried, many of which are preserved in modern museums. Often the spring was without the walls, in which case the water-carriers had often to dread an ambush of an enemy in its neighbourhood.

In the numerous public buildings of Greece—the gymnasia, the baths, the Government buildings, the innumerable halls and arcades—the men passed the greater part of their time. It must never be forgotten that during the great time of Greece these were the real dwelling-place of the freeman. The private houses were quite of secondary importance, the men only retired to them to eat and to sleep; all their energies centred about the market-place, the council-hall, the gymnasium, and the theatre. It was not until the decline of Greece had set in that the private buildings at all rivalled the public ones in splendour.

CHAPTER III

THE HOMERIC HOUSE

THE plan and arrangement of houses in the Homeric age is a subject which has of late years roused a good deal of interest, and called forth several dissertations.² Such of these as were written before the discovery of the ancient palaces on the acropolis hills of Tiryns and Mycenæ are necessarily out of date, since it is indubitable that this discovery has given us important data. On the other hand, it is a mistake to recon-

¹ Leake, *Travels in Northern Greece*, iv. 377.

² A list of these at p. 170 of vol. vii. of the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* See also my chap. iv. in *New Chapters in Greek History*; Bie in *Jahrbuch des Arch. Inst.* 1891, p. 1; Lange, *Haus und Halle*, 1885; and Joseph, *Paläste des Homerischen Epos*, 1893.

struct the Homeric palace entirely on the basis offered by remains of the Greek heroic age, since it appears certain that there was a considerable gap in time between the civilisation revealed by the spade in Argolis, and that reflected in the poems of Homer. The plan we propose to follow is to take our start from the Homeric poems, but to welcome any light which may be gained from the comparison of the palaces at Mycenæ and Tiryns.

The houses of Homeric chiefs consisted of three parts, αὐλή, δῶμα or μέγαρον, and θάλαμος,¹ of which the first was the front court, the second the hall of the men, the third the apartments of the women. All these parts will be reviewed in order. All were enclosed by a massive stone wall, doubtless of Cyclopean construction.

As one approached the house this wall would be most conspicuous, with the roof of the buildings within it showing over the top. Vivid are the words in which Odysseus as he approaches his own house describes it to Eumæus, "There is building beyond building, and the court is furnished with wall and battlements, and there are solid twofold doors; no man might scorn it."² This wall was for defence rather than any other purpose. It was pierced only at one point and at that defended by massive folding-doors, θύραι δικλίδες. Outside the wall, on either side the doors, were stone seats, ἔδραι, which seem to have commanded a wide prospect, for the wooers sit there and see the ship of Telemachus sail into harbour.³

Passing through the solid doors the traveller would find himself in an open courtyard, αὐλή. In front of him would lie the lofty hall, and around him arcades or cloisters, partly divided into small cells and chambers. Of these chambers some served as farm buildings, as houses for the mills,⁴ and as places for the storage of provisions, some as bed-rooms for male slaves. One or two of the better ones were even used as chambers for unmarried sons of the house: Telemachus, for instance, certainly slept in the αὐλή.⁵ The court was probably in as dirty a condition as our farmyards. Eumæus, when he brought boars for the feeding of the suitors, let them feed at large in the court,⁶ probably on the refuse there lying about. In one corner of the court was the mysterious θόλος which has

¹ *Il.* vi. 313, οἳ οἱ ἐποίησαν θάλαμον καὶ δῶμα καὶ αὐλήν.

² *Od.* xvii. 266.

³ *Od.* xvi. 343. Cf. iii. 406.

⁴ *Od.* xx. 105. Odysseus, as he lies in the αἶθουσα, hears the women, as they grind at the mills, complaining.

⁵ *Od.* xix. 48.

⁶ *Od.* xx. 164.

caused so much discussion. That it was not a kitchen is probable ; for we read that food was cooked in the Megaron itself. Nor was it a treasury ; the treasury of the house certainly lay in the women's quarters. It was circular ; this the name implies ; and from the analogy of the circular buildings still remaining at Orchomenus and Mycenæ we might conjecture that it may have been a family burial-place. In early times the custom of burying on the premises prevailed with several branches of the Indo-European race.¹ This however is a conjecture which it is impossible to verify in the present state of knowledge. In the court was the altar of Zeus, Ἐρκείος, the "well-wrought altar of the great Zeus of the Court,"² as it is termed.

On all four sides of the court, then, were cloisters called by the general name αἶθουσα, a portico supported by pillars. This covered space, which was probably also paved, was used for a variety of purposes. Here animals such as goats³ and oxen brought for household use were tethered ; and here were sometimes spread rough shake-downs for less distinguished guests to sleep on. Odysseus, while an unhonoured guest in his own house, slept in the αἶθουσα,⁴ spreading on the ground a bull's hide and over that the fleeces of sheep. So Telemachus when a guest at Sparta slept in the πρόδομος.⁵ In this case it is previously stated that Helen had ordered coverlets to be placed for him ὑπ' αἰθούσῃ, so that it would appear that the space before the doors was part of the αἶθουσα. The usual epithet of Homer for the αἶθουσα is ἐρίδοντος,⁶ echoing. If it had a pavement and a roof supported on pillars, it would richly merit this epithet.

Through the πρόδομος or αἶθουσα a visitor would reach the great doors opening into the μέγαρον, the public hall where in Homeric days the chiefs lived among their friends and retainers in a public life closely resembling that of Scandinavian chiefs and mediæval barons. Of the doors themselves we may form a clear notion from Homer's description of those in the palace of Alcinous,⁷ which are indeed described as made of gold and silver but were no doubt in form like other doors. They were folding, and supported on either side by a solid σταθμός or door-post. The doors were not suspended on hinges, but turned in sockets ; such at least is the construction found in

¹ Marquardt, *Röm. Privatalterthümer*, p. 350.

² *Od.* xxii. 334.

³ *Od.* xx. 1.

⁴ *Od.* xx. 189.

⁵ *Od.* xx. 189.

⁶ *Od.* iv. 302.

⁷ *Od.* vii. 88.

early Greek doorways such as those at Mycenæ. Over them was a ὑπερθύριον or cornice, and on them handles of metal.¹ They were secured by wooden bolts, or could in some cases be unlocked from outside by a key like that used by Penelope, with ivory handle and bronze teeth.²

At either end of the hall was a door, of which doors one led into the outer court, the other into the women's apartments, the θάλαμος. In front of both doors was a long and probably raised threshold or οὐδός. The threshold in front of the door into the court was made of ashwood, μέλινος οὐδός;³ that in front of the women's door was of stone, λάϊνος οὐδός: a distinction which the reader of the *Odyssey* must keep in mind. When Odysseus arrives as a beggar, he takes his modest place on the ashen threshold, and it is afterwards, when thoughts of vengeance are thickening in his mind, that Telemachus calls him up to a higher and more honourable place and gives him a seat near the threshold of stone. By the ashen threshold, against one of the pillars of the hall, was the δουροδόκη or spear-stand, where guests who entered the house left their spears behind them,⁴ and even the master of the house kept his spears standing.

The height of the μέγαρον was that of the house itself, and its size so great that all the suitors of Penelope could live and feed in it. The roof was supported by pillars which probably stood in rows and divided the hall into three aisles or corridors. These pillars are mentioned in one of the most picturesque passages of the *Odyssey*, where Pallas spreads a light through the hall and Telemachus exclaims,⁵ "A wondrous sight, my father, meets my eyes. Meseems that the walls of the hall and the fair main beams, and the rafters of pine, and the pillars that sustain them, are bright to my eyes as if with flaming fire." In this passage, too, occurs the term μεσόδμαι, which has greatly puzzled commentators, but which seems in the light of recent discovery to signify the main beams of a house.⁶

The ἐσχάρα or hearth, where was done the cooking of the house, was situate in the midst of the hall. The smoke arising from it wreathed about the hall,⁷ blackening the beams and the arms hung on the walls, and finally making its escape through the roof. Openings in the roof are not indeed men-

¹ *Od.* vii. 88.

² *Od.* xxi. 7.

³ *Od.* xvii. 339.

⁴ *Od.* i. 128; xvii. 29.

⁵ *Od.* xix. 37.

⁶ See an inscription from Eleusis, *Ephemeris Arch.* 1883, p. 3.

⁷ *Od.* xvi. 288.

tioned in Homer, but we are driven to assume their existence, for how else could smoke leave and light enter the apartment? Moreover we know that a hypæthral opening belongs to the earliest form of Græco-Roman house¹ and was the precursor alike of the Roman atrium and the Greek peristyle. We may gather from a story told by Herodotus² that it existed in early Greek houses, such as those of kings of Macedon, and that the sunlight fell through it in a square patch on to the floor. Perhaps in the Palace of Odysseus, as in that at Tiryns, the central part of the roof was raised, with openings at the sides, as in basilicas.

The μέγαρον was by no means inaccessible to the women-folk of the household. They did not indeed eat there with the men, but they were frequent spectators of their eating and amusements. The maid-servants of Penelope not only clean and sprinkle the hall,³ wiping the tables with sponges and removing the fragments of broken food from the floor, but also take special charge of the braziers intended alike for the warming and the lighting of the room, even staying in the hall far into the night to replenish them with fuel. Even the lady of the house and her daughters sometimes enter the hall. Penelope is sitting in the hall while her white-armed attendants go through the cleansing process already mentioned: and when the wooers are feasting she comes accompanied by two of her handmaids from her chamber, and stands, with her glistening peplos wrapped about her face, by the inner door of the hall, *παρὰ σταθμὸν τέγους*,⁴ close to one of the main pillars. Hence she addresses Antinous, and here she sits spinning while Telemachus and Piræus feed together.⁵ Even when Odysseus is in the hall bathed with warm water and anointed with oil by old Euryclea, Penelope is present,⁶ sitting near the *ἑσχάρα* or stove, but discreetly turning her head in another direction.

It has been supposed by some writers that the *μυχός* was a definite part of the Homeric hall, just as the *ala* was of Roman houses, that part in fact which lay immediately in front of the door into the women's apartments. But it appears to me, on the collation of a number of passages in which the term *μυχός* occurs, that it means only the inner end of any building, *i.e.*, that furthest from the outer door. Thus it is frequently said that

¹ Marquardt, *Röm. Alterth.* vii. 1, 212.

² viii. 137.

³ *Od.* xix. 60; xx. 149.

⁴ *Od.* xvi. 415; xviii. 209. So also Nausicaa, *Od.* viii. 458.

⁵ *Od.* xvii. 97.

⁶ *Od.* xix. 478.

the nuptial chamber was ἐν μυχῷ δόμον,¹ and so Achilles sleeps ἐν μυχῷ κλισίης: and in another place we have the phrase ἐς μυχὸν θαλάμου.² No doubt the μυχός of the hall was the space on the stone threshold by the women's door, but it would seem that Rumpf is wrong in supposing that there was anything special or technical in this application of the term.

That the floor of the μέγαρον between the two thresholds was of hard earth merely is proved by the account given us of Telemachus' proceedings in setting up the line of axes to shoot through. We are told that he dug a straight trench right across the hall³ wherein to fix the handles of the axes. So at a later time, when Telemachus and the servants wish to cleanse the floor from the blood of the suitors, the instrument he uses is a λιστρόν or shovel, which would obviously only be of use in working on an earthen floor.

There are two other buildings in close connection with the hall, of the place of which we must speak, the baths and the treasury or armoury.

We read in one place that when the suitors came to the palace of Odysseus they laid aside their outer garments, χλαίνας, on the seats of the hall, and went to the polished baths,⁴ ἐϋξέστας ἀσαμίνθους, and bathed, after which they returned to the hall. Closer indications are wanting, but it seems to me that the description is sufficiently definite to enable us to infer that the baths were a separate building, and as they clearly could not have been in the women's apartments they must have been in the outer court, αὐλή, where indeed we should have expected, *a priori*, to find them. Odysseus, as we have already remarked, has his bath in the μέγαρον itself after the guests have left, but this is a curious exceptional case; in fact the whole story of the bath of Odysseus seems to be an episode with a flavour of ruder times than the Homeric.

As to the position of the treasury Homer seems to be less clear than in other matters. The first mention of a treasury in the house of Odysseus occurs in the following lines: ⁵—

Ὡς φάν' ὁ δ' ὑπόροφον θάλαμον κατεβήσατο πατρός
εὐρύν, ὅθι νητὸς χρυσὸς καὶ χαλκὸς ἔκειτο, &c.,

which at first sight seem to imply a treasure-house below ground. But doubt of this reading is at once suggested: perhaps the

¹ *Od.* iii. 402 of Nestor; iv. 304 of Menelaus; vii. 346 of Alcinous.

² *Od.* xvi. 285.

³ *Od.* xxi. 120.

⁴ *Od.* xvii. 87.

⁵ *Od.* ii. 337.

word *θάλαμος* may here not stand for treasury at all, but be used in its ordinary Homeric sense of "women's apartments," so that we must pass this passage as not decisive in any direction. From the next passage of importance,¹ which describes the removal of the arms from the *μέγαρον* to the treasury, we do not gain any information as to the position of the latter, save that before the removal Euryclea shut the doors of the *μέγαρα*, confining in them the women, lest they should interrupt the process. The *μέγαρα* here are clearly not the same as the *μέγαρον*, probably they are the larger rooms of the *θάλαμος*, where the women were used to sit at their spinning.² If, however, we turn to the passages relating to the treasury in later books, we shall find that it was in the women's court,³ and at its further extremity, *θάλαμος ἔσχατος*. It had a roof of beams,⁴ and was protected by solid doors closed with a key.⁵ Besides the regular doors of the *megaron*, we also hear of an *ὀρσοθύρη* or postern, which led into a court, *λαυρή*, and so into the open air.⁶ The position and use of this postern is a matter of considerable difficulty and importance; but we cannot here discuss it.

We now pass in our account of the Odysseian house to the third part, the *θάλαμος*. Dr. Hayman, in opposition to all the ancient commentators, maintains⁷ that there was not in the house of Odysseus any portion specially devoted to women. He therefore supposes the women's rooms to have been scattered round the *μέγαρον* and over the *αἶθουσα*. We have not space fully to examine his views, which certainly would not bear close examination. Not only was there a women's *θάλαμος*, but we are able in some degree to trace its arrangements. In the first place it contained the workroom or workrooms of the women. These Homer sometimes calls *μέγαρα* and sometimes *θάλαμος*. They were on the ground floor. This we know from a passage in the fourth book of the *Odyssey*, where Penelope is represented as weeping *ἐπ' οὐδοῦ πολυκμήτου θαλάμοιο*,⁸ surrounded by her maidens, until at the request of her nurse she goes upstairs to the bed-chamber more especially belonging to her,⁹ which was reached by a ladder, *κλίμαξ*.¹⁰ And we also know that in the midst of it was an open hypæthral court, in which had stood in old days an olive-tree, which with his own hands Odysseus had cut short and fashioned into a post for his bed, building about the bed so made a chamber of stone

¹ *Od.* xix. *ad init.*² *Cf. Od.* xxii. 151.³ *Od.* xxi. 8.⁴ *Od.* xxii. 176.⁵ *Od.* xxii. 156.⁶ *Od.* xxii. 136.⁷ *Od.* vol. i. 127.⁸ l. 718.⁹ l. 760.¹⁰ *Od.* xxi. 5.

and roofing it over.¹ This same arrangement of a court in the women's apartments where fresh chambers could be built we meet in the house of Priam.² There, inside the house, were built fifty chambers of polished stone, where the fifty sons of Priam slept with their wives. On the other hand the twelve sons-in-law of Priam with their wives were not allowed, as not kindred in blood, to sleep in the women's apartments, but had chambers erected for them in the outer court, ἀλλή. This distinction is curious and interesting as throwing light on the manners of the times.

The other houses mentioned in the Homeric poems may be passed with very few words. The Palace of Alcinous, though belonging in the main to fairyland, yet does not differ in plan from that of Odysseus. One curious point is worth noting, that a fire is kindled for Nausicaa in her private chamber and food prepared there.³ Such luxuries were probably reserved for fairy-princesses in those rude days. The construction also of the Hall of Alcinous, lined with plates of bronze, has often been noted as comparable to that of the Treasuries of Mycenæ and Orchomenus, which, however, were not lined, but only adorned with bronze ornaments. This construction was of course oriental; and we find it surviving in the East, even in the days of Philostratus.⁴ The house of Alcinous has even a brazen floor, it is a χαλκοβατὲς δῶ; this, however, must be taken as a poetical flight. In all the description of that splendid house the poet acts on the words of the Jewish prophet, "For brass I will bring gold, and for iron I will bring silver, and for wood brass, and for stones iron."⁵

In the abode of Circe⁶ we find a flat roof whereon Elpenor sleeps for the sake of coolness, and whence, rising in alarm, he falls headlong to the ground below. But the flat roof was not invariable at the period. Most roofs were pointed, else the ἀμείβοντες, the crossing beams which supported them, could not with propriety have been compared to wrestlers leaning forward to grasp one another.⁷ In the instance of the abode of Eumæus, and the tent of Achilles, we may observe that even the pressure of poverty and the necessities of a campaign, though they affect the size and elaborateness of a house, do not alter its general scheme.

The above passages are reprinted with a few modifications from a paper written in 1881,⁸ before the important discoveries

¹ *Od.* xxiii. 190.

⁴ Philostr. *Vit. Apol.*

⁷ *Il.* xxiii. 712.

² *Il.* vi. 242.

⁵ *Isa.* lx. 17.

⁸ *Journ. Hell. Stud.* iii. p. 264.

³ *Od.* vii. 12.

⁶ *Od.* x. 552.

at Tiryns took place: they are not suggested by those discoveries. But it will be necessary now to turn to the testimony of excavation in Argolis, to see whether it confirms the views here set forth.

In most respects it confirms them, and adds reality and vividness to them. The prehistoric palace of Tiryns, a plan of which is here annexed,¹ is undoubtedly older by centuries than the *Odyssey*. But it was probably built by the race among whom the *Odyssey* arose; and it is clear that the poet of the *Odyssey* had in his mind a palace in many respects like the Tirynthian model. At Tiryns we find a court, ἀλλή, with pillared cloisters round it, and in it an altar, which we naturally assume to have been dedicated to Zeus Herceius. At Tiryns we find a men's hall, μέγαρον, approached through a portico, having in the midst a hearth and pillars, dividing it into three sections. The door-sills of this building are partly of stone and partly of wood. We find also a bathroom, approached from the hall by a narrow passage, and still holding a fragment of the ἀσάμινθος; and the walls of the hall were adorned partly with frescoes and partly with a frieze of alabaster and glass, which we at once associate with the Homeric phrase θριγκὸς κνάοιο. Indeed, the student who reads the *Odyssey* with the plan of the Tirynthian palace before him, will sometimes find an unexpected light. For example, when Nausicaa is directing Odysseus to the palace of her father,² she bids him pass through the hall to where her mother sits by the hearth in the firelight, resting against a pillar: this arrangement of hearth and pillar is well illustrated at Tiryns.

There is, however, one great difficulty and apparent discrepancy. At Tiryns the apartments of the women seem to have been separate from those of the men,³ and were without visible means of communication, whereas in the *Odyssey* close juxtaposition and constant intercourse between men's and women's apartments is constantly assumed.⁴ Without denying that there here remains much to explain, we may observe, firstly, that there must have been at Tiryns some means of communication between the men's and women's quarters,

¹ From Schliemann's *Tiryns*, pl. ii.

² *Od.* vi. 304.

³ I say *seem*, because the evidence of their locality is not conclusive. Holm, for instance, thinks that Dörpfeld has wrongly assigned the women's apartments. Holm, *Hist. of Greece*, trans. I, p. 171.

⁴ Müller (*Gr. Privatalterthümer*, p. 26) denies that in the house of Odysseus the women's rooms were behind those of the men and in contact with them. I cannot share his view.

possibly through a postern gate such as that mentioned in the *Odyssey*, ὀπισθόθυρη; and secondly, that the greater or less seclusion of women is a thing which might vary with degree of luxury or social circumstances, a time of disturbance and exile, such as followed the age of Tiryns, being especially likely to break down old customs in such matters.

Limits of space have obliged me to treat of the Homeric

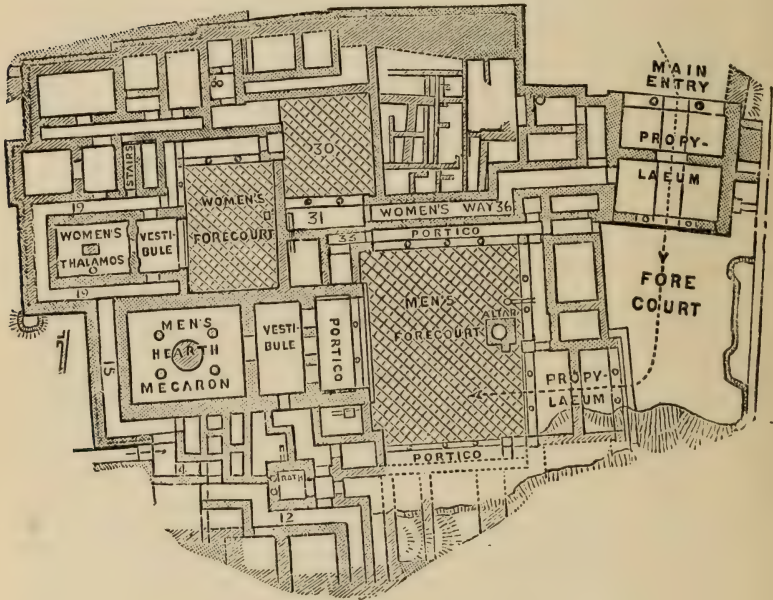


FIG. 3.—PLAN OF PALACE AT TIRYNS.

Palace in a summary way, without going into much detail, or discussing controverted terms and difficult passages. Many writers have thus gone into details, and it may be doubted whether the result has repaid their trouble. There can be no doubt that a microscopic examination of the story of Odysseus' return and the slaughter of the suitors shows in the poet of the *Odyssey* a certain amount of inconsistency. He does not seem to picture clearly to himself the scene of which he writes,

or the locality where it took place. The episode of the fetching of arms by Melanthius, for instance, is on the face of it impossible. It is very probable that in working a variety of current tales into a consecutive poem he incorporated phrases which were inconsistent one with another. And it is also probable that the houses of his own time differed in various ways from those of tradition and convention. Thus all that we can hope to do is to fix a general outline, which will probably be fairly correct for the houses of the Achæan chiefs about the time of the Dorian Conquest.

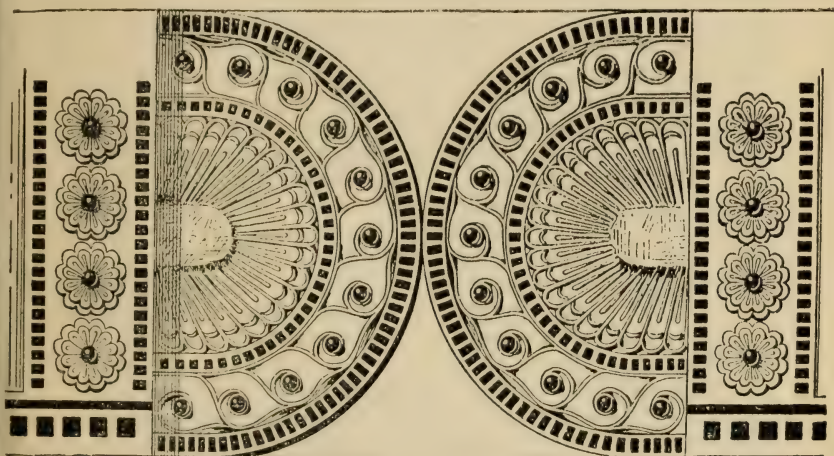


FIG. 4.—FRIEZE AT TIRYNS. (SCHLIEMANN, *Tiryns*, PL. IV.)

CHAPTER IV

PRIVATE HOUSES: HISTORICAL TIMES ¹

BETWEEN the houses described by Homer and those of historical Greece there is a considerable break. The Homeric *ἀναξ* had in the times of Herodotus and Thucydides disappeared from

¹ Among the best German works on this subject are Winckler's *Wohnhäuser der Hellenen* and Lange's *Haus und Halle*. In the absence of satisfactory existing remains of Greek houses we must turn to Pompeii for aid to the imagination.

southern Greece, and was to be found only in remote districts among tribes such as the Molossians and Athamanes. And with the prince had disappeared his ways of living and the hall where he dispensed open hospitality. The country-houses indeed retained even to the late ages of Greece much of their original character, as we shall presently see. But in the cities there was no longer room for extensive mansions, and houses were built for private persons and not for the benefit of a whole community.

In fact in the best ages and the greatest cities of Greece private houses, even of distinguished men, were in no wise stately. Demosthenes, speaking of the heroes of the days of Marathon, says¹ that "while for the state they erected such buildings and set up such works of art as posterity has never been able to surpass, yet in private life they were so simple and moderate that if any one looks at the house of Aristides or Miltiades he will see that it is not more splendid than its neighbours." So too Pseudo-Dicæarchus testifies² of Athens, that most of the houses were poor and inconvenient, so that the stranger could scarcely realise that he was in celebrated Athens. And this state of things was protracted and intensified by the crowding of the city at the time of the Peloponnesian war,³ when all the citizens flocked in from the country and filled all the vacant spaces, so that room for the enlargement of existing and the erection of new mansions was altogether wanting.

The researches of Emile Burnouf⁴ on the site of ancient Athens form an instructive comment on these statements. He discovered the sites of many hundreds of ancient houses, but the majority seem to have consisted of a single cell, the squared floor of which, cut in the rock, still exists. In some cases two or three of these square depressions probably belonged to a single house, and sometimes several were united together around a court or peristyle. But extensive rooms and extended series were rare. The great houses of the rich of later times, of which Demosthenes says that many were more splendid than the public buildings, were mostly situate in the suburbs of great towns where land was easier to procure, and where room could be made for an army of slaves.

The ground-plans of houses in the Piræus have been laid

¹ *Olynth.* iii. 25.

³ *Thucyd.* ii. 17.

² *Frag. Hist. Gr.* ii. 254.

⁴ *Arch. des Missions Scientif.*

bare by Dr. Dörpfeld.¹ They were on a larger scale than those of Athens, but their internal arrangements cannot be clearly recovered. At Naucratis in Egypt² and on other ancient sites also the ground-plans of houses can be traced; but we have not as at Pompeii the walls, the pavements, and the fittings, without which mere lines of foundation give us but little help. We have therefore in the main to trust to statements of ancient writers. The engravings of the supposed house at Delos, which figures in Guld and Koner and other works, are not to be relied on. But in recent years M. Homolle has recovered the foundations of a very interesting house in that island, to which we will presently return.

The most striking difference between the larger houses of Greece and those of modern times lies in the fact that whereas our houses are built under a single roof and the rooms arranged about staircases and passages, the Greek houses were built about hypæthral or open courts. From these courts the house received light and air; all the rooms opened on to them and received their light from them and not from windows in the outer walls. To the street, houses presented almost a blank wall; but when once the outer door was passed, the visitor found himself in the very midst of the life of the house, and could see into every room of the court. Thus the houses were adapted to a far less private life than ours, and one passed far more than ours in the open air; and the number of slaves constantly moving in a house would keep it noisy and lively. Only in a very small family and in a small house could seclusion even for a few hours at a time be possible.

In so slight a sketch as the present, it is not possible to treat apart the building fashions of various Greek towns or of successive periods. There can be no doubt that when Greece in the age of Hellenism turned from public to private life, that change had a great effect on the arrangements of houses, which became far more complicated and luxurious. But after all the change was gradual, and we are unable to trace it in detail. All that is here attempted is to give some notion of the sort of abodes usual in Greece during the ages of autonomy.

It is natural that the fashion of building should change far more rapidly in towns than in the country; and it would be

¹ *Mittheil. d. d. Inst. Athen*, vol. ix. Dr. Dörpfeld's plan is repeated in Professor Middleton's article *Domus* in the new edition of Smith's *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities*, i. p. 659.

² *Naukratis*, part i., by W. M. Flinders Petrie; part ii. by E. A. Gardner.

least liable to change in the case of farm-houses, the arrangements of which are dictated by practical necessity. So we are scarcely surprised to find still existing in Asia Minor in the time of Galen¹ (second century A.D.) homesteads which belong to a very early stage of Aryan culture, and which may be regarded as in the line of descent not only of the Homeric palace and the Greek house of historical times, but also of the Roman atrium, and the farmsteads of Germany and England.

They consisted of an oblong building, in the midst of which was the hearth and oven, and on either side rows of stalls for cattle; while opposite to the door and behind the stove was an *exedra* or recess, with bedrooms to right and left of it, and sometimes a second tier of three rooms above these. It is easy to see how the progress of refinement might convert a house such as this either into a Roman atrium or a Greek peristyle.

It is, however, the town houses of Greece which more particularly concern us. These we must divide into classes.

We have to speak of three classes of houses: (1) the mansions of the wealthy; (2) the abodes of the poorer citizens and *metoeci*; (3) the cells of artisans and slaves. But we must not imagine that these three classes of dwellings were locally separate, as they may be logically separated. All were mingled in the same blocks of buildings. This we know from many sources, more especially from the existing ruins of Pompeii, a town built indeed rather on Oscan and Roman than on Greek principles, and yet affording us abundant information as to the customs of all ancient civilisation. At Pompeii we find small shops and lodging-houses built into the area of the larger houses, and reached either by means of separate entrances or sometimes actually from the doorway of the mansion. So at Cairo in our own day² "when shops occupy the lower part of the buildings in a street, the superstructure is usually divided into distinct lodgings. These lodgings are separate from each other as well as from the shops below, and let to families." Thus it was in ancient Greek cities. When we speak of a mansion as a thing complete in itself, we must remember the numerous parasites which ate a way into its walls, both on the ground-floor and the upper-floor.

Existing remains, as well as authorities for the arrangements of ancient Greek houses, are not numerous. Vitruvius, an architect of the Augustan epoch, has left us a detailed descrip-

¹ *De Antidotis*, i. 3. Cf. Nissen, *Pompeian. Studien*, p. 612.

² Lane, *Modern Egyptians*, p. 20.

tion of the Greek house as he knew it; but his description applies rather to the palaces of kings and wealthy nobles, erected during the third and second centuries at Hellenistic cities such as Antioch and Alexandria. We are therefore obliged, in place of closely following his guidance, to piece together the scattered details of writers like Xenophon, Demosthenes, and Aristophanes. This has been done by a series of distinguished German writers, from Becker to Overbeck; and as they agree in their general views, we may well accept these while reserving our judgment for fuller evidence in matters of detail.

In building houses of any pretensions the Greeks were careful in the choice of an aspect. The house was built facing the south,¹ in such a way that the sun shone full into the *pastas*, which was, as we shall see, opposite the entry. In the winter it was desirable to have as much sun as possible, and in summer, as the sun was nearly overhead, there was plenty of shade in the corridors. The ancients were very studious of warmth, owing partly to the comparative scantiness of their clothing, and partly to the fact that their fires were of a very slight character.

As the fronts of large houses were mostly occupied by shops on a level with the pavement, as in the London Royal Exchange, the Greek streets cannot have been architecturally imposing. Nor were the materials of which the houses were built sumptuous or durable. These were usually a framework of wood, and walls of unbaked bricks. *Τοὺς τοίχους πηλινούς ἔχομεν*, says Plutarch; and it will be remembered how at Plataeæ,² when the Thebans tried to seize the town, the inhabitants dug their way through from house to house, until they had gathered together a corps of armed men. Hence too the use of the verb *τοιχωρρυχεῖν*, which is used for burglarious entry. Nor did the fronts of Greek houses present, like ours, windows to the street; the greatest break in the dead wall would be a narrow slit or a close casement. They were to be looked at from within and not from without. But no doubt, making due allowance for these inevitable drawbacks, the Greeks knew how to make the best of their materials. In the disposal of space within the house, however, their greatest care was spent.

I insert a speculative plan of a simple Greek mansion. The student must remember that this plan is really no more than a diagram to assist our description. Greek houses were subject in their plan to local conditions, and varied widely.

¹ Xenophon, *Memor.* iii. 8; *Æcon.* ix. 4.

² Thuc. ii. 3.

when unmarried. We should indeed speak of cells rather than rooms; the chambers were really recesses not a fourth the size of our rooms, and divided from the court not by doors but by curtains let down, *παραπετάσματα*. Hence they were also called *δωμάτια*. They comprised bedrooms, *κοιτώνες*, as well as rooms for retiring. When the guests were received into the house itself, their rooms, *ξενῶνες*, were in this first court. But more usually in great houses the *ξενῶνες* seem to have been quite outside the building. Thus Euripides¹ speaks of the *ἐξωπίοι ξενῶνες* of the palace of Admetus, and Vitruvius confirms this arrangement. At the end of the court furthest from the street were larger rooms, *οἴκοι*, such as that in which the men dined, called the *ἀνδρῶν* (B), which contained the *ἐσχάρα* (6). In the kitchen were ovens, *ἱπνοί* or *κρίβανοι*, for the cooking of flesh. Amidst these rooms ran another narrow passage, guarded by a strong door (7)² which was usually locked at night, leading into the second court (C), which was that of the women, the *Γυναικονίτις*. This passage was called the *μέσανλος* or *μέτανλος*, and it was the height of effrontery for any visitor to pass it without an express permission from the master of the house, a favour which was rarely accorded except to near relations and intimate friends. The mistress of the house had the range of the whole of it; her dominion was bounded only by the street door;³ but the unmarried daughters of the house seldom passed the *μέσανλος*, except on important occasions.

A somewhat vivid glimpse into the interior of the men's apartments is given us in Plato's *Protagoras*, where Socrates narrates his visit with Hippocrates to the house at Athens, in which the eminent rhetorician was staying. "When we had reached the porch, we stopped to finish the discussion of a subject which had arisen on the way: so, in order not to leave our talk unfinished, we stood arguing in the porch till we came to an agreement. The porter, an eunuch, heard us, as I fancy; and probably being vexed with those who frequented the house, because of the number of the Sophists, when we knocked at the door, and he opened it and saw us, said, 'Ah! more Sophists; he is not at leisure.' And so with both hands he shut the door with all the vigour he could command. Then

¹ *Alcestis*, 554.

² Xen. *Eccon.* ix. 5. 'This door was closed for two purposes, ἵνα μήτε ἐκφέρηται ἐνδοθεν ὅ τι μὴ δεῖ, μήτε τεκνοποιῶνται οἱ οἰκέται ἄνευ τῆς ἡμετέρας γνῶμης.

³ Menander apud Stob. *Serm.* lxxiv. 11: πέρασ γὰρ αἴλιος θύρα, ἐλευθέρα γυναικὶ νενόμιστ' οἰκίας.

we knocked again; and he, with door shut, answered us: 'Fellows,' said he, 'did you not hear that he is not at leisure?' 'But, friend,' said I, 'we did not come to see Callias, nor are we Sophists; cheer up, for we came in hope of seeing Protagoras. Come, announce us.' Grudgingly then the man opened the door to us. When we entered, we saw Protagoras walking up and down in the *prostoön*, and in a line with him walked, on one side of him, Callias, the son of Hipponicus, and his brother on the mother's side, Paralus, son of Pericles; and Charmides, son of Glaucon; and on the other side, the other son of Pericles, Xanthippus; and Philippides, the son of Philomelus; and Antimærus of Mende, who is the most notable of Protagoras' pupils, and learns with a view to practise, intending to be a Sophist. These were followed by a throng listening to the talk, who were mostly strangers, whom Protagoras attracts from all cities through which he passes, charming them with his voice, like Orpheus, so that they follow the witchery of his talk: in the chorus, however, were some Athenians. I was particularly pleased as I watched this chorus to see what care they took never to be in the way in front of Protagoras; but when he turned, and those with him, in good and orderly fashion, they separated in this direction and that, and, wheeling round, kept themselves always in the rear most admirably. 'Next after him I beheld,' as Homer puts it, Hippias of Elis sitting on a chair in the opposite *prostoön*. Around him sat on benches Eryximachus, the son of Acumenus; and Phædrus of Myrrhine; and Andron, the son of Androtion, and various strangers, some his own countrymen and some not. They seemed to be questioning Hippias about physics and astronomical subjects, while he, sitting on his chair, was deciding matters for each, and going through the questions in detail. Then, 'Tantalus, I saw;' for Prodicus of Ceos was staying there: he was in a room which Hipponicus had before used as a store-room; but now Callias, in consequence of the crowd of visitors, had emptied it and made it a guest-chamber. Prodicus indeed was still in bed, covered up, it seemed, with fleeces and coverlets many in number; and on couches near there sat by him Pausanias of Ceramis [and others]. But what they were talking about I could not tell from outside, though very desirous to hear Prodicus, for he seems to me an all-wise man and a divine; but because of the grave tone of his voice, a certain echo rising in the house kept making his words indistinct."

There is in this passage one important term connected with

the house which we have not explained. This is the *πρόστωον*. When Socrates reached the house of Callias he found on entering Protagoras walking up and down in the *πρόστωον*, accompanied by his disciples, and Hippias seated in the opposite *πρόστωον* (*ἐν τῷ καταντικρὺν προστώῳ*) among his followers. It is difficult to be certain of the meaning of the terms here employed, but it would seem that the two *prostoa* are the two ends of the *andronitis*, that next the street and that next the women's apartments, in which case the rival Sophists mentioned by Plato would be separated by the whole length of the first court. The third Sophist, Prodicus, lay in one of the chambers opening out of the peristyle. If three discussions could go on at once in the *andronitis*, and three parties of pupils assemble, it must have been of considerable size.

The ground plan of the women's court was probably in general similar to that of the men. There was the same hypæthral opening, with chambers round, chambers mostly tenanted by female slaves or used as the offices of the mistress. But here the peristyle, according to Vitruvius, stretched round three sides of the court only. On the fourth side, that furthest, as a rule, from the street and the *μέσανλος*, was a different arrangement. There were here two pillars only, and between them a recess called *παστάς* or *προστάς* (10), which seems to have been a shallow room with walls on three sides, but open to the court. This *παστάς* is mentioned by Xenophon,¹ and would appear to be an ancient and essential part of the house, if we consider the passage of Galen already discussed, where we find mention of something closely resembling it in rude and primitive farmhouses. About this recess were grouped the most important rooms of the court. On one side of it, according to Vitruvius, was the *θάλαμος* (11), the bedroom of the master and mistress of the house, where were stored the most precious pieces of furniture and coverlets.² On the other side was the *ἀμφιθάλαμος* (12), where slept in all probability the unmarried daughters of the house. Behind the *προστάς* were a series of rooms (13, 14) where the women and female slaves worked by day, spinning and weaving under the eyes of the mistress. Here the house ended, either in a blank wall or in a garden³ entered from the women's rooms by a door, *κηπαία θύρα* (15).

Such was the ideal rather than the actual arrangement of a Greek mansion. In actual fact, doubtless the architect built

¹ *Memor.* iii. 8. 9.

² Xenoph. *Æcon.* ix. 3.

³ For representations of ancient gardens, see Schreiber's *Bilderatlas*, pl. iv.

according to the space at his disposal and the wishes of his client. In many houses some of the features mentioned would be absent, in others they would be differently arranged from the prescription of Vitruvius. This is notably the case with the only Greek house which has reached us in such a state that its restoration may be considered by no means hopeless, a mansion of the second century B.C., excavated at Delos by M. Homolle,¹ of which we here copy the ground-plan. The door-

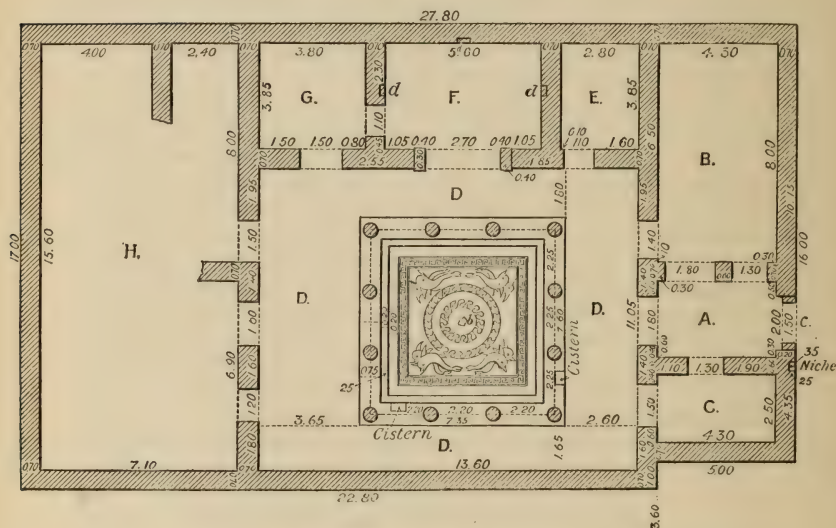


FIG. 5A.—HOUSE AT DELOS.

way on the street, which was encrusted with marble, led into the vestibule A, between the chambers B and C, one of which doubtless belonged to the porter. Through this we pass into the peristyle D, the hypæthral opening of which is paved with mosaic and surrounded by columns ten feet high. From this peristyle there open off a variety of rooms of which H would probably be the dining-hall. As besides the columns of the peristyle, pillars of smaller size were found in the ruins, it seems

¹ *Bulletin de Corresp. Hell.* 1884, p. 473, pl. xxi.

certain, as M. Homolle observes, that a second peristyle surrounded the first, and about it were probably grouped the women's rooms. These would be approached by a staircase instead of the μέσαινλος. This arrangement of the house on two floors instead of one was, as we shall presently see, not unusual.

This house has only one door, that opening on the street. A somewhat notable feature in it is presented by the underground cisterns or cellars, which are indeed, as M. Homolle observes, very common among the ruins at Delos. The storage of water would be at Delos specially necessary; yet we must suppose such cisterns, with runlets and drains, to have been usual in Greek houses: they are even found at Tiryns.

An important subject of inquiry is the number and position of the shrines of deities in the Greek mansion. This subject has been of late years discussed by Petersen and Preuner,¹ but there is still considerable doubt in regard to it. Outside the houses were many Hermæ, situate, as Thucydides says,² in front of private houses as well as in shrines, and almost every large house had a statue or painting or altar of Apollo Aguius placed close by the outer door. Suidas says that the θεός Ἀγνιεύς was sometimes identified rather with Dionysus than with Apollo; and as the deity was often represented by a mere conical pillar, it may be doubted if he was really different from the Hermes of the street. Within the house there were many shrines.³ The priest of any deity would naturally have a small shrine and image of that deity in his private house. In the bedchamber little sanctuaries of the θεοί γαμηλίοι were not unusual. Indeed, private fancy might convert a house into a nest of deities, each represented by a statue, and honoured with a little altar; and many small shrines have been found in the houses at Pompeii. Plato, in the Laws,⁴ advocates the abolition of these private sacraria, as leading often to impiety, and complains of the superstition of those who erect in their private houses altars and shrines, thinking by private devotion to get the gods on their side. But apart from these questionable practices, it would seem that Greek houses usually had two altars which specially belonged to the family as such. These belonged to Zeus Herceius and to Hestia respectively. The altar of Zeus seems to have been in the midst of the andronitis. The altar of Hestia, which was originally the mere

¹ Petersen, *Hausgötter*; Preuner, *Hestia*.

³ Some are figured in Schreiber's *Atlas*, pl. xviii.

² vi. 27.

⁴ x. p. 909.

fire of the household, altered its character when regular kitchens came into use. Hestia did not migrate to the kitchen when the custom of having viands prepared there came in, but still retained her post in the principal room of the house, and had an altar in the place of the blazing fire with which she had previously been associated. To this subject we will presently return. On the altar of Hestia sacrifices were offered to all gods, and such altars belonged not only to private houses, but to each city and tribe, being found in town-halls and *prytaneia*.

We must institute a brief comparison between the Homeric and the historical Greek house. It is generally assumed that these have nothing in common, and must be studied quite apart. This I do not hold. I think it can be shown that the first hypæthral court or andronitis is the successor of the Homeric aule; that the andron is the diminished and reduced successor of the Homeric megaron; and that the position and perhaps the arrangement of the women's quarters was not greatly changed.

Of the truth of this statement I will offer three proofs. Of these the first arises from the probabilities of the case. A rude farmyard like the aule, and a huge rough hall like the megaron suited free life in the country and the rough sociability of Homeric times. As the Greeks grew in culture and took to living in cities, the aule would naturally become civilised, and the rooms round it become part of the house, while on the other hand the feeding-room of the men would lose its enormous proportions and become a dining-room instead of a feasting-hall. Secondly, we find that, as a matter of fact, the term *αὐλή* is used by Greek writers to designate the andronitis. Thus in a passage of Plutarch¹ we read of a crowd forcing the outer door of a house and rushing across the *αὐλή* into the *θάλαμος*, that is to say, passing across the first court into the second or *gynæconitis*. But the best and most decisive of all proofs that the *ἀνδρωνίτις* of later Greek houses corresponds to the Homeric *αὐλή*, and the *ἀνδρόν* to the Homeric *μέγαρον* is found in the positions of the altars of deities, which are evidently the especial features of an ancient house least likely to be changed. In the Homeric house we found the altar of Zeus Herceius in the midst of the aule: in the later Greek house the same altar was certainly in the midst of the court of

¹ *De Genio Socr.* 32. Cf. Plato, *Protag.* p. 311, where the word *αὐλή* is similarly used.

the andronitis.¹ In the Homeric house the altar of Hestia was in the megaron, and in the historical house probably in the andron, or dining-room.²

The floors were usually made of concrete. Λιθοστρωτά, or mosaics of stone, did not come in until the times of the Pergamene kings; but the concrete was painted in patterns so as to please the eye. Vitruvius³ gives a complete recipe for its manufacture in true Greek style. Whether there were usually doors between the various rooms and the courts has been disputed. It is evident that storehouses and places of that kind must often have had doors which would fasten. But the division in the case of ordinary rooms was made rather by means of parapetasmata. When doors existed, as they certainly did in the metaulus and probably in the thalamus, they were usually fastened by a wooden bolt, fitting into a niche in the doorpost, a perfect fastening for those within. But doors like those of closets had to be fitted with locks and keys to be opened from outside; and in fact a certain number of bronze keys have come down to us, and the manner in which they were used is shown by paintings on vases. When locks were not used, a substitute was found in the σφραγίς or seal, which was commonly set on all doors which hid valuable property. Of course if at any time one of these seals were found broken some slave would be sure to suffer for it.

The light entered the Greek house mainly through the central openings in the roofs of the courts. There were indeed windows, θυρίδες, in the outer walls, especially of the upper storeys, and even windows looking on the street, at which the women would sometimes surreptitiously show themselves. As, however, the Greeks did not, until Roman times, use glass, these were necessarily small and often closed. They were probably, like windows at Cairo,⁴ filled with wooden lattices so closely worked as to shut out the sunlight and secure privacy. The interior decoration of houses seems first to have been carried out with any completeness at Athens by Alcibiades, who employed the painter Agatharchus on that task; but the poorness of the light within made the attempt always unsatisfactory, nor do the greater painters seem to have undertaken it. A commoner decoration than painting seems to have been stucco ornaments, ποικίλματα.⁵ No paintings were found on the walls of M. Homolle's Delian house: slabs of marble seem to have

¹ Plato, *Repub.* p. 328.

² Cf. *Agam.* 1055. Ἑστία μεσόμφαλος.

³ vii. 4.

⁴ Lane, *Modern Egyptians*, p. 6.

⁵ Plato, *Repub.* vii. p. 529.

been used instead. But at a later time, as at Pompeii, paintings of very moderate merit were universal.

The arrangements for the warming of Greek houses were of a somewhat primitive character. It is supposed that large halls were warmed by a fire lighted in the midst, of which the smoke escaped, not by any special outlet, but by a hole in the roof. It is generally supposed that the passage in the *Wasps*¹ in which Philocleon tries to escape from the house with the smoke implies a regular chimney, but this can scarcely be allowed. The heating of rooms was accomplished, as it often is to this day in Southern Europe, by filling a portable brazier, *ἀνθρακιά*, with wood or charcoal and setting fire to it. The



FIG. 6.—WINDOW.² (LATE GREEK VASE.)

fumes of course fill the room, but this is tolerated for the sake of the warmth. In this way light as well as heat would be secured; but when light without heat was required, little lamps of metal or of earthenware were lit, and placed on shelves or on tall lampstands, *θυμιατήρια*. These lamps in later times took the place of the rude torches of Homer. Sometimes, however, the shape of the torch was retained, but it was made in metal and filled with resin and other combustibles, and a sort of saucer was added to keep the burning substances from falling on the hands.

A great house with two courts would suit the means of the wealthy only. Persons of moderate means contented them-

¹ *Wasps*, l. 144.

² Millingen, *Vases Grecs*, pl. 30.

selves with a small area and two sets of rooms, one set over the other, of which the upper was appropriated to the women, the lower to the men. This we learn from an oration of Lysias,¹ who describes the house of one Euphiletus as of this character. But the wife of Euphiletus bearing a child, the husband resigned in her favour the lower storey,² fearing that she might receive an injury, having daily to ascend and descend a ladder when she wanted to wash. He took in return the upper storey. Whether these ὑπερῶα or upper chambers were usually to be found in the great houses is not certain. If they existed, they were used only by slaves. People of a still poorer class lived in a single room, or rather cell. The crowding in our modern towns was far exceeded by that of the cities of antiquity, as is abundantly proved by existing ruins, notably at Rome and Pompeii.

Besides the private dwellings of citizens were to be found in all great cities, more especially those of late growth, like Antioch and Alexandria, tall lodging-houses, *συνουκίαι*, piled storey above storey, in the fashion of the Roman insulæ, each storey being probably the abode of a separate family. The different storeys were probably reached by means of ladders. At Athens the metœci must have lived in such abodes, for the law would not recognise their possession of a separate house. As the Greeks used, not sloping, but flat roofs, *στέγη*, in all their houses, it would be easy to add storey after storey to the edifice as necessity arose. These flat roofs were also places for exercise and for surveying the streets, and sometimes, in case the city were attacked, they furnished a splendid vantage-ground for street fighting.

The furniture of houses, like their arrangements generally, became more and more luxurious and splendid after the political decay of Greece had begun. Ischomachus' house, in Xenophon's *Economics*, fairly represents the well-ordered but not luxurious abode of an Athenian in the fifth century.

"My house, Socrates," he says, "is not adorned with stucco ornaments, but the rooms are all built with a view to being as well fitted as possible to the contents for which they are intended, so that they seemed to demand what was fitting to each. The thalamos in a safe corner seemed to call for coverlets and vessels of the most valuable sort; the dry parts of the house,

¹ *De Cæde Eratosth.* ii. 3.

² Young children also were kept in the lower part, for fear of injury; hence the point in *Acharn.* 411: ἀναβάδην ποιεῖς, ἐξὸν καταβάδην, οὐκ ἐτὸς χαλούς ποιεῖς.

corn; the cold, wine; and the light parts to require such furniture and vessels as most need light. And I showed my wife the living-rooms well adorned, arranged so as to be cold in summer and warm in winter. And I took her over all the house, showing her how it lies open to the south, so as evidently to be sunny in winter and shady in summer. . . . And when we had been over all these things, then we began to array the furniture in sets. We began first by putting together the things we use for sacrifice. After that we set out the female attire used for festivals, the male attire used for festivals and for war, then the coverlets (*στρώματα*) in the gynæconitis, those in the andronitis, women's sandals, and men's sandals. There was one class consisting of weapons, one of spinning materials, one of materials for making bread, one of cooking-vessels, another of washing materials, another of things to do with baking, another of things to do with setting meals. These all we divided into sets, some for constant use, and some only for feasts."¹

The seats used in Greek houses seem to have gone under the names, *δίφρος*, *κλισμός*, and *θρόνος*. The first of these was the simple stool without back. Very frequently it folded like our camp-stools, but sometimes again the legs were stiff, as in the case of the *δίφροι* carried by the women of the metæci in the Panathenaic procession. The distinction between *κλισμός* and *θρόνος* is not rigidly kept. Both were seats with backs, and usually accompanied by a footstool, but the *θρόνος* was more solid and square-made. The chairs which we find on vases and reliefs combine elegance with great comfort: the sloping backs are admirably adapted to the convenience of the sitter. On the other hand the stately seats of the gods (in their temples) and in great houses, though not so comfortable, lent themselves very much to ornament. Backs, sides, bars, and legs offered a series of flat surfaces, each of which was frequently inlaid with gold and ivory or adorned with sculptural reliefs. In the case of couches, *κλίναι*, also we find lighter and heavier classes, which may be considered as elongations of the *δίφρος* and the *θρόνος* respectively. The lighter couches were carried from room to room and used both at meal-time and bed-time.² They frequently had a back, resembling exactly in shape our old-fashioned sofas. The usual arrangement of Greek beds was as follows: across the frame strong thongs, *τόνοι*, were stretched

¹ In Schreiber's *Bilderatlas*, pl. lxxxvi., will be found representations of pieces of furniture.

² A couch is figured below, Fig. 22.

in order to form a support.¹ On this was placed a mattress, *κνέφαλον* or *τυλείον*, usually stuffed with wool, and pillows, *προσκεφάλαια*, for which feathers were sometimes used. Upon these were piled various coverlets, *σιούραι*, *περιστρόματα*, or *ἐπιβλήματα*, of wool and skin, and the recliner might, according to the weather, lie under or on them. The Greek over-garments acted perfectly as blankets, so that the warmth could be increased at pleasure. A bed of the commoner sort, such as Socrates used, was called *σκήπτους*.

Large square or oblong tables, *τραπέζαι*, were not in use among the Greeks. At meal times a number of small three-legged tables, *τρίποδες*, were brought in by the slaves, and placed one or two at each couch to hold the food and drink. At the end of a meal they could easily be carried out and the floor cleaned from the debris which accumulated there, such as bones and other uneatable fragments.

A prominent place in the apartments of the women was occupied by the chests and presses, *λάρνακες* or *κιβωτοί*, where clothes and articles of adornment were stored. These were large and solid, and frequently inlaid with ivory and metal, and adorned with reliefs and designs. Sometimes they were covered, like the chest of Cypselus,² with mythological and legendary scenes, every scene being accompanied with inscriptions to explain its meaning. Such chests are constantly represented in later vases together with unguent-boxes, mirrors, and all the necessities for female adornment.

Most large houses would have a sundial, *γνώμων*, by which the course of time might be traced. Sometimes in place of it a *κλέψυδρα*, or water-clock, was used, which marked the course of the hours by the rise or fall of water in a graduated vessel. Both dials and clepsydræ were also disposed in public spots in the cities, such as the agoras.³

The earthenware in a Greek house was of extraordinary variety, and often of great beauty. There was the vast *πίθος*, in which oil, water, or provisions were stored, which was let into the earth and was as capacious as a modern cistern. There were the tall tapering *ἀμφορείς*, which were filled with wine and stored in cellars underground, rude vessels of coarse clay. Of a very different fabric were another kind of vessels, which were beautifully painted with figures, and of very elegant shapes. In the vase-rooms of the British Museum is a

¹ A bed described in detail, *Lysistrata*, 916.

² Fully described by Pausanias, v. 17.

³ See Chapter II.

large collection of these receptacles, which have been preserved in large numbers to our days in consequence of the Greek custom of placing them in graves. Some of the more noticeable forms may be mentioned. The ὑδρία was used by women for fetching water. It was a bulky vessel, distinguished by having a third handle half-way down, to render its carriage easier. The ἀμφορεύς was a tall, handsome vessel¹ with two large handles, used for holding wine, oil, and other liquids. The kinds of vases used most in drinking were the κρατήρ, which was in shape like a large loving-cup, and was used in mixing wine with water; the οἶνοχόη, a sort of decanter out of which wine was poured; the ψυκτήρ, or cooling vessel; and the κύλιξ, which was the ordinary drinking-cup, in shape like a large flat wineglass with two handles, but seldom holding less than half a pint, usually more. For the kylix a drinking-horn, κέρας or ῥυτόν, was sometimes substituted. These had a hole at the lower end, which was stopped by the thumb. This hole was put to the mouth, the thumb removed, and the vessel drained at a draught.

Another vessel in constant use was the λήκυθος, which was filled with oil and carried with the strigil to the bath. The ἀρύβαλλος and the ἀλάβαστρον, the latter of alabaster, were used for unguents, and often imported with their contents from the East. The φιαλαί were flat saucers which would hold solids, and the καλαθοί or baskets were used for fruit or bread.

Most or all of the above vessels were also made in bronze and silver, or, except at an early period, in glass, ὑάλινα ἐκπώματα;² and in wealthy houses earthenware, κεράμεια, was probably used but little. There was also no doubt in Greek houses a great variety of kitchen utensils in earthenware, iron, and bronze, of tripods, and λεβήτες, and saucepans, and cooking-pots, but as there is no Greek Pompeii few specimens have come down to us. We must not, however, omit to mention a common domestic object which time has naturally destroyed, the ἄσκος or leather-bottle, which was the rival of the amphora of earthenware as a receptacle for wine.

¹ This class of amphoræ must be distinguished from that above mentioned. It may be doubted whether these painted vases were really used. Vessels of metal would be more serviceable.

² *Acharn.* 73.

CHAPTER V

THE DRESS OF MEN AND WOMEN ¹

IN speaking of the dress of Greek men and women there are two distinctions which we must ever bear in mind. The first is between the Ionic and Doric style of dress. The Ionic was that used by the natives of Asia Minor, the Phrygians and Lycians, and the Greeks who came in contact with them. According to Herodotus ² it was originally Carian, and adopted from the Carians by the Greeks. The second was the national Greek dress, which belonged to the primitive inhabitants of the country, and was used by the Greeks, except the Ionians, in Homer's time, and again in the best ages of Greece. It is thus the Doric dress that usually appears on statuary, except the archaic.

The second distinction is between the ἔνδυμα, the undergarment which was put on, and the περίβλημα or ἐπίβλημα, the cloak or mantle which was, as we shall see, merely thrown round the form and fastened by one clasp at most. The verb ἐνδύεσθαι is used regularly for putting on the inner, περιβάλλεσθαι for putting on the outer garment.

But almost all Greek dresses, whether under- or over-garments, consist in origin and essence of a square or oblong piece of material, merely made up without or with sewing into a shape suitable for wearing. The only exceptions to this rule are the Ionian chiton and certain under-garments used apparently for warmth alone, and met with occasionally in sculpture and more frequently on vases. It may perhaps be at first doubted whether the authority of monuments of painting and sculpture is the most satisfactory that can be procured in regard to Greek dress. Of course in our day sculpture does not reproduce the dress of actual daily life, but a conventional synthesis. We have, however, no ground for supposing that such was the case among the Greeks. Dress with them was of a character well adapted to sculptural effect. In the later Greek reliefs, no doubt, dress is introduced as drapery, that is rather with a view to artistic effect than to reproducing a convenient or even a possible way of clothing. And in archaic art we often find

¹ An excellent work on *Greek Dress* is that of Lady Evans (Macmillan and Co., 1893).

² v. 88.

folds and arrangements of dress of a purely conventional character. Nevertheless monuments are on the whole the most trustworthy, as they are by far the most complete sources of testimony as to Greek clothing, and it is satisfactory to note that on the whole the information thence derived is entirely confirmed by the statements of ancient writers, as we shall see in the course of this chapter.

That the dress worn alike by men and women in Greece was not of a character to satisfy modern notions of comfort or even of decency is unquestionable ; but we must make allowances for the climate of the Greeks, the character of their civilisation, and more especially their feeling that nudity brought no disgrace on a man, while women seldom mingled with men in public. In our day in Japan,¹ a country which bears much resemblance to Greece in social conditions, the same notions as to dress still prevail.

There is some difficulty as to the primitive dress of the Athenians. Homer distinctly includes them among the *ἰάοιες ἐλακίτωνες*,² who wear long trailing garments, and we have abundant evidence, including a statement of Thucydides,³ that, in the time preceding the Persian wars, Athenian men wore long linen chitons reaching to the ground, and fastened their hair in the Ionian manner with golden grasshoppers. Herodotus, however, asserts that the women of the Athenians wore in early times the Dorian dress and changed it for the Ionian on a specified historical occasion. An Attic expedition against Ægina, probably of the sixth century⁴ B.C., had so disastrously failed that one survivor only returned, and he was stabbed to death by the women with the brooches (*περόναι*) of their garments. This so much offended the Athenian people that they compelled the women to change their chiton to the Ionian, which did not require brooches for its support. Scarcely can we believe, even on the testimony of Herodotus, that the Ionian dress for men and the Dorian for women were in use at once at Athens before the Æginetan war ; and yet this is what we must suppose if we accept his story.

At any rate it is certain that, before the Persian wars, the Ionian dress was common, while from the time of the Persian wars onwards men in Greece proper wore the Dorian dress, and that the women also mostly wore the Dorian dress throughout Greece proper at the same period. For in the

¹ See Miss Bird's *Japan*, vol. i. pp. 148, 150, 154.

² *Il.* xiii. 685.

³ *I.* 6 ; cf. Aristoph. *Knights*, l. 1331 ; Eustath. ad *Il.* xiii. 685.

⁴ Herod. v. 87 : B.C. 580-550, according to Müller, *Æginetica*.

case of both sexes, whereas sculpture of the early period often represents the Ionian, that of developed Greek art represents predominantly the Dorian dress. In the sculptures from the Parthenon, the Erechtheum, the temple at Bassæ, and other buildings of the age of Pericles and subsequent times, the Doric dress is usually borne both by men and women.

There are indeed great difficulties as to the distinction of Ionian and Dorian dress on the monuments. There are many instances in which the dress is clearly Ionian, others in which it is clearly Dorian; but there is a large class between the two; and it may be doubted whether some of the characteristics of archaic dress, instead of being of Ionian type, may not really be due to the peculiarities of early art. We would take as the type and example of Ionic dress the figures on the so-called Harpy tomb from Lycia, and of the Dorian dress the figures of Sterope and Hippodameia in the pediment at Olympia.

I must describe in some detail the method of wearing the principal Greek dresses: the Ionian chiton, the Dorian chiton, the himation, and the chlamys. Our guides for the present will be extant monuments; afterwards we will consider the testimony of writers as to the different classes which wore these garments.

The Ionian chiton worn by women seems in shape to have resembled a long night-gown, with two full sleeves reaching somewhat below the elbow. That worn by men also reached the feet. It was made of linen. The statues of the bearded Dionysus, one of which is at the British Museum, show this chiton as worn by men; its wearing by women is far more usual. Besides the Lycian tomb at the British Museum, the female archaic statues at Athens, Delos, and Ephesus and elsewhere bear this dress, and it appears in early Attic vase paintings.

The Ionian chiton was worn by both men and women in exactly the same way; and over it was worn a heavy square garment, doubled, and often fastened by a brooch, usually on one shoulder. Some writers regard this over-garment as the equivalent of the Doric chiton, and the Ionian chiton as an under shift; while some regard it as the himation, of which we shall presently speak. The dress of men and women on monuments like the Harpy tomb is so undistinguishable that several of the figures now recognised as male were for a long time supposed to be female.

The principle of the Doric women's chiton will be readily

understood from the accompanying illustrations. A piece of square or oblong cloth or linen was taken (Fig. 8, I. *l m o n*), and doubled over at the line *a b*, when it would present the form *a b o n*, where the portion *a m* is double. This was again doubled at the line *c d* and folded backwards so as to leave the flap *l m c* visible (Fig. 8, II.). The person putting it on would now stand inside it at *e f h g* (Fig. 8, III.), and fix with buckles



FIG. 7.—IONIC DRESS: MÆNAD. (FROM A VASE.)

or clasps the front and back portions together over each shoulder at *e* and *f*. She would then let the corners *a b* and *c* fall, and the whole chiton would be disposed about her. The flap over at the upper part of the body was called the diplois, διπλοῖδιον or ἀπόπτρυγμα. The left side of the body *c d* was thus properly shielded, but the right side *a b, n o*, was comparatively unprotected, the chiton being only fastened

at the shoulders and being open from the shoulder to the ground. For this reason the chiton was often termed $\sigma\chiιστός$. To remedy this defect a girdle was used, being fastened round the loins of the wearer; under the girdle the dress could easily be drawn so as to overlap and to hide the want of continuity. Moreover, as the chiton was generally long, it would trail on the ground unless raised by means of the girdle, $\zetaώνη$ or $\zώνιον$, when the superfluous length would fall over the girdle in the

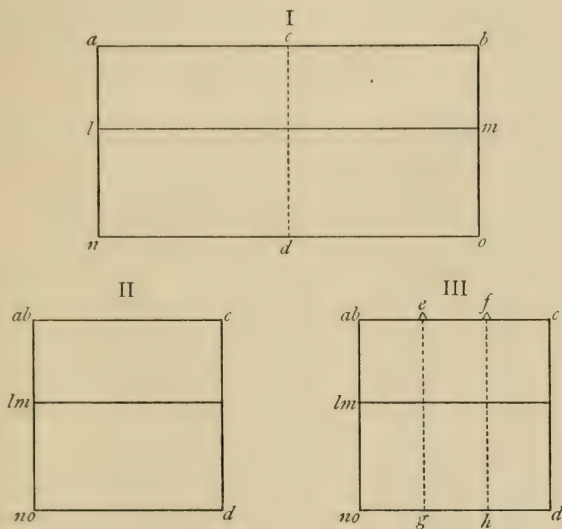


FIG. 8.—I. II. III.

form of a fold or $\kappaόλπος$. Sometimes the open side of the chiton was sewed up, as is the case with the Canephoraë of the Erechtheum, and our Fig. 9, and sometimes in addition to the one fastening at the shoulder others were added on the upper arm.

It is to be observed that the women of the Spartans, Cretans, and other true Dorian races did not wear a $\chiίτων ποδήρης$ such as we have described, but a shorter garment reaching to the knee and offering less impediment to the motion of the legs. It was put on as above mentioned, and the diplois and girdle

were universal ; but sometimes it was fastened on one shoulder only, so as to leave the right arm perfectly free. For this short chiton see the statue at the Vatican, which represents the girl who won the race at Olympia, or most of the statues of the

Dorian huntress Artemis. It is clear that the girdle afforded the means of making any chiton as short as the wearer pleased by making the kolpos fuller. In the case of most statues we see the kolpos falling just below the diplois. Sometimes the diplois was made long and the girdle passed over that as well as the rest. It was possible, as we see from a statue at the British Museum, to draw over the head the part of the diplois which fell down the back so as to form a sort of hood or veil, *κάλυπτρα* or *κάλυμμα*. The veil was among Greek women not usually a separate article of dress, but only a fold of the upper or under garment.¹



FIG. 9.—BRONZE FIGURE
FROM HERCULANEUM.

When women wore a large and thick chiton with diplois they often wore nothing over it. Indeed the Dorian chiton may be considered quite as much an outer² as an under garment. Pollux³ says that when a garment was so ample as to serve alike as an under and an over-garment, *ἔνδυμά τε ὁμοῦ καὶ περίβλημα*, it was called a *ξυστίς*. This *ξυστίς* seems to constitute the dress of women in such monuments as the pediments of Olympia, and the dress of young girls on the Athenian stelæ.

The chiton of Dorian men, which indeed was in historical times worn by all Greeks, did not differ in shape and arrange-

¹ For an instance of hiding the face with the chiton, see Plutarch, *De Virt. Mul.* 26.

² Thus Herodotus, in the passage already cited, calls it *ἰμάτιον*.

³ vii. 49.

ment from that of women, but was very much shorter, being arranged without a *diplois* or *kolpos*, and yet reaching only half-way down the thigh.

The himation was worn in much the same way by both sexes, by women as the upper, by men frequently as the sole garment. It consisted of a large nearly square piece of cloth, doubled over (*a b c d*, see Fig. 10, I.) at the line *l m*, so as to be oblong (*l m c d*, Fig. 10, II.). This was then taken up and the point *x* placed on the left shoulder, the line *x m* reaching down the chest. It was then brought round the back until the point *y* passed under the right arm, which was left quite free. It was then brought round the chest until the point *z* reached the left shoulder, when the remainder *z l* was gathered together

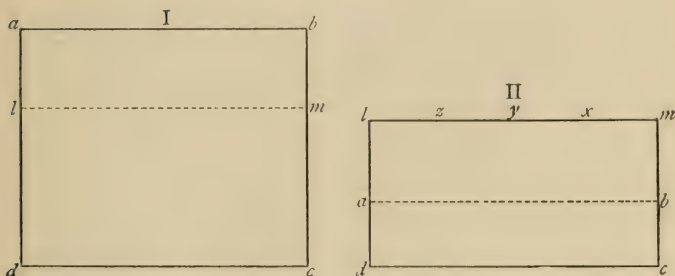


FIG. 10.—I. II.

and thrown over the back (Fig. 10, III.). It was not fastened at all, but held together by its own weight and by the arms. Thus it required skilful adjustment; but a little practice with a blanket will soon convince the student that it could easily be kept on except during exercise or in a high wind. The above is the most usual mode of adjustment, but several others were common for the sake of comfort or variety. Thus sometimes the order of arrangement just described was reversed, and the garment brought first round the chest, under the right arm and then round the back, in which case the end gathered together would hang down in front of instead of behind the left shoulder. Sometimes when this reverse order was observed the end of the himation was at starting placed under the left arm instead of being thrown backward over the shoulder. Sometimes it was

fastened on one shoulder with a fibula. Other variations may be observed by any one who takes the trouble to examine the monuments. It would seem from reliefs that when a Greek sat down or reclined, he usually allowed his himation to fall to his waist, about which he gathered it.

Women commonly draw the himation over instead of under

the right shoulder and turned up the outer fold over the head and shoulders to form an ample veil. A good instance is the colossal statue called Artemisia in the British Museum. The himation of women was called ἀμπερόνη or φᾶρος.¹



FIG. 10.—III. ASKLEPIOS.

Such were the ordinary or standard shapes of the Greek garments, but of course they varied a good deal at various times. Thus the χλάμς, which was originally a riding and war cloak of the Thesalians and other northern races, was early introduced into Greece and almost entirely superseded the himation as a cloak for young men and for men on active business. The mode of wearing the chlamys was very simple. It was of oblong shape and doubled until nearly square, as in the engraving; *m n* thus becomes the closed side and *ab, cd* the open one. The wearer standing with his back to the

reader puts his head through at *m e* and fastens the chlamys at *e* with a buckle on his right shoulder. The ends would hang down or flap in the wind, whence they were called πτέρυγες.

¹ The standard work on Greek dress is Studniczka, *Altgriechische Tracht*, 1886. I may say, however, that though the above views correspond nearly with those of Studniczka, they had been written and expressed in lectures before his work appeared.

In this way the left arm, which was in riding naturally used only to hold the reins, would be entirely covered, but the right quite free to hold whip or lance; the points *c d* would hang down and nearly touch the ground.

The mention made of dress in various passages in Homer shows that at that period all Greeks wore two garments, one under and one upper. The under garment is called in Homer by its later Greek name, the *χίτων*,¹ in the case of men, but in the case of women it was called *πέπλος*.² No doubt it was a garment worn in Dorian fashion, short in the case of all men except the *ἱάονες ἐλκεχίτωνες*, but longer in the case of women. Over this the Greek men wore a double or folded garment, called by Homer *χλαίνα*,³ or sometimes *λώπη*, which are only older names for the Greek *ἱμάτιον*. Women wore, in addition

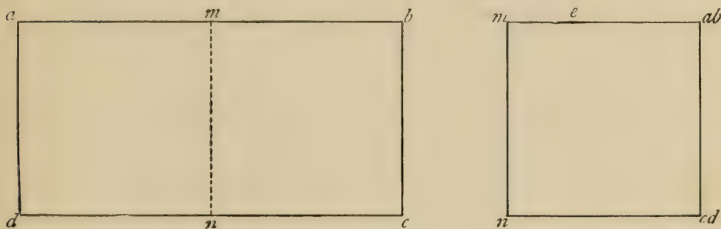


FIG. II.—I. II.

to the *πέπλος*, a veil, *καλύπτρα* or *κρήδεμνον*.⁴ The *χλαίνα* served not only as a protection against weather, but being a large square or oblong piece of woollen, was used as a bed-covering.

Coming down to historical times, we do not find in the case of dress so great changes as we found in the case of houses. First we will speak of men. In historical times the long chiton had gone out of use, except in the case of priests and other persons of dignity, as well as those who, like the charioteer, required protection from the wind. Men wore as

¹ *Od.* xiv. 488, &c. This word is rendered "doublet" by Butcher and Lang. It clearly, however, corresponds to our "shirt."

² Thus Athena, when arming (*Il.* v. 734), takes off her peplos, and puts on in its place the chiton of her father Zeus.

³ *Od.* xix. 226.

⁴ *Od.* xviii. 292.

the normal dress a short Dorian chiton and a himation. This might be proved by a score of passages ; but it will be sufficient to cite one. It is said that Hippias at Olympia¹ wore nothing that he had not made himself ; the list of his clothes includes for the body only ἱμάτιον, χιτωνίσκος, and ζώνη, or girdle. To this rule, however, there were exceptions. At Athens boys in early times wore only the chiton, went γυμνοί in the snow,² as Dikaïos Logos says in Aristophanes ; and it was not until the time of the Peloponnesian war that they took to wrapping themselves up in himatia. When the boys reached the ephebic age, they wore, besides the chiton, a chlamys, the manner of wearing which garment may be studied in the Parthenon frieze.

At Sparta, as might have been supposed, dress was ruder and scantier. The boys, as Plutarch³ tells us, began at twelve years old to go about without a chiton, getting one himation a year. And this custom they commonly kept up even as men, going about with the himation only ; and the Spartan himation was a small and rough garment. It was called contemptuously τριβων by more luxurious Greeks. From the Spartans the custom of dispensing with an under-garment spread among the hardier, more simple, or more philosophical of the Greeks. Socrates⁴ wore only a poor himation, the same summer and winter, with no chiton ; so did the orator Lycurgus. Gelon, King of Syracuse, sometimes surprised the citizens by coming to the Ecclesia ἀχιτων ἐν ἱματίῳ. The followers of Antisthenes carried the custom to a further extreme. Of course when occupied in physical labour, a Greek would throw aside the outer garment and wear the chiton only. The rude chiton, fastened on one shoulder only, ἐτερομάσχαλος χίτων or ἐξωρίς, belonged especially to slaves and those who had to undergo hard labour. Freemen fastened the chiton over both shoulders, ἀμφιμάσχαλος χίτων.

Gentlemen were particular as to the way of putting on and the way of wearing the himation. The correct way of putting on was called ἐπὶ δεξιὰ ἀναβάλλεσθαι. Poseidon, in the *Birds* of Aristophanes,⁵ ridicules Triballus for putting on his garment, ἐπ' ἀριστερά. By the former phrase I understand adjusting the garment under the right shoulder before throwing it over the left. It was also well-bred to keep the left-hand under the himation ; and it was considered the part of a lout, ἄγροικος, to

¹ Plato, *Hip. Min.* p. 368.

² *Nubes*, l. 964.

³ *Lycurg.* 16.

⁴ Xenoph *Memor.* i. 6, 2.

⁵ l. 1567.

hoist the ends above the knee, so as to show the legs;¹ it was far better to let it trail slightly on the ground. We hear that it was one of the affectations of the young Alcibiades² to let his himation trail on the ground.

Next as regards women: of these the usual house-dress consisted of the chiton, the outdoor and company dress of that together with the himation. On the Athenian stelæ, young girls commonly wear only an ample chiton; matrons wear the himation also; and slaves wear a garment with long sleeves. It has been doubted whether in addition an under-chiton, *χιτώνιον*, was not frequently worn. It is difficult to settle this point by reference to the writers; but probability is certainly in favour of the wearing of warm underclothing in cold weather. We find also in sculpture a few clear instances of an under-chiton, as in case of one of the female figures on a drum of a column from Ephesus in the British Museum.

The Laconian women, like the Laconian men, wore fewer and more scanty clothes than their Attic sisters. Thus we hear³ that Periander of Epidaurus saw the daughter of Procles, Melitta, dressed in Laconian fashion, pouring out wine for men at work in the fields and fell in love with her. This Laconian dress is more closely described in the passage *ἀναμπέχονος καὶ μονοχίτων ἦν*, "She had one chiton and no over-garment." And not only did Dorian women go about clad in chiton only, but that chiton was quite short. This we may judge from the numerous statues of Amazons and Artemis, wherein the chiton barely reaches to the knee. So too Pausanias⁴ says of the women who ran races at Olympia that their *χίτων* stopped short a little above the knee, and they showed the right shoulder down to the chest, a statement fully borne out by the celebrated statue in the Vatican of a virgin victorious in the race.

Sometimes the *diplois* of a woman's dress was not a mere fold of the chiton, but a separate garment, put on over it; and those Greek women who were in fear of losing their shape wore something remotely resembling the modern stays. This was the *στροφίον*, a broad band tied round the body just below the breasts and restraining them and the abdomen. This article appears in vase-paintings. Archaic sculpture shows a tendency to contracting the waist of women; but this tendency entirely disappears in the period of developed art: it is clear that the

¹ Theophr. *Char.* 4.

³ Pythænetus in *Athen.* xiii. 56.

² Plutarch, *Alcib.* i.

⁴ v. 16, 3.

Greeks regarded a small waist not merely as unhealthy but as ugly.

The colours of Greek dress were many. Men indeed wore both chiton and himation usually either of white or of some sober colour, such as brown. But that women wore the gayest and brightest colours we know not only from statements of writers, but from the statuettes discovered at Tanagra. The ground-colour of the chiton was white or yellow; it had a broad border either of some bright colour, red or blue, or of deep embroidery. As to the himatia of women there is no rule. They were of the gayest colours, frequently covered with stars, flowers, or checks, and sometimes adorned with elaborate embroidery, rows of animals, or human figures, beautiful designs of all sorts.¹

The material of the dress of the men seems to have been wool. The chiton of the women was of far lighter and more elegant material, as any one may see by examining the dresses of the figures from the Parthenon. Linen was in use from the oldest times, but some kinds of it were of great delicacy, particularly a variety grown in the island of Amorgus. Byssus also, the nature of which is somewhat obscure, was a very delicate material. At a later period, silk, *βομβύκινα*, *σηρικὰ*, was much used by the rich, being imported by merchants from the far East. The silkworm itself was not introduced until Byzantine times. As early as Aristophanes we find mention of the *εἴματα διαφανῆ*, which were affected by courtesans, such as the notable Coan robes. The rough working-dresses of slaves and artisans were often of leather, sometimes of the hide of goats or sheep with the hair on. Such was the *διφθέρα* of herdsmen, and such the *ægis*, which Pallas retained in a modified form to the latest times. Homer's heroes in some cases wear the skin of a wild beast over their armour or chitons; thus Paris is clad in a panther's and Agamemnon in a lion's skin, as is Heracles in monuments of all periods.²

A few words must be added as to Greek military dress, though that subject belongs more strictly to the antiquities of war, treated of in a future chapter. The Greek hoplite, of whom a typical figure is here engraved (Fig. 13), wore on his head a helmet of bronze or iron with tall crest of horse-hair. Some forms of helmet, the so-called Corinthian, could

¹ The colours of Greek dresses may be studied not only in the Tanagra statuettes, but also in the female archaic figures recently discovered at Athens. A fragment of an actual dress adorned with figures of ducks, chariots, and other devices was found in a grave in the Crimea (*Comptes Rendus*, 1878, pl. iv.)

² *Il.* iii. 17; x. 23.

either be drawn down over the face or rest on the back of the head. Other forms merely fitted the back part of the head, leaving the face free, but sometimes having cheek pieces to protect the cheeks. The helmet of the Macedonians and Thessalians had a broad brim, like that of their riding-hats.



FIG. 12.—GARMENT OF DEMETER. (FROM A VASE BY HIERON.)

The heavy cuirass, which was worn over a chiton, consisted of two plates of metal, one for the front and one for the back, which were laced together and connected also by metal shoulder-pieces. In early days the Homeric *μίτρη*, plated with metal, was worn below the waist¹ but fell out of use. From B.C. 500

¹ W. Leaf, "Armour of Homeric Heroes," *Journ. Hell. Stud.* iv. 73.

onwards, the groin was protected by leather flaps, *πτέρυγες*, which hung down to the thigh, as in our example. Pausanias observes (x. 27, 6) that a true cuirass (*γύαλον*) gave sufficient protection even without a shield; but it was heavy and cumbrous, and as Pausanias implies, it was to a great extent superseded



FIG. 13.—GREEK WARRIOR, FROM A VASE.

in later times by lighter cuirasses composed of linen and leather. On Greek vases, where heroes of old time are commonly depicted, the metal cuirass is usual. Greaves on the lower legs, fastened by elastic metal bands, with sandals, completed the equipment. The thighs had to be protected by the shield.

The student who endeavours to collect the details of Greek dress from the surviving monuments of art must be careful to observe that the Greek sculptors, in representing Orientals, Persians, or Phrygians, or the imaginary Amazons, endeavour to give their dress according to the national habit of each. Thus both Phrygians and Persians are made to wear chitons with long sleeves and breeches, ἀναξυρίδες, reaching down to the feet; together with the Phrygian cap, which is the well-known cap of liberty. In vases and reliefs Paris, Anchises, even Pelops are often represented in this Oriental costume; so the student must not rashly assume that because a representation is of a hero celebrated in Greek lore, therefore the details of his costume are Greek. In the case of the Amazons the Greek artists allowed themselves much liberty, dressing them sometimes as Orientals in long sleeves and drawers, sometimes merely in the short Doric chiton.

If we may judge from the monuments, the clothes of Greek children did not differ except in size from those of adults. In sepulchral reliefs we see young girls clad in the Ionian or the Dorian chiton, just like their mothers, of whom they are miniature copies, even to the way of doing the hair. On vases we see young boys, if they have any clothes at all, wearing the chiton or wrapped in great himatia. It would appear, however, from an already mentioned passage¹ of Aristophanes that the earlier custom was for boys to wear the chiton only.

Near home, in the streets and the agora, neither men nor women usually wore a hat. The women arranged the himation so as to cover the head and hide most of the face; the men walked bare-headed. But in going on journeys, in riding abroad, in working in the fields, and even in the cities in bad weather, the men would carry a hat or cap. The hat, which was worn by the Ephebi, by those who rode on horseback and the upper classes generally, was, like the chlamys, introduced from northern Greece. It was called the πέτασος, and was in shape flat with broad rim. It is usually represented in statues of Hermes, who was the traveller *par excellence*. The κανσία, worn by Macedonian husbandmen and cavalry, was little if at all different. But while the petasus formed an excellent protection against the sun, it was not suitable for warding off wind and rain. So the classes most exposed to rough weather, such as labourers, smiths, and sailors, wore the pileus, πῖλος, which

¹ *Clouds*, 964, 987.

was a soft conical cap, without peak, fitting closely to the head. Already in Homer¹ we find Laertes, when working in the field, wearing an *αἰγείη κυνέη*, a close-fitting cap of goat-skin; but at a later time felt was substituted for skin. Even the citizens of Athens in rainy weather took a felt cap about with them to keep their ears and hair dry.

At home the Greek citizen went bare-footed; even when visiting a friend he would leave his shoes without, as is still the custom in the East. But boots of some sort, and stout ones, were necessary to any one who had to walk over the ill-paved and rough roads of ancient Greece. The simplest form of shoe-covering was the *σανδάλιον* or *ἐμβάς*, which consisted merely of a sole, *ὑπόδημα* or *κάσσυμα*, fastened below the foot by thongs of leather passing between the toes, which were called *ζυγός*. Such were the *βλαῖται* put on by Socrates when he went out to dinner.² In the country it was usual until a late period to wear a stout sole fastened to the foot by means of interlaced thongs, which were secured round the ankle. For thongs of leather the poor substituted rude cords, *σπαρτία*. Hunters and those who had to make their way over rough ground required more protection for the lower part of the leg; but even these did not usually wear close boots like ours. They merely extended the crossing thongs of leather from the ankle half-way up to the knee. These hunting-boots, *ἐνδρομίδες* or *κοθορνοί*, may be studied in the representations of the huntress Artemis. The Greeks did not wear anything corresponding to our stockings. Thus in the case of most sculptures, we see the toes uncovered, and standing out from sandal or endromis. But this rule is by no means universal. Like the peoples of the East and of Italy, the Greeks sometimes wore close boots. Thus many of the riders of the Parthenon frieze wear covered boots coming half-way up the leg. These are also common in vase-pictures. So too the Persian slippers, the *Περσικαί* of Aristophanes,³ which were worn by women, must have covered the whole foot.

One reason for the remissness of the Greeks in the matter of head-covering was that nature had provided them with luxuriant hair. This from the time of Homer onwards the *καρηκομώντες Ἀχαιοί* cultivated into a long and bushy mane such as we see on the head of the statues of Zeus. The Spartans in particular were very proud of their long hair and tended it carefully, considering it the badge of a free man. And so it was, since, as Aristotle remarks, a man with long flowing

¹ Hom. *Od.* xxiv. 231.

² Plato, *Symp.* 174.

³ *Clouds*, 151.

hair could scarcely engage in one of those mean and servile handicrafts which the Greeks so despised. It will be remembered how Xerxes found the Spartans at Thermopylæ combing their long locks, and at a later period the long hair of Gylippus roused the ridicule of the people of Syracuse,¹ Dorians though they were. We learn from Thucydides that not much before his time the Athenians wore long hair, which they wound into a knot or κρωβύλος on the top of the head, fastened with golden grasshoppers, χρυσῶν τεττίγων ἐνέρσει κρωβύλον ἀναδούμενοι τῶν ἐν τῇ κεφαλῇ τριχῶν. This passage has caused much controversy. When we turn to the works of Archaic sculpture we find the hair of Apollo Dionysus and other male deities growing long but not hanging loose. It is commonly gathered in a knot at the back or the top of the head, or secured in plaits. The κρωβύλος then might be this knot or bunch of hair, but no ancient monument represents it as secured with a grasshopper, or indeed with a fibula of any shape; it is bound with a simple ταινία or cord.² Professor Helbig has maintained that the τεττίγες were not fibulæ at all. He thinks that the early Greeks and Etruscans fixed their locks in position by means of golden spirals, σύριγγες, which are frequently found in Etruscan tombs, and that the name τεττίξ, was given to the spirals so arranged because of their resemblance to the annulose body of the grasshopper. Homer's line may be compared, πλοχμοὶ θ' οἷ χρυσῶ τε καὶ ἀργύρῳ ἐσφῆκωντο³

But so inconvenient a custom died in time; when, we cannot be sure. The monuments seem to indicate the fifth century B.C. as the time when long hair became unfashionable; probably at Sparta it persisted until the time of the Achæan League.

Thus at the date of the Peloponnesian war there was a contrast between Sparta and the rest of Greece in this matter. At Sparta the hair of the boys was cut short, but as soon as they came to man's estate they allowed it to grow long. Even at other cities κομᾶν was a sign of a Laconian partisan, as appears from Aristophanes.⁴ But at Athens and the other cities of Greece, when a boy reached the age of an ἔφηβος, he dedicated his hair with various ceremonies in the temple of a deity, usually of a river-god.⁵ Thus the Ephebi of the reliefs of the Parthenon have all short hair. After long hair had

¹ Thucyd. i. 6.

² *Archäol. Zeitung* for 1877, p. 89; *Homerische Lpos.* Sec. xxi.

³ *Il.* xvii. 53.

⁴ *Knights*, 579; *Clouds*, 14.

⁵ Æschylus, *Choeph.* 6.

ceased to be fashionable and the mark of a gentleman, the custom completely changed, and very short hair was worn alike by athletes and by those who affected a reputation for austerity ; whence it happened that at a late time the Spartans and their imitators wore not longer but shorter hair than other people.

The dimensions of the beard also decrease in the course of Greek history. In early times a long full beard was regarded as a sign of manliness, the Spartans in this matter also taking the lead of the rest. Shaving was introduced by the Macedonian conquerors, who found the beards of their soldiers inconvenient in a campaign, partly as giving the enemy a handle to seize, partly in all probability from motives of cleanliness. From this time on, men of the governing classes and soldiers always completely shaved ; and the beard was left to those who affected ancient manners, and philosophers. It is, however, remarkable that on Athenian reliefs of the Macedonian period, the normal citizen is always represented as wearing a short beard, just as on the frieze of the Parthenon. The moustache without the beard marks the Gauls and other barbarians.

To go into the details of the hair-dressing of women would demand a far greater space than we dispose of. The fashion was constantly changing. Now the hair was confined by a simple band, *ταινία*, passed five or six times round ; now a pointed metal coronet, *στεφάνη*, was worn above the forehead, and the back hair confined by a net, *κεκρύφαλος*. Now the hair was almost concealed by a kind of nightcap, *μίτρα* or *σάκκος*, either reticulated or not. More frequently still it was wound with a broadening band, called from its shape, which resembled that of a sling, *σφενδόνη*. The *διάδημα*, which was a simple fillet tied in a bow at the back of the head, was worn after the time of Alexander only by kings and queens. Frequently the hair was allowed to hang down the back in simple curl. Hetærae frequently wore their hair short and hanging about their ears.

The art of beautifying was carried on with the greatest vigour in antiquity. As women were so secluded and seldom seen from near, the falseness of their manufactured charms had the less chance of being detected. Athenæus¹ quotes from Alexis, a contemporary of Alexander, a terrible list of the changes which courtesans brought about in themselves. The short woman put cork in her shoes, the tall wore the thinnest soles, the shape was dexterously moulded with cushions and pads,

¹ Athen. xiii. p. 568.

the complexion was brought to the desired colour by means of paint, and the hair was dyed according to fancy. Nor were these base arts confined to women of doubtful character. The young wife of Xenophon's Ischomachus,¹ who is represented as a pattern of propriety, used white and red paint until her husband persuaded her that he preferred nature to art. Only among the Dorian women, who far surpassed the others in health and strength, we hear of no painting and making-up.

The Greek lady who went abroad would carry a sunshade, σκιάδειον, in shape resembling ours, to keep off the sun. The same implement might have been used in rainy weather, but this does not seem to have been the case. Men, especially elderly men and men from the country, carried a stout stick, on which they leaned when standing, and which they used freely on the persons of those children and slaves whom they supposed to stand in need of correction.

¹ Xenophon. *Æcon.* x. 8.

BOOK II

RELIGION AND MYTHOLOGY

CHAPTER I

NATIONAL ELEMENTS IN RELIGION

THE religion of the Hellenes, as it is presented to us in Greek literature and history, is undoubtedly a much-compounded thing. There are in it elements derived from a great variety of sources, sometimes completely fused together, and sometimes very imperfectly combined. It is also vague and fluctuating in a high degree. It is altogether erroneous to regard it as a fixed and organised whole. We moderns approach the study of it under great disadvantage, because our notions of religion are taken from the history of Christianity, which is in the main a religion of authority, originating in a single time and a definite place. Hellenic Paganism was not made, but grew during long ages amid varying circumstances, and subject to all kinds of influences. It may be compared not to a temple or palace designed by man, but to a tree, rooted in human nature and putting forth its shoots and blossoms in due season.

In Greek religion, as it is known to us, there are various strands. Recent writers have been more and more disposed to trace the origin of a great part of it to that worship of ancestors which is so marked a feature in all tribes at a certain stage of civilisation. There may also exist in it vestiges of tribal worship, the veneration of some hereditary totem, out of which at a certain stage of decay there arises, by some obscure process, a deity or deities. And some part of the religion of the Hellenes, though not so large a part as people fancied a quarter of a century ago, must belong to the general traditions of the Aryan race, and have arisen from the wonder of our remote ancestors at the facts of storm and sunshine, day and night, summer and winter. Further, there can be no question

that both in pre-historic and historic times the Greeks were as ready to accept mythology from the nations of the East with whom they traded and fought as they were to accept the religious images of Oriental fabric which are still abundantly found on many early Greek sites.

We may attempt a division of these various elements of religion into two classes, which we may roughly term national and borrowed. In the national class we shall include all that belongs to the Greek tribes as an ancestral inheritance, whether dating from the early age of barbarism or developed in the various lands in which they successively dwelt. In the borrowed class we shall place not only the local elements, which belonged rather to the various spots of Greece, than to the people who had come to dwell there, but also all that the Greeks adopted from the neighbouring nations. A clear and strong line of division between the two classes can indeed seldom be drawn. In the cultus of any given deity they are almost sure to be intermingled; yet an attempt to separate them may help to clear our minds, and to lay bare the rudiments of the subject before us.

In the present chapter we will deal with the national elements, in the next chapter with those which are partly or wholly adoptive.

The national or native strands in Greek religion appear to be three, of which we will treat in succession; (1) Totemism; (2) Ancestor-worship; (3) Naturalism.

(1) It is a matter of comparatively recent discovery how large a part is furnished to primitive religions by the class of conceptions which is summed up in the word totemism. There is still much that is obscure in regard to those conceptions; but writers like Andrew Lang¹ have certainly succeeded in explaining by their means some points previously inexplicable in Greek myth and cult; and that which has thus been rendered intelligible belongs to the earliest stratum of Hellenic religion. If these writers have tried to carry their method of explanation into fields where it is not altogether at home, this is but a proceeding which we must expect in the case of all new theories of the kind. As a matter of fact, though apparent traces of totemism may be found in Greek mythology and worship, yet a very small and a very unimportant part of those highly civilised growths can be directly or completely explained by the notions of totemism. Totemism may lie at

¹ *Custom and Myth*, 1885.

the foundation of much, but that foundation, as in the buildings of competent architects, is usually buried out of sight.

"A totem," writes Mr. Frazer,¹ "is a class of material objects which a savage regards with superstitious respect, believing that there exists between him and every member of the class an altogether special relation. The connection between a man and his totem is mutually beneficent: the totem protects the man, and the man shows his respect for the totem in various ways, by not killing it if it be an animal, and not cutting or gathering it if it be a plant. As distinguished from a fetish, a totem is never an isolated individual, but always a class of objects, generally a species of animals or of plants. The clan totem is revered by a body of men and women who call themselves by the name of the totem, believe themselves to be of one blood, descendants of a common ancestor, and are bound together by common obligations to each other and by a common faith in the totem. Totemism is thus both a religious and a social system."

As to the reasons of the adoption of this extraordinary system by savages in all parts of the world, we are entirely ignorant. That it had ceased to have any intellectual recognition among the Greeks of the historic age is sufficiently clear. Yet the probability that the Hellenic race had at some time passed through this stage of culture helps us to understand some of their beliefs of the origin of which they themselves were wholly ignorant. When we find in the place of honour in the temple of Apollo at Delphi a conical stone called the *Ὀμφαλός*, we do not hesitate to say that it must originally have been worshipped as a fetish-stone. The Greeks of Pindar's time had another explanation² of the sacred character of the stone; but we set aside that explanation.³ In the same way we may explain by the ideas of totemism the veneration of the Greeks for certain animals and plants, although they had abundant sacred legends to account in each case for their sentiment.

There was a story that when the gods of Olympus were threatened by the terrible monster Typhoeus they fled, all save Zeus, into Egypt, and hid themselves in the forms of animals.

¹ *Totemism*, pp. 1, 2.

² Cf. Pindar, *Pyth.* iv. 4. The Scholiast on this verse tells us that Zeus set forth two eagles from the two ends of the earth and they met at Delphi, whence the *Omphalos* at Delphi was regarded as the centre of the world.

³ To fetishism I will return in the next chapter: whereas totemism belongs to tribes, it belongs to localities, and so is usually a borrowed element in Greek religion

It was thus that later Greece accounted for the curious fact that with each of the deities was closely associated some sacred animal or animals—the swan, the wolf, the raven, the mouse with Apollo in various sites of his cult, the stag and the bear with Artemis, the ram with Hermes, the dog with Hecate and so forth. In these cases the anthropological school accepts another explanation, that the deity was originally the god of a clan or tribe whose totem was this favourite animal. A couple of instances will suffice.

At Athens, Athena was closely associated with the serpent. In her temple was preserved a great snake, fed at stated times, and supposed to be the embodiment of the Attic hero Erichthonius. In the great Parthenos statue by Pheidias, a snake was represented as sheltering himself behind the shield of the goddess, and in one of the pediments of the Parthenon he appears at her side. The legendary King of Attica, Cecrops, is represented in art as a snake from the waist downwards. These facts may be regarded as proving that in Attica in primeval days there was a clan which accepted the snake as its totem, and that the snake as an object of cultus gave way in time to Athena. Again there were at Athens ceremonies in which certain Attic maidens imitated bears, and danced the bear dance in honour of the Brauronian Artemis. In Arcadia also the bear was connected with Artemis, and it was told how she had turned into a bear Callisto, a mythological rival, who was really only a duplicate of herself. This bear-goddess Artemis may have at some time belonged to a clan whose sacred animal was the bear.

An explanation of this kind will almost always be possible when the favourite of the deity is an animal or bird. When it is a plant, such as the sacred laurel of Apollo, or the sacred olive of Athena, a totemistic explanation may sometimes be the best. But sometimes we shall prefer to think that the deity has inherited the honours accorded to some fetish tree, and that the origin of the cult is local rather than tribal.

It should, however, be observed that the worship of animals may be explained on quite other principles than those of totemism. As Mr. Frazer has pointed out in his *Golden Bough*, the reverence shown by hunting tribes towards the animals which they habitually kill is based on feelings the opposite to those of totemism. Mr. Frazer also maintains that there are cases in which tree-spirits and corn-spirits are conceived in the form of animals. Totemism being quite as much a social as a religious system, and nothing of it being visible in the social

organisation of Greece, it must be somewhat uncertain whether what looks like the result of totemism in Greek religion may not have some other explanation.

When we reach, in a future chapter, the subject of Greek practical cultus, we shall have again to deal with conceptions which may originate in conditions of totemism. And in our classification of myths we shall have to point out a certain number which belong to the totemist range of conceptions. But as a root-principle of Greek religion, as Greek religion existed in historic days, totemism is not of very great importance. We must pass on to other elements of greater weight.

The second great source of Greek religion which may be safely classified as of native origin is the worship of deceased ancestors.

The worship of the dead can scarcely be said to lie on the surface of the great Attic literature.¹ That literature, in fact, belongs rather to all time and to human nature than to a particular age and country, and what is local and temporary in Greek thought and feeling has ever a tendency to fall into the background in it. It represents the Greek mind in the same way in which the Doryphorus of Polycleitus, and the Apoxyomenus of Lysippus represent the Greek body: they give us the better and nobler side, and put out of sight what is mean and unworthy. In the great age of Greece, and in the favoured city of the Athenians, religion meant the worship of the great deities of Olympus, the highest and noblest forms of the Greek religious consciousness. Primitive and patriarchal elements of religion still existed, but they were thrust into the background. Thus, as indeed a glance at Athenian sepulchral monuments will assure us, the worship of the dead did not occupy among the *élite* of Greece the same space in men's minds which at an earlier time it had held, and which it still held in the more conservative districts.

Nevertheless, a careful search will disclose many passages even in the Attic writers which illustrate this form of religion. The opening passage of the *Choephoroi*, for example, tells of cultus kept up at the tombs of deceased worthies. In the *Alcestis*, the heroine of the play is scarcely dead before she is invoked by the chorus as a spiritual power, able to give and to withhold favours:—

νῦν δ' ἐστὶ μάκαιρα δαίμων,
χαῖρ', ὦ πότνι', εὖ δὲ δόιης.

¹ The following paragraphs are taken from a paper contributed by the writer to the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, vol. v. p. 125.

It is instructive to compare with such passages as these a class of vases peculiarly Athenian, the beautiful white *ληκύθοι*,¹ which bear paintings in almost all cases illustrative of the offerings brought to the tombs of departed ancestors by survivors. The abundance of these vases proves that the ideas which they illustrate were quite familiar to the Athenians.

At a lower level than that of poetry, in the laws and the customs, more especially the burial-customs, of the Greeks, we find ample proof of the tenacity with which they clung to the belief that the dead desired offerings of food and incense, and were willing in return to furnish protection and aid.

It is well known to be one of the most universal and deepest rooted convictions among barbarians, that the dead are not without feelings and perceptions, but remain keenly sensitive to the treatment they receive from their kindred, and require of them much assistance. The dead man, living in his tomb as he had lived in his house, requires frequent supplies of food and drink, rejoices in the presence of armour and ornaments, such as he loved in life, and is very sensitive to discourteous treatment. These ideas were part of the mental furniture of the whole Aryan race, before it separated into branches, and are found in all the countries over which it spread.

In the earliest of Greek graves, such as the so-called Treasury of Atreus, at Mycenæ, and the building at Orchomenus, we find an inner chamber perhaps for the dead, and an outer chamber to which those who came to pay their respects to the tenant of the tomb probably had access, and which may have been stored with articles of pomp and splendour, set aside for his enjoyment. It is well known with what care the early Greeks provided in the chamber in which they placed a corpse all that was necessary for its comfort, I had almost said its existence. Sometimes wine and food was there laid up in a little store, a lamp was provided full of oil, frequently even kept burning to relieve the darkness ; and around were strewn the clothes and the armour in which the dead hero had delighted ; sometimes even, by a refinement of realism, a whetstone to sharpen the edge of sword and spear in case they should grow blunt with use. The horse of a warrior was sometimes slain and buried with him that he might not in another world endure the indignity of having to walk. Even in Homeric days the custom survived of slaying at the tomb of a noted warrior some of a hostile race to be his slaves thereafter. After the fall of Troy

¹ Cf. Pottier's useful *Lécythes blancs Attiques*.

the captives were distributed among the chiefs ; but it was not thought right to deprive the dead Achilles of his share, and Polyxena was offered up at his tomb. According to the ingenious theory of a modern savant,¹ the terra-cottas so commonly found in tombs in some parts of Greece are the successors and substitutes of these living victims, placed like their bodies in the grave of one who would in his future life require servants and companions. Every one knows that the custom of *sati*, whereby a wife is burned on the same pyre with her dead husband, is barely extinct in India.

And the care for the dead did not by any means cease at their burial. They had to be constantly tended thereafter, their bones preserved from violence, and their tombs from spoliation ; and at certain seasons food and drink had to be brought them and left by their tomb for their use.

The belief in the continued need felt by the dead and to be supplied by the living was so deep that even Christianity has been unable wholly to abolish it, though in modern days roses take the place at tombs of the more substantial offerings of old times. A couple of passages from Lucian² will serve to summarise the ancient feeling : πεπιστεύκασι γοῦν τὰς ψυχὰς ἀναπεμπομένας κάτωθεν δειπνεῖν μὲν ὡς οἶόν τε περιπετομένας τὴν κνῖσαν καὶ τὸν καπνὸν, πίνειν δὲ ἀπὸ βόθρου τὸ μελίκρατον.—τρέφονται ταῖς παρ' ἡμῶν χοαῖς καὶ τοῖς καθαγίζομένοις ἐπὶ τῶν τάφων· ὡς εἰ τῷ μὴ εἶη καταλελειμμένος ὑπὲρ γῆς φίλος ἢ συγγενὴς ἄσιτος οὗτος νεκρὸς καὶ λιμώττων ἐν αὐτοῖς πολιτεύεται.

It is true that the state of opinion which gave birth to Greek burial-customs did not persist unchanged into historical times. Later there was spread abroad a general belief in the existence of a realm of spirits, presided over by Hades and Persephone, and hidden somewhere in the deepest recesses of the earth. At least the common people believed in the Styx and the Cocytus, the dog Cerberus and the Elysian Fields, and the ferry-man Charon, who conveyed souls. They even gave the dead an obol to pay to Charon as his fee ; but this very fact shows how persistent the belief in the connection of the future life with the body was, for it was in the actual mouths of corpses (the mouth being the Greek purse) that the piece of money was placed and left. The same men who supposed that souls went into a far country, yet believed heroes to hover

¹ Rayet, *Gazette des Beaux Arts*, 1875.

² Lucian, *Charon*, 22 ; *De Luctu*, 9.

about the spot on which they were buried, like the virgins of Leuctra, who appeared to Pelopidas when he happened to sleep at the spot where they were buried, or like the sages whose tombs became oracular. The upper stratum of belief was occupied by those notions of religion and a future state which were sanctioned by poetry, and art, and public cultus; but in the background still lurked many feelings which had arisen at a time when the grave was regarded by all as a dwelling-place, and the dead as by no means inaccessible to the favours and the requests of the survivors.

M. Fustel de Coulanges¹ has well shown how on this fact of the continual presence of the dead and their need of care and nourishment family life was, in early times, to a large extent based. It was regarded as essential that the offerings to the dead should not come from the hands of strangers but from their own descendants. Hence the continuity of families and a strong tie of kindred to bind them together. The family vault, where dwelt the spirits of the ancestors of each family, became a sacred place; the daily care of the dead, falling to the lot of the eldest male in each family, made him appear not only as the head and ruler of the community, but as its priest; as one who was in constant communication with the unseen world, and who could confer on or withhold from other members of it the favour of the departed. And such favour was regarded as of great value: the dead were supposed to be constantly interfering in the affairs of the living and still working their will in the world. As M. de Coulanges perspicuously puts it, there was a constant exchange of services between living and dead: the latter receiving from their descendants physical protection with food and drink, and giving in return the advantage of countenance and assistance in all the transactions of life.

It seems then that the favours asked of the dead were substantial enough. The exact nature of the ritual with which ancestors were approached would not be told to any stranger; but if it were told, none could rightly and duly perform it except the regular and authorised exponent: the deified ancestor would resent as an outrage any attempt on the part of an alien to win his favour and support.

Closely connected in cultus with the family tomb was the family hearth. In the Homeric house this was situate in

¹ *La Cité Antique*. The views of this writer are confirmed by the veneration paid to ancestors in our day in China and the East generally.

the μέγαρον, or feeding-hall of the men. And when, in later and more civilised times, cooking was no longer done there but was removed to a separate kitchen, a hearth, ἐσχάρα or ἑστία, was still retained for sacred purposes, at all events in the houses of wealthy families. To Hestia was sacrificed the first portion of what was eaten or drunk; and in addition frequent small sacrifices of oil or wine or incense were offered, partly to Hestia and partly to the family divinities, whoever they might be, more especially the deified ancestors. And on occasion of all the family festivals or events—a birth, a marriage, a death—this altar was wreathed with flowers or glowed with incense.

Among the Romans the conjoint worship of the Lares and Vesta¹ seems to have been of the essence of the family religion. But among the Greeks, and especially their wealthier and more ancient families, this simple worship was united with that of some of the greater and more generally recognised divinities.

The third native source of Greek religion was naturalism. It is most difficult to say at what time or at what stage of civilisation the worship of deities of nature arose. Recognition of supernatural powers in the world, unless the barest animism (with which no doubt such recognition begins), implies feelings of wonder at the marvellous order of the universe, and a sense of the dependence of man on higher forces than his own, which at once raise the barbarian to a higher level, and open before him great possibilities of progress. And on the day on which a rude tribe recognise that there are greater powers in the unseen world than fetishes and their dead ancestors, they mount a high step in the scale which leads to civilisation. When or how this step was taken by the Greeks it is not easy to decide. Mr. Herbert Spencer, as is well known, supposes all religion to grow by processes of development from ancestor worship. But his attempts to explain how this could be have failed; and his theory meets with but little acceptance. It is in fact a revival of the teaching of the Alexandrian Euhemerus, who taught that all the deities were but deified ancestors; nor does it seem consistent with the evidence. To go further into the question would take us too far from our immediate subject; and it is the less necessary, because among the Greeks as known to us the worship of deities and of heroes alike was fully organised and recognised.

It is mainly to the comparative philologists that we owe the

¹ Virg. *Æn.* v. 744.

exposition of the great part taken by the worship of the powers of nature in the various branches of the Aryan race. By the help of the sacred literature of India, of great though uncertain antiquity, writers like Kuhn and Max Müller have succeeded in showing that Greek mythology, like the Greek language, is a branch of a great tree, and cannot be properly understood except by comparison with other branches, and especially of the branch which flourished in the sacred valley of the Ganges. Some thirty years ago the opinion was common among scholars that by help of the Vedas Greek mythology could be satisfactorily analysed. But the school of Aryan comparative mythology failed in their explanations to pass a certain point, and by a natural reaction their key, which was once over-valued, has since been under-valued. Their philological method has been of late years almost neglected. Aryan mythology has given way to anthropology; yet it is certain that the debt owed by the science of religion to comparative mythologists is no light one. They opened the door through which we all pass. And after making all deductions, it remains clear that the study of Aryan religion in the comparative spirit has greatly aided our understanding of Greek religion in particular.

Attempts have been made to explain the mythology of all the European nations as a series of tales based on a literal acceptance of poetical or figurative language wherein the primitive Aryans described the course of the sun through the heavens. To Sir George Cox, and in a more moderate degree to Professor Max Müller, almost all the myths of Greece are meteorological, and merely embody in a thousand forms the phenomena of the sunrise and the dawn, the daily voyage of the sun, his victory over the clouds and his sinking to rest, on which the eyes of our primitive forefathers are supposed to have dwelt with never-ceasing wonder and delight. Professor Kuhn, another great authority on the subject of Vedic mythology, has a less narrow circle of ideas, and less rigid canons of interpretation, but to him also myth has to a great extent arisen from contemplation of the facts of the world around us.

There are necessarily great dangers inherent in the system of interpreting myths by the help of comparative philology. Thus the comparative philologist is obliged to pay attention rather to the names of deities than to their functions when he is seeking to trace their origin. But in the case of the Greek deities, of whom alone I am at present speaking, it is very difficult indeed to know the true name at all. Among the Greeks, epithet frequently passed into name, and name into epithet;

and in many cases we cannot say which is which. Thus in the case of Phœbus Apollo, we regard Apollo as the real name of the god, because we know the meaning of Phœbus, "the bright one," while we are not sure of the meaning of the word Apollo. The chief deity of Arcadia, considered usually as a form of Persephone, was commonly called Despœna, "Mistress," but she had another name of so sacred a character that Pausanias does not think it proper to repeat it. Kuhn, however, in disregard of that fact, tries to derive the name Despœna directly from Dâsapatnî, a personification of the water which falls from the clouds in rain. Thus the liberty exercised by the writers I have named in choosing any name or even epithet of a deity for which to find an origin in Sanskrit gives them a freedom which sometimes degenerates into license.

And this license is rendered easier and more fatal by the vague and nebulous character of all mythology, of Greek mythology in a notable degree. Every deity has several forms and several functions, and so can be regarded in various aspects. We may consider the root idea of Athena to be the upper air, or the lightning, or moisture, or the dawn; we may consider Hera to stand for air or earth, and Hermes to be a wind-god or a dawn-god or a god of productiveness and increase. Any of the aspects mentioned might well in the case of these deities be taken, not merely as an aspect, but as the principal or root idea; and the Sanskritic deities are decidedly even less fixed and defined in character than the Greek. Thus it is evident that a writer endowed even with moderate ingenuity need seldom be at a loss if he is desirous of connecting any Greek deity or any Greek mythological story with some Vedic prototype.

It is, however, unnecessary to be sceptical as to the validity of all the identifications of the philological school. Some of them are generally accepted by mythologists, others are regarded as at all events defensible in the present condition of knowledge. Let us briefly examine some of the most firmly established among them.

A feature in Greek religion, which seems to point back to the time when their race had not been differentiated from the original stock is the acknowledgment of the supremacy of Zeus. It is now generally allowed that the Greek Zeus finds a parallel to some extent in functions as well as in name in the Sanskrit Dyaus and the Latin Jovis; and that among other Indo-European races we find a corresponding deity, a deity who in a physical aspect represents the heaven, and in a moral aspect is

father and ruler alike of gods and men. In the Vedas Dyaus is the sky, and at the same time, by Prithivî the earth goddess, the universal parent. But in some ways this primeval pair may be compared rather with the Uranus and Gæa of the Hesiodic theogony than with the far more fully humanised Zeus and Hera; and in some of his functions, notably as deity of the weather and the thunderstorm, Zeus may better be likened to Indra.

There are a few other cases in which, with a greater or less degree of confidence, we may affirm connection of name as well as identity of function between a Greek deity and a Sanskrit prototype. Among the clearest instances of such equation is that of the Sanskrit Ushas, the dawn, with the Greek Eos and the Latin Aurora. The Indian Varuna also, a personification of the overarching heaven, is regarded by most philologists as equivalent, not only in function but also in name, with the Greek Uranus. But even in the case of Eos and of Uranus Greek mythologic fancy takes a way of its own, and the tales told of those deities in Greece have not commonly a parallel in the sacred literature of India.

When we attempt to proceed further with parallelism we fall into great uncertainties, and find philologist differing from philologist. Twenty or thirty years ago much importance was attached to the able attempt of Kuhn to connect with Vedic lore the Greek tale of Prometheus, who hid fire stolen from heaven in a hollow reed, in order to bestow it upon men. The name of Prometheus was connected with *pramantha*, a word used in late Sanskrit to designate the upright fire-stick, by turning which upon another piece of wood the early people of India produced fire, as do still some savage tribes of men. But it is now understood¹ that the Greek Prometheus and the Sanskrit *pramantha* are not philologically connected, so that any parallel which may exist between Sanskrit and Greek tales of the origin of fire among men is likely to arise from parallel workings of the mythopœic instinct in Greece and the Far East, rather than from the bringing into Greece by the invading Hellenes of tales already fixed in their primeval mythology. And indeed the story of Prometheus, as it stands in Hesiod, bears very obvious traces not only of moral purpose, but of poetic invention, and it would be strange indeed if an ethical

¹ My authority is Professor A. A. Macdonell, to whose kindness I owe valuable information in regard to the present state of philological opinion in these matters.

parable could boast of transmission through uncounted generations of migratory semi-barbarians.

In fact we commonly find that attempts to connect the mythology of the Greeks with that of the Vedas fail, because the genius of the Greeks ran from very early times in a different line from that taken by their remotely connected cousins who settled in the valley of the Indus. Among migratory peoples all tradition must be in a state of flux in the absence of written record, and there is no reason to think that the Hellenes had developed any system of writing before they settled in the land which bore their name. And of all tradition that which concerns the gods is perhaps the most fluid. Religious myths survive when attached to cultus; but otherwise, since no one expects or desires self-consistency in them, they constantly change in form, and no one accepts them unless they happen to impress his imagination or to satisfy his sense of the fitness of things.

Thus we can scarcely be surprised to find that where there is some similarity of names between a personification of Sanskrit literature and a personage of Hellenic myth there is commonly no identity of function, or agreement in tales told of the beings bearing those names. And when we find, as is perhaps more often the case, a similar tale recorded in the early books of India and the works of the Greek theologians and logographers, it is told of personifications which have no connection, so far as we can trace by the aid of philology, with one another.

We may begin with a few apparent similarities of name. The name of Hermes, the Greek god of the wind of dawn, and of fruitfulness in cattle, has been connected, with very doubtful propriety, with the Sanskrit Saramâ or the Sârameyas. Saramâ is the dog who is messenger of Indra in seeking his lost cows. The Sârameyas are the two watchdogs of Yama, the god of death. With the former of these beings we may perhaps compare the wind which wanders at dawn and drives the clouds, which are in the early Indian literature compared to cows. And perhaps as psychopompos Hermes may be compared to the twin-hounds of Yama, since in this character he acts in post-Homeric times as guide and guardian of the flocks of souls as they journey to the dark land of Hades. Also, the dog is naturally regarded from the point of view of his voice, as the bellowing; and Hermes, whether as the wind which shouts among the trees, or as the god of heralds, is in Greek lore the deity who is

endowed with a loud voice, and who in the Homeric hymn is said to have driven away the cows of Apollo. But there are other functions of Hermes in which he offers no parallel to the Sârameyas, as the inventor of the lyre, and the god of fruitfulness in cattle. Other identifications, based on similarity of name, such as the assimilation to the Erinnyes of Saranyû, the dark storm-cloud which in the beginning wandered in space and became, in the form of a mare, the mother of the Asvins, and the assimilation of the Gandharvas to the Centaurs, may or may not be defensible on the ground of comparative philology. This is a matter which the philologists must settle among themselves. But to the comparative mythologist such assimilations bring very little light, since the root-idea attaching to the Indian name is in each case different from the root-idea attaching to the Greek name.

More interesting and instructive are the cases in which we find similarity of tale in Indian and Greek mythology, though the tales attach to different deities.

Such for example are those tales recording the victory of light over darkness or of the sun over cloud, in the form of a battle between a god and a monster or dragon, which seem to belong in some form to every country and every nation. In Sanskrit we read of the victory of Indra over the great dragon Ahi; and in every nation derived from the Aryan source the story has its repetition or its parallel. In Greek it appears in many forms. First we have the overthrow of Typhoeus by the lightning of Zeus; then the shooting of the great serpent Pytho by the sun-god Apollo; then the destruction of the many-headed hydra by the solar hero Herakles, or of the mis-shapen Chimæra by the solar hero Bellerophon. In fact most of the exploits of Herakles may be made to yield to this interpretation, though to some of them explanations of other kinds may be more appropriate.

It is a notable fact that the resemblances which can be traced between the ancient religion of India and that of Hellas are as considerable, perhaps even more considerable than the resemblances observable between the religion of the Greeks and that of the Romans, although the languages of these two latter peoples are quite akin, and they certainly held together long after both separated from the stock which moved into India. The mythology to be found in the Latin poets is of course merely borrowed from Hellas; but the primitive religion of the Romans has quite a different cast from that of the Greeks. These facts are significant, and show that after all Greek mythology is a

result of the same forces and the fruit of the same history which made the Greeks in other matters that which we know them to have been. Certain tendencies no doubt they shared with all Aryan peoples ; but the way in which those tendencies worked was distinct and national.

I have spoken of the Greeks as a race. It may occur to some students that it would have been well to separate in treatment the various Greek stems, Achæan, Dorian, Ionian, and speak of the religion of each separately. This, however, is a task of peculiar difficulty ; and there is nothing in which the historians are less agreed than in their assignment of various deities to the various sections of the Greek race. Greek religion can fairly well be treated with reference to localities, and this presently I hope to attempt ; but to treat it with reference to stems and tribes is far less easy, and in the present state of our knowledge might lead to a quagmire. Is Apollo mainly Dorian or Ionian ? Is Athena mainly Achæan or Ionian ? Such questions as these admit of no simple and definite reply : we can answer them but partially, and then by examining the localities rather than the tribes which were associated with their worship.

In place then of speaking of the religion of the Greek stems, I prefer to speak of Hellenic religion ; and the religious tendencies of the Greeks were in a measure limited and directed by the foreign influences to which they were subjected. As they lay nearest of all the nations of Europe to Egypt and Babylon, Phœnicia and Asia Minor, the old civilisations of the Eastern Mediterranean bore upon them with more force than on the Latin or the Celt. To these foreign influences we must turn our attention before attempting further to trace the rise of the Hellenic Pantheon.

CHAPTER II

BORROWED ELEMENTS IN RELIGION

It must be considered a total impossibility, in the present state of our knowledge, to draw a hard and fast line between the native and the adopted elements in Greek religion. To take but a single example : the character and ethnology of the Pelasgi are still matters of warm dispute ; and until it is decided whether they were of Greek or non-Greek stock, we cannot possibly determine whether the Pelasgic elements in Greek

religion were native or imported. It is in fact more than probable that the Greeks, like the ruling races of Asia Minor,¹ were in blood much mixed with the earlier inhabitants of the land, and that only the aristocracy were of anything like pure Aryan blood. This would account for the fact that the Homeric mythology, which is essentially of the aristocracy, is freer from extraneous elements than the mythology of the Greeks of historic times.

All that we can attempt in the present chapter is to set forth some of those elements of Greek religion which seem in a more marked degree to belong either (1) to the races, mostly Canaanite and Semitic, of Asia Minor and Syria; or, (2) to the primitive inhabitants of Greece itself. Even here, we cannot hope for a clear line of distinction; for if, as is most likely, the pre-Greek people of Hellas were of the Canaanite stock, they would be closely related in blood to the earlier races of Syria and Asia Minor, and so presumably would resemble them in their religious notions. In that case it will be of course quite impossible to say whether the elements of Greek religion, which seem to be non-Aryan, were taken from the Canaanite tribes of Greece proper or of Asia Minor and the East.

Professor Ramsay, whose knowledge of ancient Asia Minor is undisputed, has maintained² that in that region the female deities belong originally to the earlier stratum of probably Canaanite stock, who traced descent through the mother and not through the father, while the male deities belonged mostly to the conquering tribes of Aryan blood, who in the course of the second millennium B.C. became dominant in Asia Minor, to the Phrygians, Carians, Lycians and the like. The suggestion has a high degree of probability. Long ago Professor Ernst Curtius ventured on a similar view in regard to the Greeks. He has maintained that the great goddesses of Greece were mostly of Canaanite or Syrian lineage, whereas the male deities seem rather to belong to the tribes of Hellenic blood.

If we examine the facts of the contact between Greek religion and that of the aboriginal races of Asia Minor, so far as those facts can be recovered, we shall find that they point at the least to a strong influence of the conquered on the conquering race.

The peoples of central Asia Minor were very much devoted

¹ See my *New Chapters in Greek History*, p. 30.

² *Journal of Hellenic Stud.* ix. 351.

to religion. In some places their whole political organisation was based on priestly system. The high priest was the ruling monarch, the lands belonged to the deities, and the people were more or less temple-slaves. Such communities were flourishing when history first reaches Asia Minor, and even in the times of Roman dominion were not extinct. The high priest of Olba in Cilicia, for instance, was governor of all the country about that city. The various cities called Hierapolis or Hieropolis held religious communities of strict organisation; and the deities who ruled over these religious societies in Asia were in most cases female, and had a marked relationship one to the other. They were lunar goddesses or deities of that moisture which the ancients subjected to the dominion of the moon, and regarded as the source and secret of life and growth in the world of plants and of animals. Such was Mylitta of Babylon, such Atergatis the great goddess of Carchemish, the capital of the widely spread Hittite race, such was Omphale of Lydia, such Cybele of the Phrygian coast. And with this powerful moon-goddess was joined in various districts an effeminate sun-god, acting as a sort of consort to her majesty. Thus Attis was connected with Cybele, Sandan with Mylitta, Bassareus with Omphale.

When the Greeks came in swarms to found colonies in Asia Minor, they adopted as a rule for their own the deity to whom belonged the soil on which they settled. The religious organisation they accepted, no doubt with modifications, and the temple legends they treasured up. Even the barbarous Asiatic images, which represented locally the majesty of the deity, they did not throw aside, but installed them in a place of honour, in temples built by their own architects. The only thing the Greeks usually completely changed was the name of the deity. Just as Herodotus, in describing the deities of Egyptians or Persians or Scythians, calls them all by good Greek names, just as Tacitus speaks of the Germans as worshipping deities whom he calls Mercurius, Hercules, and Mars, so the Greeks naturally thought and spoke of the local Asiatic deities whom they adopted as identical with Greek deities whom they brought with them. Thus it came about that a barbarous, many-breasted simulacrum at Ephesus bore the name of the Greek virgin goddess Artemis, and had attached to her service an entirely oriental cortège of priestesses and eunuchs, presided over by a priest called the *Essên* or King-Bee. And the same or nearly the same deity, who was called at Ephesus Artemis, was at Samos called Hera. Thus the

thoroughly Greek cities of Asia Minor imbibed Oriental religious beliefs and legends, and transmitted them to the mainland of Greece in connection with the names of deities of the Greek Pantheon.

These considerations only prove that Greek goddesses were in Asia orientalised. But it is very likely that a similar process had gone on at an earlier time in Greece itself, and that Artemis and Hera, Athena and Aphrodite had long before received the impress of the religion of the pre-Greek races. For example, the Greeks always thought of Athena as armed and warlike. Yet the notion of an armed woman seems quite foreign to all we know of Hellenic manners. On the other hand armed women, Ashtoreth, Omphale, the Amazons, and so forth were quite usual in the mythological tales of Asia Minor.

It is remarkable that the only deity of whose cultus we have clear traces among the remains of the pre-historic city of Mycenæ is a female being of Aphrodisiac type, who is associated with the dove, and in many ways calls to mind both Atergatis and the Babylonian Mylitta. In the earliest strata of remains on the Acropolis of Athens and elsewhere rude figures of a similar goddess have been found. It would indeed be rash to say that the Aryan Hellenes had no native goddesses. According to analogy they must have had a goddess of love to correspond to the Teutonic Freya, and beings like Dione of Dodona and Hera of Argos seem to belong to the most fundamental part of Greek religion. Yet we can scarcely doubt that the female side of the Greek Pantheon owed far more to the influence of the neighbouring races than did the male side, if we except Herakles and Dionysus.

We can also discern in the fabric of developed Greek religion, besides elements borrowed from tribes of non-Aryan blood, elements which attach less to any tribe than to certain localities.

Among the local cults of Greece are many which were probably handed down from race to race, as successive waves of population swept over the land. Mountains and rivers are notable for retaining their names unchanged from age to age, many of our own rivers, for example, bearing Celtic names which the Teutonic conquerors preserved; and with their names such natural features preserved the character attributed to them by pre-historic peoples. We can scarcely doubt that such a spot as the sacred cave at Delphi, which was said before the coming of Apollo to have been an ancient oracle of Ge, was already marked out as a sacred spot by the primitive races who

dwelt in Greece long before the Hellenes. And when we read of the wells called the Palici in Sicily into which offerings were thrown, and of sacred trees like the oak of Zeus at Dodona, and the olive of Athena at Athens, we cannot but suppose that these objects inherited their sacred character from a primitive age of pure fetishism. It is, however, impossible to verify such surmises as these or to establish them on a sure basis by quoting ancient authorities, since Greek tradition does not go back to the time of the first coming of the Greek stocks into the country which was to be their home. Further treatment of this subject we must postpone to the chapter dealing with sacred precincts.

Besides the influence exerted upon the Greek goddesses by the early peoples of Asia Minor and Greece, we can trace an influence which worked in historical times on the roads of commerce, especially in the case of Aphrodite. The Greeks were convinced that Aphrodite came to Greece from Cyprus. Herodotus tells us¹ that the cultus at Paphos was founded from Ascalon, a city of Southern Syria. If this were true, we must expect, as Tiele points out,² that the Cyprian goddess would resemble rather the Ashera of the Canaanites than the Ashtoreth of the Phœnicians. Yet when the Greeks became familiar with Cyprus, it was already largely in the hands of the Phœnicians, and we must suppose that the worship at Paphos was modified by the flourishing cult of the Sidonian Astarte or Ashtoreth. The worship of Ashtoreth was, to our knowledge, introduced into Athens by Phœnician merchants, and no doubt it made its way elsewhere also, and influenced that of her Greek parallel, Aphrodite.

With Aphrodite came to Greece, as it had gone with Astarte to Cyprus, the cultus of Adonis, the effeminate Syrian sun-god. The myth of the death of Adonis under the tusks of the wild boar seems to be an attempt at explaining the rapid death of the sweet vegetation and flowers of spring in Syria, under the fierce heat of the sun of summer. But no myth, even among those native to their country, was more generally accepted among Greeks than the tale of Aphrodite and Adonis, or more brightly embellished with poetry and sculpture.

Of late years vigorous attempts have been made to prove not merely that the cultus of Aphrodite in Greece proper was original and Hellenic, but even that it was from Greece rather

¹ Herod. i. 105.

² *Revue de l'Hist. des Religions*, iii. 169, &c.

than from the East that the cultus of the Paphian goddess came to Cyprus. These views have been carried to extreme length by Enmann,¹ who does all he can to minimise Phœnician influence, and particularly Phœnician religious influence in Greece. He tries to show that the cultus of Aphrodite came to Cyprus from Peloponnesus by way of Cythera, and that Herodotus is quite wrong in deriving the Paphian cult from Ascalon; that Cinyras was a Greek hero, and his goddess a primitive Greek moon-goddess. The arguments of Enmann are mainly taken from comparative philology, and he almost ignores the mass of evidence acquired in recent years from the tombs and temples of ancient Cyprus; he also treats the question as if the only two alternatives before the historian were a pure Greek or a pure Phœnician origin of the Aphrodite cultus. Of course the probability is that there were in that cultus both Greek and Phœnician elements, besides other elements derived from the primitive inhabitants of Asia Minor and Cyprus, who were probably of Canaanite stock. It is impossible therefore to accede to the views of those who regard Enmann's polemic as victorious, though it may well serve to warn us against the danger of carrying too far views such as those of Curtius.

In consequence of one of those curious processes of syncretism of which the history of religion is full, the myths which attached to Aphrodite in Greece were not mostly of Syrian origin but came from Asia Minor. In fact, one apparently Phœnician tale about Aphrodite which the Greeks accepted, of her riding, as a moon-goddess should, across the sea on the back of a bull, and landing in Crete, they transferred to Europa; but of Aphrodite they told the tales which belonged to the kindred goddesses of the districts of Asia Minor. The *Homeric Hymn* and the *Iliad* lead the way by telling of the amours carried on at the foot of Ida in the Troad between Aphrodite and Anchises, and the favour shown by Aphrodite to Paris is but another form of the same story. The strong attachment which in Homer unites Aphrodite to the country of the Phrygians and Trojans shows that, at all events in the country where the Homeric poems were composed, the Asiatic origin of Aphrodite was accepted.

Two of the great goddesses of Asia Minor were adopted by the Greeks. Of these one is Leto or Latona, whose original home appears to be Phrygian or Lycian.² But Leto is even in

¹ *Kypros, und Ursprung der Aphrodite.*

² As to Leto, see Ramsay in *Journ. Hell. Stud.* iv. 375.

Homer but a shadowy personage, and in the later mythology she almost disappears, though there were statues of her by celebrated artists. The other is Cybele, whose cultus was carried very early from Phrygia to Crete, and there incorporated with the tales of the birth and childhood of Zeus, which specially belonged to that island. It was, however, only at a later time that Cybele really found a home in the cities of Greece proper.

A rather close parallel to the history of the spread in Greece of the cultus of Aphrodite, is offered by the history of the cultus of Herakles. As Aphrodite came from Ascalon and Sidon, so Herakles, at least in his Phœnician form, started from Tyre, and made his way into Greece, through the trading stations of the Semitic merchants. The solar character which attaches to the Tyrian Melkarth, Herakles still preserves in Greece. And the story told in Greece of his dog who discovered the purple-fish, of his voyage to the Atlas mountain, his adventures in Spain and the like seem to be of Phœnician origin. Other tales told of him, such as his rescue of Hermione from a sea monster at Ilium, and his servitude to the Lydian queen Omphale, seem to be derived from Asia Minor. But the case of Herakles radically differs from that of Aphrodite, inasmuch as there was in the myths told about him a very notable Hellenic element. Indeed, so many are the tales told of Herakles, and so vast the field over which his activity is said to have extended, that we can scarcely avoid the belief, that many Greek tribes had a hero of their own, and that they were all absorbed by the spreading fame of the great Hellenic hero, as rivulets flowing from every hill and marsh lose themselves in a great river flowing by.

Of Dionysus, the other important Greek male deity, whose non-Hellenic origin is generally allowed, we will treat in the chapter which deals with orgiastic cults.

CHAPTER III

CLASSIFICATION OF MYTHS

GREEK myths may be classified, not only according to the source whence they seem to derive, but also according to their contents and meaning. Such classification is no doubt a very difficult task, in many cases an impossible task, since the myths, as they reach us, are often compounded out of a number of elements,

and the primitive meaning so overlaid with subsequent growth as to be invisible. All that we shall here attempt is to single out a few myths the meaning of which is on the surface of things pretty clear, in order to use them as illustrations of the different processes through which the mythopœic faculty of the Greeks went in the construction of their scheme of mythology.

In an able paper, contributed to the *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions*,¹ M. Jean Réville has shown (1) that no key to mythology hitherto proposed will unlock all the myths of Greece, and in fact that such a general solvent cannot exist; and (2) that of the various methods of interpretation of myth favoured by various schools, all may be used with success upon some myths. This seems to me the exact truth. In the great majority of cases there is in myths an ætiological element; they start in an attempt to explain some existing fact. But the facts thus explained are of many classes. In this place I shall content myself with giving instances of six classes of myth successively: (1) animal, (2) meteorological, (3) physical, (4) historical, (5) cultus-myths, (6) ethical. These classes are the most important, though doubtless their number might be increased.

(1) Animal. The beast-stories of Greece belong to the oldest stratum of mythology. They are also very abundant. Many of the deities are said from various causes to have taken on them at some time the form of an animal. And how easily the Greek mind, even in historical days, ran on these lines may be seen from the passage in the *Odyssey* (xxii. 240) in which Athena sits on the beam of Odysseus' house, in form like a swallow, to watch the slaying of the suitors. Later still, Zeus was supposed to have appeared to Olympias, mother of Alexander the Great, as a serpent.

The metamorphoses of Zeus are usually the accompaniment of his amours. He carried Europa over the sea in the form of a bull, and then appeared to her as to Ganymedes in the form of an eagle. Leda he approached as a swan, and Hera as a cuckoo. Poseidon more than once took the form of a horse, and in that shape consorted with Demeter, who had concealed her deity in the body of a mare. The nation of the Myrmidons was formed from ants, and the proud Cadmean race from the teeth of a serpent. In later Greece these crude tales were often relegated to the background, and either became themes for art or were hidden away as sacred temple legends only to be

¹ Vol. xiii.

repeated to the initiated. The heroes born of such transformations were often the ancestors of great families or clans, and this fact gives a clue to their ætiological origin. In some cases at all events they seem to belong to the totemist stage of barbarian life, to that stage in which, as already mentioned, the god of the tribe was in fact commonly a sacred animal, from whom the tribe claimed its origin. It is, however, not necessary to resort in all cases to this explanation, since the mutation of gods and men into animals for trivial reasons is quite familiar to the savage imagination.

(2) Many Greek myths are but a rendering in the form of a story of meteorological facts—the continually repeated movements of stars, alternations of day and night, and the like. For example, the wandering Io, who is watched by the hundred eyes of Argus until that guardian is slain by Hermes, seems obviously the horned moon wandering through heaven under the countless eyes of the stars, which the breath of morning makes pale and closes. A very numerous class of myths records in many forms and with all possible variations the daily conflict between sun and cloud, between fair weather and storm. We can scarcely doubt that the terrible Medusa, from whose neck, when her head is cut off, spring Pegasus and Chrysaor, is the dread storm-cloud sending out wind and lightning. And when we read how Hermes, the wind-god, stole the cows of Apollo, we scarcely need to compare the Vedas in order to perceive that the myth interprets the blowing of clouds across the sky. Herakles, again, floating on the sea in a golden bowl, is evidently the sun at his setting. But while the meteorological character of many Greek myths is evident, there has been among philologists far too pronounced a tendency to attribute this character to Greek myths in general, a tendency carried in the case of some writers so far as almost to bring this method of interpretation into ridicule.

(3) Other myths give an account of what goes on in the physical world. The whole myth of Kora, for instance—her descent into the unseen world and her return to the upper air—is a thinly veiled account of the processes which go on in the case of seed and crop. When we hear the story which tells how Apollo slew his beloved Hyacinthus with a discus, we see at once that it is only an embodiment in myth of the well-known fact that the hot sun of early summer in Greece dries up the ground and destroys the tender flowers of spring. The Cyclopes again, who in their underground chambers forge the thunderbolts of Zeus, are clearly the restless forces of fire

which dwell under the volcanoes, and occasionally cause fierce eruptions. Another group of legends sets forth as the cause of volcanic disturbances the restlessness of giants on whom the volcanic mountains had been thrown, as Etna on Enceladus, to keep them down.

(4) Some myths again are of a historical character, briefly summing up events supposed to have taken place at some past time. Thus many of the legends told of Herakles, Theseus, and Iolaus probably have a basis in fact. The slaying of the Minotaur by Theseus and his wars against the Amazons are probably tales containing history if we knew how to extract it. Pausanias, speaking of the lake of Pheneus, says that it was drained by Herakles by means of a canal, which still existed in his time; and in the same way the walls of Tiryns were attributed to the workmanship of the Cyclopes: in both cases an existing result was ascribed to mythical causes, because those which actually produced it were forgotten. The longstanding enmity of the people of Laconia and Messenia was translated into myth in the contest between the Dioscuri and Idas and Lynceus. Nor is this mode of explanation confined to tales of heroes. Rivalries and disputes of deities often take in myth the place of the quarrels of the races which they respectively protected: the victory of Apollo over Marsyas symbolises the supersession of barbarous Phrygian and Lydian shepherds' music by that under the patronage of Apollo. The contest between Apollo and Herakles for the possession of the Delphic tripod is probably a record in mythic form of some actual rivalry between the cults of the two; and especially the family legends, recording the birth of the ancestor of the race from some deity, usually contain real history, as well as mere myth.

(5) A class of legends on which light has been thrown of late years is the ætiological cultus-myths. In many of the sacred places of Greece, a ritual of great antiquity was practised, the meaning of which was lost, so that acts and words of worship had no recognised meaning. To a people so intelligent and inquisitive as the Greeks such a state of things could not be satisfactory. So whether consciously or unconsciously, but certainly with no intention of impiety, the priests and officials would attach to the rites some story which served to make them more intelligible. This method of interpretation of myth has been applied by Miss Harrison with considerable success to some of the most interesting of the Attic myths, in particular to the story of the Daughters of Cecrops, and their

nursing of the earth-born child Erichthonius.¹ There was at the Hersephoria at Athens a curious custom that the two Arrhephoric maidens took upon their heads a sacred box, containing some articles the nature of which was unknown to them, and went down by a subterranean passage to a precinct not far from that of Aphrodite in the Gardens. There they deposited their burdens, and took back something also covered up.² It seems likely that out of this ceremony arose the myth that when Erichthonius was confided to the daughters of Cecrops by Athena, he was hidden in a chest which they were forbidden to open. Two of them, however, Herse and Agraulos, could not restrain their curiosity, and peeping into the chest saw there the child entwined by a snake; and this curiosity was punished by their madness and death. The story would obviously have a good effect in restraining the curiosity of the Arrhephoric girls, and there seems justification for Miss Harrison's assertion that it owed its origin to ritual misunderstood.

Another myth, which is probably ætiological, is narrated by Pausanias in connection with the cultus of Ares at Tegea. The deity was termed *γυναικοβοίνας*, feasted by women, and his cult was confined to women. These cults confined to one sex are a common fact in most naturalist religions, and we must regard as extremely improbable from the historic point of view the local story that the cult was established in consequence of a victory of the women of Tegea over the Lacedæmonians. It is far more likely that the tale sprang out of the cultus than that the cultus arose out of the story.

Sometimes ætiological legends sprang, not out of cultus, but out of representations in art. This was the case, according to Milchhœfer with most of the Theban stories attached to the Sphinx,³ a monster which was certainly, so far as art-representations go, of Egyptian origin. To cite instances would, however, lead us too far. I must content myself with one fact. The goddess Hygieia was daughter and constant attendant of Asklepius, and appears with him regularly on votive reliefs set up to the healing god by votaries whom he had cured. We have, however, at Oropus and Rhamnus another hero of healing who takes the place of Asklepius, and appears in reliefs in the

¹ *Mythology and Monuments of Ancient Athens*, p. xxxiii.

² Pausanias, i. 27, 3.

³ *Athen. Mittheil.* iv.; cf. Goblet d'Alviella, *Migration des Symboles*, p. 111.

same form, Amphiaraus.¹ And curiously enough, in votive reliefs dedicated to Amphiaraus, Hygieia appears by his side. A merely artistic association of form has led to her transfer to the Amphiaraian cultus.

(6) There is also among Greek myths a class which may best be termed ethical, a class much more abundantly represented in some other mythologies than in that of Hellas. As the meteorological myth starts from astronomic fact, and the cultus myth from the facts of cultus, so the ethical myth starts from the practical necessities of life. It springs from a human need, either social or spiritual, and is adapted to satisfy it.

We need not consider the devising of these tales as a religious fraud; rather it is the result of an instinctive perception of mankind as to the expedient, an action of the heart on the imagination with little mediation of the brain. Thus in Argos they made a slaughter of dogs, *κυνόφοντις έορτή*, in the dog-days of summer, and justified the proceeding by a myth; but it is fair to find the real motive in sanitary precaution. So the whole athletic training of the Greeks, though pursued in later times for health and pleasure, was always regarded as under the special patronage of the gods, and hence arose myths, how at the first Olympic festival Apollo had defeated Ares in boxing, and outrun Hermes in the stadium. But in many cases the ethical myths resulted from deliberate intention. We may instance the later story of Prometheus as told by Hesiod, and the proposal of Plato in the Republic to teach the citizens of his ideal state how the Gods mingled different metals, gold, silver, copper, and iron with common earth, in order thence to form various classes of the community.

Besides stories which can be explained, there will always be a certain number which will defy rational analysis; and it may fairly be supposed that some at least of these date from extreme antiquity, and are part of that mesh of meaningless or almost meaningless stories which seem to please thorough barbarians in all regions, such as the African beast-stories and those silly and never-ending repetitions which delight the rude natives of Siberia. The proportion which these mere traditional legends bear to myths based on symbolism and purpose is a matter as to which opinions may greatly differ, nor is it safe to pronounce a decided opinion on the subject until it has been more thoroughly worked out.

Out of elements thus borrowed from many sources, and amid

¹ *Athen. Mittheil.* xviii. 254.

a cloud of myths good and bad, we see the Pantheon of the Greek gradually emerging, and constantly gaining in clearness and consistency. On the whole the progress is constantly in the direction of the higher anthropomorphism.

CHAPTER IV

FORMATION OF THE PANTHEON

IN Greek religion, in early times, two processes were constantly going on, one of decay and corruption, the other of growth and progress. On the one hand the religious conceptions of the more pure-blooded of the Greeks were constantly being mixed and adulterated with local, foreign, and barbarous elements; on the other hand many cults were rising in character, as the nation progressed in civilisation, and becoming more fit to embody the highest national sentiments. Amid constant changes and developments, by degrees was formed something like a national Pantheon. But beside the religion of the educated, of the wealthy families, the poets, and the artists, there survived a number of cults of a more primitive and less civilised character. It is safe to say that, on the whole, so long as Greece grew, her religion grew also, and local cults had far more tendency to rise above than to sink below their traditions. At Eleusis, for example, we can certainly trace a rise in the character of the teaching from early times, a rise which seems to have continued in this case even into the times of Greek decline.

Thus in most cases it is far safer to suppose that the national type and cultus of one of the deities of Greece would be developed from an amalgamation of local cults than that the local cults of that deity should be degraded offshoots of a common stem of tradition. In the case of Apollo, for instance, Delos and Delphi, Athens and Lycia, all contribute elements towards the formation of a national or standard idea of the god. We can scarcely suppose that the contrary process has predominated, that a pure deity of Apolline functions brought with them by the Hellenes when they came to their seats in Europe has been variously and locally corrupted according to the tendencies of the several localities where he obtained resting-places.

This is of course one of the main differences between Aryan

and Semitic, between natural and positive religions. Islam, for instance, which is the clearest type of positive religions, can degenerate, but it cannot change its character without ceasing in some degree to be Islam. A reform in it is a reversion to the original type. Thus it is cut off from the natural processes of growth and development, and preserved by the spirit of its founder, comparatively unchanged, amid the changes going on round it. Aryan and natural religions, on the other hand, are perpetually growing and constantly changing their forms. The processes of natural selection and survival of the fittest go on freely in their case, and they rise and decay just like other institutions.

I propose to endeavour to trace in summary fashion, first, the multiform character of Greek local cult, and then the fashion in which the national Pantheon emerged from it.

The common notion in regard to Greek paganism, a notion most superficial and incorrect, is that the Greeks in general, throughout their history, accepted a certain hierarchy of deities as the ruling powers in the world, and were quite at one as to the provinces of these deities, their parentage, and their relations one to the other. This view is fostered by modern dictionaries of mythology. But it is quite mistaken. It is only by degrees that anything approaching a national Pantheon arose in Greece, the mythologic views of tribes and cities becoming merged to a certain extent in the general Hellenic construction.

An instructive parallel may be found in the history of the Greek dialects. In early Greece each town or district, Argos, Elis, Bœotia, Eubœa, had a special dialect; but by degrees these were superseded in the case of educated people by the literary dialect which arose at Athens, though they still survived on the tongues of the country people. In the same way, by degrees something like a national Pantheon arose for poetry and art, for Delphi and Athens and Olympia; but the local cults out of which it took its rise still survived in the temples and oracles of Greece, even to the days of the rise of Christianity. Indeed, as religion is more conservative than language, local cults preserved a more stubborn independence than local dialects.

If, setting aside *a priori* notions, we consider the facts of religious cultus as they appear in ancient writers, especially Pausanias, we shall soon find that the myths of the gods were not self-consistent, and that their cultus varied from place to place. Instead of a clearly defined system, we look on forms

as fleeting as those of a cloud. Every seat of worship in Greece had its own tales and its own customs, and recked but little whether they accorded with those of other sacred places. Often the tales thus locally accepted as to deities were quite at variance with the usual place of those deities in the Olympian assembly. One legend made Apollo the son of Athena, another made Athena the daughter instead of the rival of Poseidon. In the tales of Eleusis, Dionysus, under the name Iacchus, was probably regarded as the son of Persephone. In the local religion of Arcadia, the chief place was occupied by a deity of whom we hear only under the general name of Despœna, the Mistress, who was said to have been daughter of Poseidon and Demeter, though other legends ascribed to the same strangely assorted pair of parents the origin of the horse Arion. In Thrace and Macedon the sun was regarded as belonging to Ares, who in the rest of Greece was looked on as a semi-barbarous war-god. In Bœotia, the place of Hades as lord of the under world, and the chthonic gift of prophecy was taken by Trophonius, and at Oropus the same functions were assigned to Amphiaraus, though these beings were not regarded with veneration beyond the districts where their cult had a home, and had no place at all in the Hellenic Pantheon. That whole Pantheon seems like the designs seen in a kaleidoscope, designs which consist always of the same elements, but of those elements arranged and re-arranged in an infinite number of ways.

I will detail a few instances of the two rules, (1) that deities called by various names in different places were often really identical in function; and (2) that deities called by the same name were often really quite different.

(1) A high place in the local theology of Syracuse was held by Arethusa, of whose adventures with the river-god Alpheius we have stories which have pleased the fancy of modern poets and so are well known to every one. But Arethusa is not clearly to be distinguished from Artemis in the guise in which she was worshipped in Peloponnese, as Potamia, the river-goddess, the queen of nymphs, unwearied in the chase and frequenting the thick underwood. But on the other hand this Arcadian Artemis has very little in common with the Bœotian or Thessalian Artemis, of whom Hecate, the goddess of spells and enchantments, was but another name, or with the august nature goddess, who was styled Artemis by the people of Ephesus and Perga, but who was really of distinctly Asiatic type, and a very near relation of Cybele. Thus Artemis takes

on her at various places the nature of Arethusa of Hecate and of Cybele, and tales which might be appropriate to her in one of these characters would be quite inappropriate in the other characters.

The Dioscuri again, in their capacity of mortal heroes of the Spartan race, patrons of arms and chivalry, are doubles of the Messenian twins Idas and Lynceus, with whom the legend brings them into conflict. But regarded as embodiments of natural phenomena, the lights which shine on ships in the Mediterranean in stormy weather, the Dioscuri are equivalents of the Cabeiri of Samothrace, who were also twins, and are on coins represented in exactly the same guise as Castor and Polydeuces. In yet another aspect the Dioscuri are the stars of morning and of evening which shine alternately in the heaven. And between the human and the divine aspects of the Dioscuri there is no easy means of transition: there seems little reason why the national heroes of the very uncommercial and land-loving Spartans should be made supreme over the winds and waves of the Ægean Sea, to still them at will.

Of all the Greek deities Zeus occupies, as is natural, the most stable position. His character should vary least from place to place; he, if any of the dwellers on Olympus, should preserve universally his national and epic type. And yet we find in many parts of the Greek world forms of Zeus which widely depart from this type. Athenæus¹ tells us of a Zeus Peloros worshipped in Thessaly apparently as a chthonic giant whose movements caused the earthquakes which often changed the features of the district; that is, performing the part elsewhere given to the giants or to Poseidon. In Argos, a city where we should expect to find genuine Hellenic influence strong, we find a cultus of a Zeus with three eyes, a monster whom we cannot for a moment imagine as taking a throne in the Olympian assembly. We may fancy the contempt of Athena and the bitter speeches of Hera if so unseemly an apparition attempted to rule the tumults of heaven.

(2) And not only did local forms of the Olympic deities clothe themselves in barbaric statues, and exercise functions which seem inconsistent with their true nature, but they were even formally recognised as distinct entities from other local forms of the same deities. Thus in a treaty of which the text is still extant² the Latians of Crete take an oath both by Zeus Cretagenes and Zeus Tallæus, as if they were two beings. We

¹ xiv. p. 639.

² *C. I. G.* 2554, l. 176.

read in Xenophon's account of his own journeys, that on his return from Persia he sacrificed freely to Zeus Soter and Zeus Basileus ; but that while he was staying at Lampsacus he was warned by a diviner that Zeus Meilichius was displeased with him for not having done him more honour, as if this third form of Zeus were an absolutely distinct being from the other two.¹ Xenophon also founded in Peloponnese a temple to Artemis Ephesia, regarding her evidently as another being than the Artemis Limnatis who had already so many shrines in that district. So it is recorded in Suetonius' life of Augustus² that the Emperor offended Jupiter Capitolinus by paying too much attention to Jupiter Tonans. Facts like these show how deities tended to confine themselves to their various temples, so that religion constantly tended to lapse towards idolatry. It will be well known to many that among the peasantry of Catholic countries, notably Italy, there is at this day a similar rivalry between the Madonna of one village and the Madonna of another, which causes not only heartburnings, but not unfrequently deeds of violence.

In Greece inspiration was not confined to one person or to one series of persons, but regarded as belonging to all who had communion with any of the gods. The Pythian priestess was inspired, but it never occurred to a Greek to form the Pythian rescripts into a sacred volume and then to consecrate that book as an infallible source of wisdom and truth. There was, so to speak, free trade in inspiration. If any one chose to go to Zeus at Dodona or Trophonius at Lebadeia instead of to the Delphic Apollo he was likely to get a reply of not much less value than those received from the more celebrated sanctuary. The sooth-sayer who consulted the flight of birds or inspected the entrails of victims sacrificed was as good an authority as genuine works, or works regarded as genuine, by Orpheus or Musæus. The poet among ourselves sometimes talks of his inspiration, but this is not taken seriously, is only a fanciful form of speech. But the Greek poet whose prayer was heard and answered by the ready Muse was reckoned as really inspired.

Thus the various cults in Greece had a fair field and no favour. They grew slowly or fast according to the influences which came to bear on them. Some were taken up and woven like threads into the peplos of Greek national religion. Some remained obscure, or were discredited and died away. Some were rendered comparatively unchanging through being em-

¹ *Anabasis*, vii. 8, 4.

² c. 91.

balmed in outward ceremonies and observances, or in some noteworthy work of art. Others were shifting and changing from age to age. Some making their way from abroad grew more and more at one with Hellenic feelings and beliefs until they assumed quite a national character. Others, though born in Greece, never reached the level of the best national life, but remained as fragments of alien and unassimilated matter in the midst of the stream of the religious life of the people.

There were of course in Greece deities of the state, whom to worship was part of patriotism; and there were family deities, and deities of the tribe. But outside this correct religion, and more and more prominently as social life decayed, there was, so to say, a perfectly free competition among the Greek deities for votaries, and those best succeeded who best met the needs of worshippers. In some early representations of the judgment of Paris, the goddesses before him are competing not in beauty, but with gifts; and, in fact, this idea so strongly penetrated the story that it marks even the most modern of versions of it, Tennyson's *Ænone*. In the same way the Greeks were disposed to pay most honour to that one of the gods who gave them the best gifts. Rivalry of one another in the esteem and in the offerings of mortal men marks the Greek deities in the Homeric poems, and such rivalry continued until the Greek religion was a thing of the past.

Such rivalry might take a very open and naïve form. A votary might wander from shrine to shrine, asking help at the hands of one deity after another, and if help came anywhere that would seem the best of all reasons for accounting the deity through whom it came the most beneficent and the most powerful of the gods, whether that deity were one of the oldest and best established of the inhabitants of Olympus, or some quite new importation from abroad. Every reader of Herodotus will remember how, when meditating a war against Persia, Cræsus sent embassies to all the chief oracles of the ancient world asking the same question, in order that he might compare the answers. He set oracle bidding against oracle, as in our days men set builder competing against builder, or printer against printer. And when the Delphic Oracle fairly won in the open competition, Cræsus made it by his lavish gifts the wealthiest shrine in the whole world. By a similar success in meeting actual demands other temples in Greece rose into wealth and splendour, and as they rose thus, the local tales of which they were the outward and visible consecration

became more widely known, and were incorporated into the body of the national theology.

A clear instance of the value to the fame and honour of deities of definite gifts bestowed on men will be found in the history of the cults of the three goddesses, Hera, Artemis, and Aphrodite. In Homeric times Hera appears as incomparably the greatest goddess of the three. Artemis she whips with her own bowstring, and Aphrodite is the mark of her continual scorn and jests. And Hera, as the stately goddess of wedded life and the rights of matrimony, including even the bestowal of children on her worshippers, would naturally be an object of veneration to Greek women. Yet we find in later Greece the cultus of Hera by no means very prominent. To take a simple test, five or six cities in Greece proper place Aphrodite or Artemis on their coins for every city which accords that honour to Hera. A simple explanation of this curious phenomenon may be found in the fact that though Hera had good gifts to bestow they were less attractive than those of her younger rivals, of whom Artemis was especially invoked amid the perils of child-birth, while Aphrodite was the bestower of fortune in love.

Coming down to a later time, a cult which continually gained ground in Greece and never lost it was that of Asklepius. Health is among all nations the best of good gifts of heaven, and at a time when society was sick, and men were losing their pristine vigour and energy, their search after health became keener and more absorbing. Hence the rapid spread of the cultus of the god of healing. In the period of Greek greatness before Alexander, we do not hear very much about Asklepius.¹ But after Greek ideas had conquered Asia, in the time of the Diadochi, Asklepius was one of the deities whose cultus took deep root in the forelands of Asia. This process was aided by political reasons, since Pergamon, the capital of the wealthy and powerful Attalid kings, had been from the first devoted to the adoration of Asklepius. So the Asiatic temples of the god, which were always thronged with multitudes waiting for advice and healing dreams, grew vast and wealthy; and the lustre won by Asklepius in Asia was reflected back on his European seats, Epidaurus in particular, which city became in a manner entirely sacred to him. And thus the tales about his birth and his life became a part of the generally recognised

¹ His worship was unknown at Athens till B.C. 420 when he was introduced from Epidaurus.

mythology of Greece, and with Asklepius, his daughter Hygieia, and his mother Coronis attained high rank in Olympus.

I cannot attempt to show in detail how, out of the unformed and miscellaneous substance of Greek local and tribal legend and usage, the Hellenic Pantheon was built up. Herodotus, in a well-known passage, says that the work of construction was mainly accomplished by Homer and Hesiod; and in this statement there is beyond any doubt a great deal of truth. The works which passed under the names of Musæus, Orpheus, and the rest, were no doubt, as Herodotus implies, of later date than the great epics. When the recitation of the Homeric poems at festivals became usual, and still more when they became the ordinary subjects taught in Greek schools, they acquired a predominance in the minds of the average Greek gentleman which nothing could shake. And yet to such predominance there must have been local exceptions. We can scarcely imagine the people of Ephesus or Perga allowing currency to the story that Hera whipped Artemis with her own bow, or the people of Argos accepting the tale that Hera was hung from Olympus in chains; and in fact, of such local prejudice we have an instance in the interpolation of the passage in honour of Hecate in the Hesiodic Theogony.

Homer and Hesiod did not invent names for the gods, or arbitrarily assign them functions. There are in the lists of Hesiod many cases in which divinity is ascribed to arbitrary impersonations, such as *Πόντος* and *Μάχη*, and in such cases the poet may actually have been the creator of the personalities on whom he bestows the name. But of course no poet of the Homeric or the Hesiodic school either invented the name or determined the functions of any of the greater deities, Zeus or Apollo or Poseidon, or even Cronus or Rhea. All that any of those poets did was to exercise a certain power of selection, to choose among the names and the personalities of the gods handed down from remote generations, and introduce among them by degrees, one poet working on the basis of another, a sort of system or hierarchy. They chose certain deities and certain legends, and built for them an eternal temple of echoing song, to protect them for ever from change and from dissolution; and the result is patent to all those who know anything of Greek history; it was the formation of a sort of normal or standard scheme of Greek mythology, which was acknowledged, more or less, by all the better educated and more intelligent of the Greeks, whether they dwelt on the native soil of Hellas, amid the fertile fields of Italy, on the slopes in which Libya

breaks down to the Mediterranean, or in the neighbourhood of the barbarous Scythians of the steppes by the Euxine Sea.

Every Greek who was born above the ranks of the sordidly poor went to school during boyhood; and at every Greek school the Homeric and Hesiodic poems were made the textbook of education. With them were associated the poems of the later lyrical poets, such as Pindar and Simonides, and of the gnomic writers; but Homer and Hesiod always remained the chief source whence came the Greek ideas as to the hierarchy and the functions of the gods. And the training thus imparted in youth was confirmed and consolidated, day by day, by the power of the second education which every Greek went through, education of the mind through the eyes, by observation of the innumerable works of art which filled all Hellenic cities. In art, the poetic view of the gods, started by Homer and Hesiod, and carried on by Pindar and Simonides, and the other great poets of early Greece, was in the main accepted and carried out. What wonder then if the Greeks held fast those notions as to the gods which were instilled into their minds in childhood, and which were enforced every day by the testimony of poetry and art?

The Homeric and Hesiodic poems were thus the first and most prominent cause of the formation of a Pantheon, yet the Pantheon did not remain altogether at the Homeric stage, but went on changing and developing. In fact, every poet who dealt with mythology exercised upon the fabric of it some influence. Perhaps this is most notable in the case of Stesichorus the Sicilian poet, who flourished in the sixth century. Several instances are recorded in which he purposely innovated on the received mythical versions of events. In one of his poems he had spoken severely of Helen, describing the daughters of Tyndareos as being made, by a special curse of Aphrodite, *διγάμους τε καὶ τριγάμους καὶ λιπεσάνορας*. Helen in anger smote the poet with blindness, and to appease her he wrote a recantation or palinode in which he invented or revived the tale that Helen never really went to Troy at all, but that it was only her *εἶδωλον*, or image, which Paris carried thither over the sea. On this the poet recovered his sight; and it is evident that those who believed the tale about Stesichorus would thereafter deal with stories about Helen in a cautious mood. In another poem, speaking of the story of Artemis and Actæon, Stesichorus rationalised it by asserting that Actæon was not turned into a stag, but that the goddess cast over him the skin of a stag, in order to make the dogs attack him. And

in later days Pausanias,¹ commenting on the poem of Stesichorus, observes that for his part he does not see that the intervention of the goddess was necessary at all, since the dogs may very well apart from her have gone mad, and torn their master without recognising him.

Not inferior to the influence of successive poets on the ideas formed by the Greeks of their various deities was the influence exerted by the great sculptors and painters, Polygnotus and Pheidias, Zeuxis and Praxiteles. This is a subject of vast extent. Overbeck has attempted to give a systematic account of the successive manners of representing in art the gods of the Pantheon, and the scale on which he has found himself obliged to work may be judged from the fact that his account of the representations in art of Zeus alone occupies 600 large octavo pages. Of each deity, after all the wrecks of time, there exist scores, nay hundreds, of variant representations, each of which bears the mark of a period, a city, and a school.

For the sake of illustration, and of illustration merely, I will give two examples, the first of conservatism, the second of innovation in the artistic types of the gods.

In the case of Artemis more than in that of any other Greek deity the early artistic representations bear an Oriental impress. It was the custom of the sculptors of Babylon and Syria to represent their deities as winged to signify their swiftness, and as strangling in their arms beasts and monsters, perhaps evil spirits in beast-like shape, to signify their strength. When Artemis first appears on Greek monuments she is usually winged, and grasps in each hand a beast which she has overpowered, lion, panther or stag. A good example is offered by the bronze plate from Olympia.² To Oriental workmen it was natural thus to add externally to the forms of their deities emblems of their supernatural powers. But the Greek artist as naturally strove to incorporate his symbolism in the statue of the deity, and not merely to add it as a supplement. Take a quite late Greek representation of Artemis, the well-known Artemis of the Louvre. Here swiftness and power are as clearly indicated as in the archaic childish figure. But they are indicated in quite another fashion, in the way of Greek plastic art. The swiftness of the goddess is clearly shown by her attitude and by the length and suppleness of her limbs. Her power over beasts is represented by her arrows and by the stag on which she lays a hand, and which is the lineal descen-

¹ ix. 2, 4.

² Overbeck, *Griech. Plastik*, i. p. 124.

dant of the wild creatures of the early representation. The deity is now really translated from Babylonish into Greek.

This then is an instance of conservatism in the representations of the gods: let us take another instance to show innovation. In early art the god Hermes appears very frequently, and almost always in one connection. He acts as the herald, the messenger of the gods, who sees that the decrees of Zeus are carried out on earth. So he is represented like a herald, as a staid and mature bearded man, always busily occupied with the functions assigned him in the scheme of Olympus.¹ Presently to the Greeks Hermes became in a special way the patron of athletic sports, his figure decked the gymnasia, and he himself became the type of all that an athlete should be. If we come down to the time of Praxiteles we shall find that he still represented Hermes as busy in the service of the gods, in fact, as carrying the newly born child Dionysus to the nymphs, who brought him up by the decree of Zeus. But the type of the god is entirely changed under athletic influence. He is no longer a grave herald, but a beautiful Athenian youth in the very flower of his strength and energy. Let us come down another century to the wonderful bronze Hermes of Herculaneum. In him all trace of the herald, of the serious man of business has vanished: we find instead a youth whose agile limbs seem made for the race. He is the very impersonation of swiftness and agility, a consummate athlete, the only trace of his divinity visible lying in the wings of his feet, sole relic of early symbolism.

These two instances must suffice to illustrate the power of art in forming the popular conceptions of the deities; what met the eyes of the artistic and imaginative Greek in the market-place and the street, the temple and stoa could not fail to mould his thoughts and to shape his religious feelings.

We must not forget that Homer represents the Ionian and Achæan, but not the Dorian section of the Greek race. In the Epic poems those deities and those elements of religion which Greece owed mainly to the Dorians are omitted or appear in the background. For example, the religious veneration of ancestors is scarcely Homeric, and it is noteworthy that Homer takes a lower view of the world after death than was usual among the Dorians. Of this ancestor-worship I have already spoken. But it remains to speak of other influences which,

¹ So very commonly on black and early red-figured vases. See Gerhard, *Auserlesene Vasenbilder*, passim.

after the Homeric age, tended to produce unity in the religious ideas of the various Greek stems and cities, and so to evolve a national Pantheon. Conspicuous among these influences are those of the Great Games—Olympia, Pythia and the like—of the Mysteries of Eleusis, and of the oracles, especially that of Delphi: of these we must successively speak.

A strong and lasting tie, which bound together all Hellenes into a certain religious unity, was the Great Games of Greece, the Olympia, Pythia, Nemea, and Isthmia. Of the great influence exercised by these festivals on the physical development of the Greeks, on their commerce, their art, and their institutions we cannot here speak. What now concerns us is the influence exercised by the festivals already named, and those other festivals like them held at the shrine of the Branchidæ at Miletus, at Delos, at the temple of the Lacinian Hera in South Italy and elsewhere, on the religious beliefs of the Greeks. That such influence was profound and lasting we cannot doubt. We are apt, in reviewing in our minds the outward circumstances of festivals like the Olympia and the Isthmia, to forget their intensely religious cast. But the religious element would never be lost sight of by all the thousands who thronged to them. In honour of the gods the sacrifices were offered with which the festivals began and ended. And in fact, according to a very plausible theory, even the physical contests, which were the chief feature of the festivals, were the direct descendants of bloody human sacrifices which were at the same spot offered in pre-historic times. Nor could any Greek pay a visit to Olympia or to Delphi at the time of the games without carrying away a lively feeling of veneration for the deities to whom those spots were sacred, and a fresh memory of the religious myths by which such possession was explained or justified. The *Homeric Hymn* to the Delian Apollo belongs essentially to the panegyris of the Ionians, who met at the sacred island in solemn festival: at the panegyris it would be on all lips. And in that hymn how much there is of theology in the Greek if not in the modern sense of the word! How near it seems to bring Apollo to all who partake of his sacred hospitality.

Such, then, was one of the functions of the great agonistic festivals of ancient times, in making the deities in whose honour they were held, Zeus and Hera, Poseidon and Apollo, the common possession of all who took part in the festivals. And a similar function in relation to the worship of the great chthonic deities, Demeter and Persephone and Iacchus, was performed by those Eleusinian Mysteries which, in the course

of Greek history, we see gaining rapidly in importance and spreading in influence, until from being as at first the private possession of the Eumolpidæ, they became successively Attic, Hellenic, and even cosmopolitan. And in this case the influence on religious belief is even more direct and striking than in the case of the great games, since, as we know, theologic doctrine was certainly taught to those who were initiated: doctrine mainly mythologic, but involving distinctly the belief in a future life and in future rewards and punishments. All the Greeks believed in the existence of the soul after the burial and decay of the body, but this is a doctrine common to all barbarous peoples, and not essentially either moral or immoral; but under the influence of Eleusis the doctrine of the future life took a higher and more moral tone, and became distinctly Hellenic, casting away the swaddling-bands of its barbaric origin.

Another institution which tended to give to the Greeks as such a national religion was that of the oracles, more especially the greatest of the oracles, that of Apollo at Delphi. Every one who is even passably acquainted with Greek history knows how important a part in the affairs of states was played by the responses of the Pythian god. If a war was intended, a colony on a distant shore planned, a policy under discussion, in every case Delphi might be consulted. The Spartans were especially tenacious of this religious custom, and more than once was the course of their affairs changed by a Pythian rescript. And not only states but also private individuals were in the habit of seeking a way out of their difficulties by calling to their aid the unmeasured wisdom of Apollo. The days of those who had nothing but contempt for the oracles of Greece, or even fancied that the power which inspired them was not divine but diabolic, have passed away, and few people would now hesitate to allow that their influence was on the whole directed to good. On the whole, by consulting them, states became wiser and more just, and even private individuals learned lessons of wisdom and virtue, though of course in the responses delivered to them there must have been more or less of deception. And not only did the existence of the oracles tend on the whole to the improvement of morality, but they also tended greatly to produce unity in the religious beliefs of Greece. In them all Greeks alike could hear the voice of the national divinities, and the numerous deputations from all parts of Greece which were constantly jostling one another in the courts of the Delphic temple must have realised on such

occasions, if never before, that Apollo was the leader and inspirer of all alike.

At the time of the Persian wars the influence of Delphi had begun to decline. And by temporising, Medising as the Greeks called it, at that supreme crisis of history Delphi lost for ever its undisputed place at the head of Greek religion. That place was to some extent taken by the city which then assumed the lead in all intellectual and moral matters, Athens. The great deity of Athens, Athena, became to some extent the patron of Hellas; and about her the Athenians ranged a series of the twelve greater gods, Zeus and Hera, Poseidon and Demeter, Apollo and Artemis, Hephæstus and Athena, Ares and Aphrodite, Hermes and Hestia. This list does not differ greatly from that which might be extracted from Homer; the chief discrepancy is the omission of Leto and the insertion of Hestia. But if we turn to other centres of Greek religion, we find systems of deities greatly differing from that of Athens. At Olympia, for instance, in the list of twelve greater gods, Demeter, Ares, Aphrodite, Hephæstus, and Hestia are omitted, and in their place we find Cronus and Rhea, Dionysus, Alpheus, and the Charites.

After speaking of the growth of national Greek religion, we should perhaps say a few words as to its decline and decay. This is a subject which it is impossible to treat in a satisfactory way without speaking of Greek philosophy and other subjects which do not come within the scope of the present work. We must content ourselves with a very few words.

The fact is that as Greek thought and civilisation progressed, the educated classes in Greece outgrew their religion. Polytheism is necessarily less elastic as a system than monotheism, less capable of being modified in accordance with growing civilisation, and of being remoulded by philosophy and science. If there be many deities, there cannot be unity of plan in the universe, nor can it be governed by fixed laws. Even in Homer we may see the beginnings of monotheism, which gradually spread, until in the fifth century B.C. thinking men were practically monotheists. Hence the conflict between morality and religion which is dwelt on in the *Republic* of Plato. At that time the old paganism survived in the beliefs of the uneducated, and it lived on in a modified form in poetry and art; but its vital force was gone, and it only awaited the death-blow of a great crisis.

That crisis came in the days of Alexander the Great. When the Greeks became masters of the world, it soon became clear

that they had no satisfactory religion to offer to mankind. The religion of their lower classes was of a local and tribal kind, or at most national. The Greeks could not present to barbarous peoples their own religious system as one to put in the place of all others. They could not bid the conquered races throw their idols to the moles and the bats, and worship Zeus and Athena. Greek religion was for Greeks, and not for mankind.

Thus when the centre of gravity of the Greek world was shifted eastward, the national religion of Greece was fatally injured. In its old seats in Greece and Asia, and even in the new cities founded by the Macedonians, it lingered on, and retained for a long time the adhesion of the people. But there was no force to elevate and sustain it, so that the cults deteriorated in character; and they could not hold their own when brought into competition with the new deities of the East, with Isis and Mithras and Sarapis; and on the other hand they could not resist the inroads of materialism. When we read the shameless hymn addressed by the degenerate Athenians to the libertine Demetrius Poliorcetes,¹ "Other gods live far away or have no ears; either they do not exist, or they care nought about us; but thee we see before us, not of wood or stone but living. To thee then we address our prayer," we feel that there cannot be any reality of religious belief in the city which in old days had been the most religious of Greece.

CHAPTER V

THE HOMERIC AND HESIODIC PANTHEON

I PROPOSE next to analyse and set forth the scheme of Greek religion as we find it in the earliest of Greek writings, the Homeric poems.

In Homer² we find an Olympus; that is to say, the deities whom he recognises are not independent one of another, but members of a regularly constituted hierarchy, recognising a common lord or superior, and exercising proper functions, not always indeed rigidly marked out and bounded, yet in the main

¹ Athenæus, Bk. vi. p. 253.

² I use the name Homer merely for shortness and convenience. By it I mean the authors of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, poems which I suppose to belong substantially to the ninth or eighth century.

strongly indicated. The Olympian assembly meets and the deities sit in regular order; they discuss plans and arrange events, and Zeus himself scarcely ventures to disregard their general feeling. Some have greater dignity, some less: it is the part of some to speak and of others to listen. As the chiefs meet on earth to hold councils of war and to decide the fate of captives, so the gods meet on their sacred mountain to hear the counsels of Zeus, and either to applaud them or to protest against them.

The position of Zeus¹ in the assembly of Olympus is higher and more honourable, however, than that of a head chief or king of kings like Agamemnon in relation to his subordinate chiefs. No deity would dare to dispute his will, nor even to protest against it, unless supported by the general opinion. Even Hera does not venture on a more open protest than ἔρδ' ἀτὰρ οὐ τοι πάντες ἐπαινέομεν θεοὶ ἄλλοι. Some of the most august of the Olympian deities have already felt the anger of Zeus and undergone humiliating punishments, like that of Hera when she was suspended from heaven with an anvil tied to each foot. And he boasts that he could drag away by his sole force all the gods of Olympus, with earth and sea to boot. Indeed, his power is less limited by his subordinate colleagues than by the dim and mysterious power of Fate, Μοῖρα or Αἴσα, who sometimes overrides even his will, although in nearly all cases his will and hers seem to be in unison.

Regarded in his physical aspect, Zeus to Homer embodies the great vault of heaven and the upper air. He is sovereign lord of meteorological phenomena; he gathers the clouds and hurls the thunderbolt; guides the flight of fate-bearing birds through the air, and is everywhere present at the deeds of men. His power is, if not unlimited, yet of so vast extent that all opposition to it must fail. He is the father or at least the superior brother of all the important deities, and of undisputed rule throughout the universe. Looked at in the highest light he even approaches to the idea of deity held by monotheistic peoples, as his will and the right are usually not to be separated: he knows the end from the beginning, and orders all things in heaven and earth so as on the whole to be best. Other deities descend to earth in order to carry out their wishes; he but sends a messenger or even acts without one from the encom-

¹ For more details the reader may consult the second volume of Mr. Gladstone's *Studies on Homer*. Mr. Gladstone's work is thorough and original, and its value will not be disputed even by those who regret the presence in it of theological bias.

passing heaven. Yet this bright majesty has dark shadows. The character of Zeus is, in the *Iliad*, strongly marked by sensual passion, and his government is sometimes distorted and debased by unjust partialities, such as that which he feels for his son Sarpedon. He is by no means above receiving gratification of appetite from sacrifice, sacrifice which disposes him towards the offerer, and on the occasion of the Theomachy he is actually spoken of as rejoicing in the strife—*ἔρις*—of the immortals. In fact, the Greeks of the Homeric age did not scruple to ascribe to their supreme deity, noble as they thought him, the failings and vices which we may presume to have been common in his representatives on earth, the *διοτρεφέες βασιλῆες*.

Hera is a less dignified character by far. Her powers mostly derive from her station as Queen of Olympus, and chief wife of Zeus. Hence the deities rise up when she enters their assembly, and she disposes of many of the prerogatives of the supreme god. She sends the sun to his setting even against his will.¹ She endows the horses of Achilles with a voice.² On one occasion she even thunders in honour of Agamemnon. She sends Iris on frequent messages, and when she mounts her chariot the horses leap at each step as far as a man's eye might pierce at sea. Yet, in spite of such powers and prerogatives, Hera is neither magnanimous nor amiable. She is swayed beyond all the immortals by violent and unreasoning prejudices, which Homer cannot put in a pleasing light, although in the *Iliad* they tell in favour of the Greeks. Zeus taunts her with being eager to eat up the Trojans alive; and she looks even upon her lord in disgust when she reflects that he is partial to the Trojans. Herakles, whom she hated, she pursued from his birth onwards with bitter malice, receiving at last in her breast an arrow from the unconquerable hero. And the goddess acts up to her likes and dislikes without hesitation: her plans are carried out alike by force and fraud. Aphrodite, Sleep, and even Zeus himself are the victims of her wiles. Beauty and cleverness, *εἶδος καὶ πινυτή*, are the gifts which she bestows on the daughters of Pandareus, and these she has freely to bestow; by these she maintains her state on Olympus, but higher qualities are wanting.

Hera is in Homer so entirely humanised that we find in her scarcely a trace of elemental meaning. The case is quite otherwise with Poseidon, whose nature is at once seen to be in close

¹ *Il.* xviii. 239.

² *Il.* xix. 407.

harmony with the element he rules, the open sea. He does not represent water in general, nor the still depths, but rather the waves as they leap against the shore and throw down the rocks. He is a deity of almost measureless physical force, who owns a sway almost independent of Zeus himself, claiming indeed, in the fifteenth book of the *Iliad*, an equality of dignity with him, and saying that by lot only was there assigned to himself the sea rather than the heavens. Yet this vast force is not animated by a high soul. Poseidon is not above feeling bitter resentment when his unworthy son Polyphemus is justly punished by Odysseus. He is fond in an undignified degree of sacrifices, and is ready, for the sake of gratifying a pique, to revolt against the moral order embodied in Zeus. He is the father too of many impious sons, such as Otus and Ephialtes, and is like them ill-regulated in force and passion.

The highest moral attributes to be found in Olympus are those pertaining to Athena and to Apollo. In the case of Athena her physical and elemental meaning has so completely fallen into the background that it is even matter of dispute what it was. In Homer, she appears altogether as a disembodied spirit, the patroness of the wisest and best of men, the source of wise counsels in the case of men, and the teacher to women of cunning arts of handicraft. Nothing that she attempts ever meets with failure; all deities who oppose her designs are baffled and overthrown; but her plans are almost always of good moral purport. Her wishes seldom clash with the designs of Zeus, when Zeus is ordering things as chief moral ruler of the world. In Olympus, Athena has the right to the seat next to that of Zeus, which she gives up sometimes to distinguished visitors such as Thetis; and as Mr. Gladstone well observes, she alone among the gods is addressed by Zeus as φίλον τέκος. Zeus unaided brought forth Athena from his brain, and she is ever true to such origin, representing not the passion, but the wise thought of the gods. In particular Athena is spoken of in the eighth book of the *Iliad* as the constant friend and helper of Herakles, in his labours for the good of men; and whenever a Greek sets himself a task above the ordinary matters of fighting and toiling, he is sure of the same effectual aid. She is in the *Iliad* spoken of as the guardian deity of Athens, but her connection with that great city is not yet so close as it is to become. She is worshipped not less earnestly at Troy, by Nestor at Pylos, by the Argive Diomedes, and by Telemachus at Ithaca, and she accompanies Odysseus to many far-lying lands. Neither space nor time can

bar her action, and rarely indeed is she summoned in vain by those for whom she has a favour.

Apollo is by no means fully identified with the sun. The plague-bearing arrows of Apollo of the first book of the *Iliad* must indeed be the solar rays, but in more than one passage of the *Odyssey*, the sun-god, Ἡέλιος, is spoken of as a personage quite apart from Apollo. The place of Apollo also as god of healing is taken in Olympus by Pæeon. These and other functions were absorbed as time went on by the well established deity of Apollo. But in Homer he is already of very high dignity. Addressed by Zeus as φίλε Φοῖβε, and one in heart and will with the divine government, he, like Pallas, seems to be raised above all failure and to disregard opposition. He is the poet and prophet among the gods, ruling the choir of the Muses, and imparting the oracles of heaven to those pious among mankind who seek to ascertain them. He is also lord of the bow, which he can use for the destruction of mankind, as in the first *Iliad*; but it is seldom that his bow thus sounds in wrath. Usually his arrows merely effect the gentle removal of those doomed by fate, more especially those who are young and innocent; and as the Greeks naturally made the deities of destruction supreme over healing and preservation, it is especially in this latter phase that Apollo appears in Homer. In the sixteenth book of the *Iliad*, Glaucus calls upon him as one always ready and able to help men in distress, and begs him to heal his wound and give him energy for the conflict, and Apollo at once fulfils his wish. Thus to hear a prayer breathed out in the battlefield when the deity does not seem near, and thus to infuse fresh life into a fainting heart belongs to but three of the Greek deities, those invoked in the frequent formula, αἰ γὰρ Ζεῦ τε πάτερ καὶ Ἀθηναίῃ καὶ Ἀπολλων.

The dignity of Artemis is in the *Iliad* far inferior to that of her brother. Her beauty is extolled by the poet; the ministration of early and easy death is confided to her in the case of women, as it is to Apollo in the case of men, and this shows that her power must reach widely over the earth. As Apollo bears silver bow and golden sword, so Artemis is credited with golden throne and golden spindle. She roams freely through wood and over mountain, and nourishes the young of wild creatures. Yet she is never spoken of in language of high veneration, and there is something peculiarly humiliating in the whipping which she receives from Hera in the *Theomachy*. Contrary to the later tradition, a greater dignity than that of Artemis attaches to her mother Leto, who in later times almost

disappears, but who is always in Homer treated with much respect, and appears as a real if a secondary wife of Zeus. In the *Theomachy*, Hermes, with marked deference, declines to oppose her, though she is assigned as his foe; and although Leto never comes into the foreground in Homer, she is often mentioned among the great goddesses of Olympus.

Demeter also remains in Homer in the background. The phrase applied to corn, Δημήτερος ἀκτῆ, shows that there is in this deity a good deal of naturalism: her anthropomorphism is far less complete than that of deities like Hera and Athena. She seems to represent the rich mould of the surface of the earth whence spring the crops, Γῆ μήτηρ, the mother of all that grows. She does not, however, enter at all into the action of the *Iliad*, and seems to belong to another plane of religion. Her daughter Persephone, too, the awful goddess of the shades below the earth, though spoken of with reverence as severely pure and exalted, yet does not come out as a real personality. In Homer she is not the mere reflection of Aidoneus or Hades, as Hera is but the wife of Zeus and Amphitrite of Poseidon. Although Hades is own brother to Zeus, and indeed often spoken of as Ζεὺς καταχθόνιος, yet he does not in any way surpass his queen in dignity. Rather the higher duties of the world below centre in her, and she rather than Hades himself is the object of cultus on the earth. It is to her that the groves belong, and the realm below is spoken of as Ἀΐδαο δόμοι καὶ ἐπαινὴς Περσεφονείης.

Hephæstus is the deity of fire, but chiefly of fire considered in one particular aspect, as the means whereby works of metal are produced at the hands of cunning artificers. Hephæstus is in Olympus the worker *par excellence*: hidden in his youth by Thetis under the stream of Ocean, he wrought for years ornaments for women; grown up he makes the divine armour of Achilles, and forms tripods so well wrought that they move of themselves, and golden maids who have a voice and wisdom to understand. In the Homeric age the Greeks had a naïve and wondering admiration for works in metal of high skill, most of which came to them from the Sidonians, and so it was natural that skill like that of Hephæstus should win their admiration. Yet there adhered among them, as usually in purely military communities, a certain contempt for the mere workman, however skilful, when compared with statesman and warrior; and traces of this feeling are reflected from earth on to the artificer of Olympus. He is not comely; he is lame; he is betrayed by his wife. He causes a ripple of laughter to pass over the

Olympian assembly when he essays to act before them as cup-bearer. In fact, when he quits his art, of which he is the unrivalled master, he soon becomes ridiculous. In the *Iliad*, Charis is assigned to Hephæstus as his wife; in the *Odyssey*, by a slight modification of the legend, Aphrodite.

Ares and Aphrodite are not only connected in Homeric legend, but there is a strong similarity in the ways in which they are treated in the poems. Both are regarded not without contempt by the graver deities, and considered as children who must be cajoled, or if necessary even chastised into doing what is becoming. It may well appear strange that in a society so thoroughly military as that described by Homer, the god of war should be held of slight account. One reason of course is that the highest warlike qualities, valour, penetrated by wisdom and the habit of command, are not represented by Ares but by Athena. But this again is a strange thing, that a woman-deity should absorb the qualities which Greeks highly admired in men, but never associated with women. It is evident that we have here a problem only to be solved after a careful observation of the origin and rise of the cultus of these warlike deities. Meantime we observe that Ares represents only headlong love of fighting, desire of slaughter no matter in what cause, in fact the fighting animal nature which we expect rather in the soldier than the leader, and in the mercenary than the citizen. Ares is never invoked in prayer, even in the stress of battle, and his power over nature is very small, even human nature he can only touch in the one point of warlike passion. And even in his special pursuit Ares is not very formidable. Twice Athena strikes him helpless to the ground, and he is no match even for Diomedes, when supported by that goddess; he is captured by Otus and Ephialtes, and falls an easy victim to the plot of Hephæstus, as narrated in the lay of Demodocus in the *Odyssey*. He is in fact the ruffian of the poems, and sometimes the butt.

Aphrodite is treated with little more tenderness. Her great power is not denied, but it is represented as seldom exerted for good. When she is wounded by Diomedes, Zeus and Athena treat her complaints with contempt, and Athena even advises the Greek hero to have no fear of meeting her in the field, though he should avoid all other deities. She is exposed in a most humiliating way in the net of Hephæstus to the contempt of the Olympian throng. Yet when dealing with women who have submitted to her sway, Helen for instance, in the third book of the *Iliad*, she is harsh and cruel. There is little about

her to attract any admiration but that of sense : it would be easy to find in the Homeric poems several women who are in all respects more dignified than this goddess.

Hermes does not figure prominently in the Homeric poems. He is spoken of both in *Iliad* and *Odyssey* as δῶτωρ ἐάων, giver of increase, and is represented as that one of the deities who is most friendly to man, and most kindly and easy-going in his transactions with the deities, as for instance when in the *Theomachy* he declines the contest with Leto, and expresses his willingness that she should give it out that he has been defeated. He appears in the *Odyssey* as guide of the souls of the dead, ψυχοπομπός. He is, moreover, on more than one occasion intrusted by Zeus with a delicate mission, as for instance, when he leads Priam into the Greek camp in search for the body of his son Hector, or when he is despatched to Calypso, who was perhaps the sister of his mother, to warn her to let Odysseus go. But in the *Iliad* the regular and official courier of the gods, who carries news of the decrees of Olympus to those whom they may concern, is Iris.

Besides these regular deities there are other more shadowy members of the Olympian circle ; Dione, the mother of Aphrodite ; Themis, who summons the deities to the assembly ; Pæon, the healing god ; Helios, the sun in his material aspect, the deity who sees all things from his heavenly abode. And there is a host of gods and dæmons of various powers who rule the world of waters. There are the Oceanid Nymphs, and conspicuous among them Thetis, whom Zeus himself would fain have won for a wife. And there are the rivers, beginning with Xanthus or Scamander, who is even privileged to take a part in the *Theomachy*, and is said to have received high honour from the Trojans. On only one occasion are these river dæmons spoken of as present at the Olympian assembly, and they seem to constitute a sort of plebs as compared with the aristocracy of higher deities. Nor must we omit Hebe, whose sole function in Olympus seems to be the pouring of wine or nectar for the assembled gods, and who is closely attached to Hera, and said to be her daughter.

Outside Olympus there is in the Homeric mythology a sort of background consisting of deities who do not appear to be directly subordinate to Zeus, but retain a sort of independent command, in virtue of age or dignity or the remoteness of their seat. Aidoneus and Persephone are in the main Olympian deities, although they do not make their appearance in the assembly of the gods. But other deities are kept from Olympus

by stress of other things than active duties. Cronus and Rhea, the father and mother whom Zeus has dethroned and superseded, live in Tartarus, and there rule over the race of Titans, who have lost their function of governing nature. Oceanus, the aged father of all deities, and Nereus, the ἄλιος γέρων, or old man of the sea, are too aged to dance attendance on the young ruler of the gods, and even to excite his jealousy, and live far apart with the crowd of their nymph-daughters. Hestia, the sacred fire of the hearth, is scarcely in Homer personified at all.

Beside these venerable remains of an earlier state of things, we may place the dæmons of less account, who are not dignified enough to claim the entry into Olympus, and are mostly attached to one or other of the gods as companions and ministers. Eris is spoken of as the sister of Ares, though we need not construe this as implying descent from Zeus and Hera. She is madly fond of the fierce battle-strife, in which she lives as in an element. Her mighty shouts encourage armies for the conflict. Also connected with Ares are Phobos, Terror,¹ and Enyo, the destroyer of cities, who marches with Ares in the van of the Trojans. In the same category is the terrible Kêr, the dark minister of death, and the Harpies, who carry off maidens. The Erinnyes belong to a higher strain. They embody and scarcely disguise the feelings of remorse felt by those who have been guilty of an evil deed. Especially they guard the sacredness of the family relations, and pursue with unending perseverance those who have violated family duties; they also guard the rights of the poor against oppression, and punish every sort of haughtiness and highmindedness. Stalking about beneath the earth, they hear the complaints of the wronged, and note the evil deeds of the oppressor, and bring redress.

Behind the might of Olympus, sometimes as it seems over-riding it, is the mysterious force of Fate, called by Homer Μοῖρα or Ἀῖσα. Fully to discuss this power, which Homer scarcely personifies, would lead us too far into the philosophy of religion. It is, however, to be noted that Homer is less perspicuous and self-consistent than usual, when speaking on this subject. Sometimes he seems to speak as if fate were the higher will of Zeus; the word, if we may so put it, of Zeus speaking *ex cathedrâ*; sometimes the will of Zeus seems to be in conflict with destiny, as when he allows, with bitter regret, his favourite son Sarpedon to meet his death at the hands of

¹ *Il.* iv. 440.

Patroclus because destiny has so willed it, and yet at the same time Zeus is debating with himself whether he shall override destiny, and rescue his son. In many cases Homer expressly states that something would have happened contrary to destiny, ὑπὲρ αἰῶαν, unless such and such a circumstance had occurred. In one case he even seems to speak of men as overriding destiny by their valour,¹ καὶ τότε δὴ ῥ' ὑπὲρ αἰῶαν Ἀχαιοὶ φέρτεροι ἦσαν; sometimes again destiny is spoken of as if it were a power that no man and no deity could gainsay or resist. In fact the Greeks of Homer's time had already encountered that opposition between fate and human will which still perplexes and tries us in modern days. It is, however, noteworthy as a specially Greek element in the Homeric theory, that both αἰῶα and μοῖρα originally mean a share. It was supposed that a certain share of good and evil was allotted to each man, and that to alter that share was not permanently possible to human beings.

In the separation of his gods into hostile camps, Homer gives us a clear intimation as to his opinion of their local attribution and their origin. Zeus alone, as supreme deity, is impartial, and favours neither of the contending nations, prospering or sacrificing each in turn in accordance with the exigencies of his policy. He is at home alike on Olympus and on Ida. But the other deities all have a favourite home, and belong primarily to the people who devote to them a special cultus. The deities who in the *Theomachy* of the *Iliad* take the Greek side are Hera, Athena, Poseidon, Hermes, and Hephæstus. The two most ardent on that side are of course Hera and Athena; and to these two correspond the mortal champions Agamemnon and Achilles. The great Argive Heræum was at the gate of the Mycenæ of Agamemnon; and there was the oldest and most important of all cults of Hera. Athena is at Troy not principally the patroness of the Athenians, who figure in the war but little. Rather she must be considered as Athena Itonia, the local deity of the Thessalian Achæans, among whom Achilles was pre-eminent. Her close friendship with Diomedes is accounted for by the ancient cultus of Athena on the acropolis of Argos, and her patronage of Odysseus by the close connection in early days between Athens on the one hand and Cephallenia and the neighbouring Ithaca on the other. Poseidon is a special deity of the Ionian race, and his most ancient and venerable seats are on the shores of the Corinthian Gulf, at

¹ *Il.* xvi. 780.

Ægæ and Helice. Hermes is eminently of Arcadia, the country whence came so many of the stout spearmen of Agamemnon. Hephæstus was in early Attic legend and cultus closely connected with Athena.

The five deities then of whom we have spoken are all of Hellenic lineage, and have their chief seats in Hellenic lands. It may be objected that Hera had an ancient seat at Samos, and that Pallas Athena was tutelary goddess of Ilium itself. But the Samian worship of Hera may perhaps not have borne the name of that goddess in the Homeric age; and the Ilian cult of Athena, though it became famous through the Homeric poems, was probably not of much intrinsic importance compared with that of Thessaly. If, on the other hand, we turn to a consideration of the deities who in the *Theomachy* and elsewhere take the Trojan side, we shall easily find reason for their doing so. They are Apollo, Artemis, Leto, Ares, Aphrodite, and the river-god, Xanthus.

If for a moment it shocks us to find so Hellenic a deity as Apollo on the Trojan side, that surprise must give way at once when we consider that Apollo was in a special degree the deity of the Troad. His temple at Chryse was renowned early and late in Greek history, and his cult dominated all the country round. Of the Lycians he was the national deity; and Trojans and Lycians were closely allied in race, as well as on the same side at Troy. And Apollo being the special patron of the Trojans, it is not strange to find on the same side Artemis and Leto, who were, at least in Greek tradition, inseparable from him. Moreover, the Greeks were prone, as we know, to give the name of Artemis to the forms of the lunar goddess of Asia Minor, of the Phrygians and Carians, and she might easily be considered as more Asiatic than Greek; while Leto was, as we know, the name of a Phrygian deity of great reputation, who ruled in the neighbourhood of Hierapolis,¹ and was also worshipped in Lycia. Nor was Leto ever thoroughly admitted into the Greek Pantheon. Ares was especially a Thracian god; and Thracians formed a part of the population of Asia Minor, and brought a large contingent to the army defending Troy. Aphrodite was almost foreign to the Greek system. She is more intensely Trojan in her sympathies than any other deity, a result perhaps of the instinct of the poet that she was thoroughly Asian in character and origin. Apollo, on the other hand, is, as we might expect, very half-hearted in his patronage

¹ See Ramsay in *Journ. Hell. Stud.* iv. p. 375.

of the Trojan people. Xanthus, as the local river-god, is, of course, on the Trojan side ; and the prominent position assigned to him bears fresh witness to the fact that the peoples of Asia Minor raised their river-gods, such for instance as Marsyas and Mæander, to a much higher point of veneration than did the Greeks.

We therefore seem justified in saying that the poet of the *Iliad*, in assigning partialities to his deities, proceeds on local and tribal grounds, not on those of fancy, or any reasons based merely on the moral nature of the gods. No doubt in describing their encounters one with the other, he works as a poet to bring about a pleasing and suitable result ; even in pairing the combatants he freely follows his fancy or his sense of the fitness of things ; but his first grouping was prescribed to him by what he would consider historical necessities. And the local elements in mythology, visible even in the *Iliad* after its consolidation and harmonising into its present form, are far more clearly to be traced in the Greece of a later time. This will clearly appear in subsequent chapters.

The poems of Hesiod, and more especially the *Theogony*, are constantly mentioned by writers, both ancient and modern, in connection with the Homeric lays. The *Theogony* remained in the schools a sort of handbook of divinity, and was quoted by the defenders, and still more by the opponents of the current notions on theology. But the information given us by Hesiod as to the gods entirely differs in character from that given us by Homer. From Homer we learn what the deities are like, how they live among themselves, what is the nature of their interference with the doings of mortals, and what means they employ to effect their purposes. The legends as to the genesis and mutual relations of the gods and goddesses are in many places assumed, but are only rarely set forth at length.

In the poems of Hesiod it is otherwise. In the *Works and Days* there rules something very near monotheism : Zeus is there spoken of as supremely just, as looking with impartial eyes on all the doings of men, and meting out reward and punishment in proportion to human merit and demerit. In the *Theogony* we find scarcely any information as to the nature of the gods, the way in which they should be addressed, or how they may be conciliated. Their wishes and functions are not stated ; but in the place of such information we have an abundance of legend and myth, detailing the origin of the gods as well as of the existing universe, exhibiting their blood

relationships to one another, and describing the great events in the history of Olympus.

The stories which form the staple of Hesiod's *Theogony* appear to be based upon a variety of local myths, partly Cretan, partly belonging to Asia, partly current at Delphi, and partly collected from a variety of other sacred places. But the merit of the poet of the *Theogony* is that he has pieced these legends together until they form a fairly consistent whole. The poem is an attempt, half poetical and half philosophical, to reconcile the legends told about the gods with the facts of the universe. The writer does not scruple to fill in the gaps between the deities by inventing a host of personifications—sometimes aspects of the world, sometimes human qualities, and sometimes mere names,—who were never really objects of worship in Greece. There may have been many attempts to form a rational cosmogony, but that of Hesiod succeeded, and his work becoming a standard authority, the tales which he tells about various divinities became more and more a part of their history, as usually accepted among Greeks; and even his inventions seemed in time to gain a certain reality, partly through their adoption in the works of subsequent poets and artists.

It is unnecessary here to repeat the argument of the *Theogony*, which may be found in all works on Greek Mythology, as well as in the first chapter of Grote's history. It is not so pleasant that one would wish to dwell on it unnecessarily. The stories it contains are no worse than those locally current in the days of Pausanias in half the temples of Greece, or in the days of Apollodorus in the writings of the numerous mythographers. But those were merely local, while the Greek nation adopted the stories in Hesiod. We cannot feel surprised when we hear that many bad men in Greece justified their ill deeds by referring to the precedent set them by Zeus or by Apollo. And we cannot but sympathise with the earnest attack made on them by Plato in the *Republic*. Taking their origin at a time when the race was at a low level of culture and morality, and repeated unchanged from age to age, they preserved into better days the impress of barbarous vices and crimes. Few things tended more to keep down the level of morality among the lower classes than Hesiod's *Theogony*; and nothing had greater effect in producing the distrust and dislike of popular religion which spread among the more educated classes of Greece during the fifth century.

CHAPTER VI

THE PANTHEON OF HISTORIC TIMES

IN passing from the Homeric pantheon to that of historic Greece we find a very different order of things. We pass from the simple to the complex, from the clear to the vague and obscure. There is a natural tendency among classical scholars to regard what is Homeric as belonging to the earlier history and a deeper stratum of Greek development, and to suppose that all that is characteristic in the civilisation, the ideas, and the religion of later Greece was thence evolved. But no notion could be cruder or further from the truth. The Homeric poems belong to the aristocracy; they represent not the mass of the Greek race but a small section of it. They are not part of the stem of Hellenic nationality, but the flower of one branch of it which came early to maturity. The time which succeeded them was in many ways an age of retrogression rather than of progress; and when progress was resumed, the Hellenic race was to a great extent changed in ideas, as in blood: many elements which lay outside the Homeric horizon had become prominent and important.

We must confine our remarks, however, to the subject of religion. In this field two phenomena are strikingly present. In the first place, the deities of historic Greece constitute a system or a whole far less than do those of Homer; and this takes place in spite of the great influence exercised by the Homeric and Hesiodic poems on the religious ideas of subsequent times. And in the second place, much of the religion of historic Greece bears the impress of an earlier and more primitive age than does the Homeric religion. The cults described by Pausanias seem to us far nearer to barbarism than the mythology of Pindar, and this in turn is in some respects less advanced than the Homeric theology. When, however, we consider religious and ethical thought rather than cultus and mythology, we find that time does bring progress. In fact, while Greek philosophy and speculative thought advanced steadily towards monotheism, the religious notions of the lower orders remained at a lower level than the Homeric.

Such facts as these make the treatment of the mythology and theology of historic Greece in a systematic fashion one of extreme difficulty. In fact, these were in ancient Greece

never thoroughly systematic. Attempts were from time to time made to bring them into system, but such attempts had but partial success. Religion varied in Greece from race to race, from city to city, and from poet to poet; and no central authority, not even that of Delphi, succeeded in smoothing away local varieties. Attempts such as were made in ancient times by mythographers from Hesiod to Apollodorus to arrange the floating mass of tradition and usage could have little success. Still smaller is likely to be the success of any modern efforts in the same direction.

For such reasons, it seems to me unsatisfactory to pursue the plan adopted by many able mythologists, of endeavouring first to settle the root-meaning of a deity, identifying Athena for example with the upper air, or Apollo with the sun, and of proceeding thence to derive by deductive reasoning all the functions of that deity. Our method shall be inductive rather than deductive, and I shall try to avoid the prejudices which must arise if one starts with a ready-made system. I believe, as I have already stated, that none of the Greek deities is pure and uncompounded, but that all stand at the end of a long process of development and concretion. Yet they may be to some extent brought into line and order if we consider (1) in what places their cultus was best established and most ancient, and (2) what was the general character of their functions in such places. In this fashion I propose to proceed.

We begin, as is natural, with Zeus. The oldest seat of his worship was Dodona, where was his sacred oak guarded by the Selli, "who sleep on the ground and wash not their feet," and his celebrated oracle, as well as the multitudes of tripods dedicated to him. Even to Homer's Achilles, Zeus is Dodonæan and Pelasgic¹—

Ζεὺ ἄνα Δωδωναίε Πελασγικὲ τηλόθι ναίων
Δωδώνης μεδέων δυσχειμέρον· ἀμφὶ δὲ Σελλοὶ
σοὶ ναίουσ' ὑποφῆται ἀνιπτόποδες χαμαιεῦναι.

It has indeed been disputed whether these lines refer to the Dodona of Epirus or to some place of the same name in Thesaly, either mother or daughter of the Epirote city, and situate nearer to the ancestral home of the Phthiotic Achilles. But in any case it can scarcely be denied that the cultus of Zeus in Epirus is as old as Homer; and at a later time we find small

¹ *Il.* xvi. 233.

trace of a Thessalian Dodona. The Epirote Dodona was one of the places inquired of by Cræsus, at the time when he was about to embark on his fatal war with Cyrus.

In historical times Dodona was the religious centre of the whole north-west of Greece, Epirus, Western Thessaly, Acarnania, and Coreyra. Zeus was there worshipped as god of weather and ruler of thunder-storms, so frequent on the Albanian hills, and as presiding over moisture, the source according to the Greeks of life and growth. With him was associated Dione, who in Epirus quite takes the place of Hera, though neither there nor anywhere else does she seem to receive independent worship or to have definite functions. And Aphrodite, as daughter, according to early Greek legend, of Zeus and Dione, also has a place in the local worship. In early times the Selli seem to have been ministers of an oracle of the earth, but in later time their place was taken by priestesses, called Πελειαῖδες, who seem to have collected the responses of the oracle of Zeus from the whisperings of his sacred oak tree, or from the murmuring of doves in its branches, or perhaps from the sounds made by the wind in the tripods dedicated to the god.

Olympus and the neighbouring parts of Thessaly were not less than Dodona a domain sacred to Zeus. There was his Homeric seat, and there in the fields of Phlegra took place the memorable battles in which the earth-born giants fought against his sway, and tried to storm his stronghold. Stories of the conflicts of gods and dæmons seem to belong to most mythologies, notably to that of India; and the Gigantomachy must be considered as the part of the history of Zeus most universally accepted by the Hellenic race in all its seats. To the common people it was a fairy-tale; to the poet and the sculptor a good subject for artistic treatment; to the physical philosopher a parable of the phenomena of the storm; to the moralist a mythical rendering of the victory of order over chaos, of the powers of light and progress over those of darkness and destruction. Less important were the tales of the childhood of Zeus, which were localised either on Mount Ida in Crete or on the Lycæan mountain in Arcadia, both from pre-historic times seats of divine worship.

It is remarkable, as Welcker¹ points out, that the early seats of the worship of Zeus are mostly high mountains. And this is not the case with other deities, whose temples commonly

¹ *Gr. Götterlehre*, i. 170.

stand on a low hill. Ida in Crete, Ætna in Sicily, Ida in Troas, the Peloponnesian Lycæus, the Thessalian Œta were all occupied by sanctuaries of Zeus. Olympus, the highest mountain in northern Greece, lent him a surname. This idea of a god who dwelt aloft on the mountains is common to Greeks with the inhabitants of Asia Minor and Syria. It accompanied the Hellenic race in its migrations, and the name Olympus was applied by that race to many mountains in various parts of Hellas which seemed to grow near to the sky and afford a resting-place for heavenly influences. Great mountains are the homes of storms, and naturally the abode of deities of weather; yet there was probably added to this merely physical interpretation a moral one of a higher strain. Aloft in the mountains most men feel a certain elevation of soul and a tendency to worship the ruler of man and nature.

The greatest sanctuary of the Hellenic Zeus was at Olympia, which was indeed, with Delphi, the religious centre of the Hellenic world. The cultus of Zeus on this spot appears, from the results of the German excavations, to date only from the Dorian invasion of Peloponnesus.¹ Yet the Zeus of Olympia does not seem greatly to differ in character, at all events on the physical side, from the Arcadian Zeus, who dwelt on the ἄβατον, the unapproachable summit, of Mount Lycæus, and who was venerated as the god of the sky and the storm by the superstitious Arcadians. But the advent of the Dorians, and their acceptance of the Elean Zeus as their chief deity, if it did not change the root-conception of the god, yet tended vastly to raise his character and extend his functions. He was acknowledged as the ruler of Olympus, the father of gods and men, and the chief source of divine providence in human life. The more the Greeks gained in culture the more they inclined to monotheism; and as Zeus was the only deity who could be regarded as supreme, his cultus naturally gained at the expense of that of his brothers and children. And the splendour of the Olympic festival, the wealth heaped up in the sacred Altis and dedicated to Zeus, above all perhaps the renown attaching throughout Greece to the glorious colossus by Pheidias, which stood in the temple of Zeus, contributed to spread abroad the fame of the deity. Closely connected with the Olympian cultus of Zeus was that of Hera, who also possessed a very ancient temple in the sacred precinct; and Victory was especially

¹ See especially Furtwängler's *Bronzen von Olympia*. Remains of Mycæan civilisation are not found at Olympia.

attached to him as his daughter and his minister, who flew at his bidding, whether to crown a successful charioteer or to greet a leader in war. We learn from the coins of Elis that the thunderbolt and the eagle were here especially attached to his service; and indeed these became his attributes in all places. The Zeus of Nemea, situated in the valley between Argos and Corinth, was also patron of a great sanctuary and an agonistic festival: in character he probably differed little from the Zeus of Olympia.

At Athens, Zeus was adored under more than one form.¹ As Polieus, he received sacrifices of oxen, and his priesthood was restricted to some of the chief families of the place. In another aspect, as Meilichius, he embodied the softer influences of air and sky. The Diasia, held in his honour, fell on the 23rd of Anthesterion, the month of flowers, and seem to have celebrated the returning warmth and brightness of summer after the storms in which the wrath of Zeus was displayed. And Zeus Meilichius became in the moral as well as in the physical sense the god of compassion and the restored favour of heaven, purifying those who had accidentally shed innocent blood.

The conception of Zeus was, as has been already suggested, probably brought by the Hellenes or their Pelasgic predecessors from the original seats of the Aryan tribes; yet in the conception of the deity prevalent in some localities of Greece there may be an admixture of elements borrowed from non-Aryan sources. For instance, the Thessalian Zeus, Laphystius, received human sacrifices even in historical times, and most writers are disposed, when they hear of human sacrifice in Greece, always to refer the custom to the influence of Phœnicians or Canaanites, worshippers of Baal and Moloch; also the god of merely physical attributes whom the Arcadians recognised, who dwelt in high places and uttered his voice in thunder, may be supposed, not without reason, to be a deity of a pre-Aryan race settled in Greece before it was conquered by the Hellenes, a deity adopted by these latter, and gradually changed and raised in character, as indeed usually happened with the deities they adopted. Yet on the whole Zeus may be regarded as one of the most unmixed as well as the highest products of the religious feelings of the Hellenic race.

The principal seat of the worship of Hera in Greece proper was Argos. Already in Homer, Hera is Ἀργεῖη and passionately prejudiced in favour of Argos, Sparta, and Mycenæ; but of

¹ Welcker, *Götterlehre*, i. 207.

course to Homer the great cities of Argolis are all in the hands of Achæans, not of Dorians. It would appear that the Dorians, when they occupied Argos, adopted the local goddess from the race whom they conquered, carrying her worship to a higher pitch of fame. The earlier favourites of Hera spoken of in early Greek tales are not Dorians. Most of them are of Thessalian race—Jason and his Argonauts; Peleus, on whom the goddess bestowed Thetis; and Achilles the Achæan of Thessaly.

Being thus renowned in some of the earliest seats of the Hellenic race, it seems likely that Hera belonged to an early stage of the religion of Greece. It has been disputed whether she embodies the earth, the moon, or the air; and in fact the various tales told of her indicate a connection sometimes with one and sometimes with the other. Hera or Era seems to be an old name of the earth in Greece. When Hera is said to have borne by her own power Hephæstus or even Typhaon, we may interpret this myth by the bursting forth of subterranean fires from the ground. When Zeus is spoken of as embracing Hera on the mountain top where heaven and earth meet, we naturally identify heaven and earth with the husband and the wife respectively. It is but a repetition in the language of current Greek mythology of the old story of the union of Uranus and Gæa. Yet on the other hand Hera is sometimes identified with the lower air, while Zeus is regarded as the upper sky, in the story for instance of Ixion, who mistook a cloud for Hera; and this was the view adopted by philosophers and theosophers, from Plato, who quibbles about *Ἥρα* and *ἀήρ* in the *Cratylus*,¹ downwards. It is again certain that there was in Hera something of the moon-goddess: this appears from the story of Io, and is clearly established by the close connection maintained by the Greeks between Hera and the deities of parturition.

On whatever physical facts, however, the idea of Hera is based, what is certain is that she was worshipped in historical Greece in thoroughly anthropomorphic fashion, and not either as physical fact or intellectual abstraction. In discussing the origin in the phenomena of the world of Greek deities we must never forget that the origin was seldom present to the minds of their worshippers.

At Argos, Hera was the great deity of marriage with all its duties and consequences. Her chief temple was situate, not in the city, but on the skirts of Mount Eubœa near Mycenæ. In it was the great statue by Polycleitus, embodying the highest

¹ P. 404 c.

idea of matronly grace and dignity to be found in the world. The details of the statue carried allusions to myths of the goddess. The lofty crown or *polos* on her head was adorned with figures of the Charites and the Horæ. In one hand she held a sceptre surmounted by a cuckoo, the bird whose form Zeus took to win her affection ; in the other she held a pomegranate, the symbol of fertility. Her daughter Hebe stood by her side. Hera was the mother and the mistress of the Eileithiæ, the deities of child-birth, and could withhold or grant their aid at her pleasure, and fertility in marriage itself was also dependent on her will. Yearly at the festival of the Heræa the mystic marriage of Zeus and Hera was celebrated afresh ; as the sacred day recurred, the goddess was supposed to become again a virgin, and to take on herself the wifely and maternal duties of her Olympian dwelling. Hera was venerated at Olympia, and games were even celebrated in her honour ; but in that spot, the favourite abode of Zeus, she could scarcely shine with any but reflected light. At Samos also Hera was especially venerated as the bride, Hera Parthenia, and the object of adoration to brides and matrons. In historical times the Hera of Samos was almost as Hellenic as the Hera of Argos ; yet we can clearly see that from the first it was not so. The ungainly and barbarous form of the statue of the goddess, which was preserved in the Heræum at Samos, and ascribed to the hands of Smilis, indicates that there were originally Oriental elements in the local cultus : it is indeed likely that the Samian Hera was only a Greek translation of an early local deity of the class of Mylitta or Cybele ; but by the time of Polycrates these barbarous traits had probably disappeared.

In the practical life of Hellas no deity had so universal and commanding an influence as Apollo. Most or all of his attributes and functions may have originally arisen from the various aspects in which men may regard the sun, looking on it as the source of light and of warmth, as causing or curing disease, as scattering the clouds, or as filling living things with energy and happiness. But in historical times many of them had become entirely detached from the physical background : to most Greeks, Apollo was a living pervading force, the source of happy inspiration, and the promoter of all that was best in Greek religion and morals. As to the derivation of the word Apollo there is no consensus of opinion. One very important function attaches to Apollo in nearly all his phases, that he rules the division of times and the succession of months, a natural function of a solar deity.

In the cultus of historical times Apollo stands as a member of a group, as son of Leto and twin-brother of Artemis. On its physical side this is the equivalent of saying that sun and moon are brother and sister. But we are ignorant what race or tribe united sun and moon thus into a family, and by giving them Zeus as a father united them with the Greek Olympus. As Welcker¹ well remarks, Gæa and Nereus were never made children of Zeus, and sun and moon belong not less to primitive nature-worship than earth and sea; yet, until these latter were absorbed into the Olympian system, it could not become universal, or fulfil the religious desires of the Greek race. But with the inclusion of Apollo, the universal triumph of Olympus was assured. We may be certain, however, that this step was not taken by the Dorian race, because the great centres of worship of Apollo as son of Leto were not in early times swayed by them. At Branchidæ, near Miletus, was a great temple and oracle of Apollo, surnamed Didymæus, or the Twin. This was probably a very ancient shrine, but adopted as their own by Ionians when they conquered the coast. Delos, the Homeric seat of Apollo, was the centre of an Ionian confederacy, and even Delphi was not always under Dorian influence. As Leto and Artemis, as well as Apollo, are on the Trojan side in the *Iliad*, it would look as if the origin of the whole family were Asiatic, perhaps Carian or Lycian.

But this group of deities, whencesoever derived, became afterwards peculiarly the champions of the Dorian race. It was this race which played the chief part in the process which raised Apollo from a mere elemental deity into the great interpreter of the will of Zeus and the exponent of the public conscience of Hellas. Hence there is some ground for the well-known theories propounded in K. O. Müller's *Dorians*, although those theories cannot be maintained as they stand.

One of the most remarkable of the stories which attached to Apollo in later times was that of his worship among the people who lived beyond the Thracian mountains, which the Greeks, in the infancy of geography, supposed to be the source of the north wind. The blameless Hyperboreans were supposed to be devoted to the service of Apollo and Artemis. With them the god willingly tarried for part of the year, and came thence drawn by griffins to visit Delos and Lycia. Herodotus² heard at Delos that sacred offerings were sent year by year by the

¹ *Götterlehre*, i. 511, 529.

² iv. 32-35.

Hyperboreans to Delos, through the medium of the Scythians and the Greek colonies in their lands ; but he seems not to have believed all that he heard on the subject.

The two great centres of Apolline worship were Delos and Delphi. The first was said to be the birthplace of the deity. The first Homeric hymn tells how Leto, when about to give birth to Apollo and his twin-sister Artemis, wandered in pain over the lands, seeking in vain a safe retreat. All places dreaded the anger of jealous Hera and refused shelter to her rival. At last the island of Delos agreed to afford Leto a sanctuary, on condition that the god about to come to light would promise to make it his home for ever, poor and rocky as it was. Even in Delos, however, the birth was delayed because Eileithuia was kept away by her mistress, Hera : at length the unanimous desire of the other goddesses and the promise of a necklace overcame her scruples and she descended to the aid of the suffering Leto. Then came Apollo forth, and no sooner had he tasted ambrosia than he took his place at once among the immortals, claiming as his own the cithara and the bow, in the use of which none could vie with him. And above all, adds the poet, is the heart of Apollo made glad year by year when the trailing-robed Ionians gather together at Delos with their wives and children, to vie one with the other at the sacred games in boxing and dancing and song.

This hymn gives us in simple form the story which arose out of the Delian cultus of Apollo and which agreed with its form, for in Greece the sacred local legends are always in the same key as local rites and ceremonies. The second Homeric hymn to the Pythian Apollo is less simple, but is so important to Greek mythology that its contents must be here shortly summarised. The poet narrates that Apollo wandered through Hellas seeking everywhere a spot where he might establish his temple and the oracle whereby he should enlighten mankind as to the will of Heaven. He rejected Iolcus in Thessaly and the Lelantian plain, and passed without loitering the wooded hill whereon in after years Thebes was to stand. For a moment he hesitated whether to choose a site by the stream of Telphusa ; but the nymph craftily dissuaded him from the idea by representing that the noise of chariots in the plain and the crowds of cattle which watered at her stream would interfere with the solemnity of his temple. Then he went on to rocky Pytho on the seaward slope of Parnassus ; and there, by the fountain, he slew with his arrows a terrible serpent, to whose nursing Hera had once intrusted the child Typhaon, whom she

had brought forth by her unaided force as Zeus had brought forth Athena. The monster lay and rotted in the sun, whence the place was called the place of decay (Pytho). There Apollo built his temple, his architects being Trophonius and Agamedes, and his workers eager crowds of votaries from the district round. But he went back once more to Telphusa, resolved there also to dwell as Apollo Telphusius, and he punished the perfidy of the nymph by rolling a stone upon her spring.

Then he set about providing ministers for the new temple. There was sailing past a ship from Minoian Cnossus full of men; Apollo made his way to it in the form of a dolphin and bore it up from below, while at the same time he sent a strong wind from above which landed the affrighted mariners in the harbour of Crissa. Here Apollo appeared to them in his own form—

ἀνέρι εἰδόμενος αἰξίῳ τε κρατερῶ τε
 πρωθήβῃ, χαίτης εἰλυμένος εὐρέας ὤμους,

and invited them to become his first priests, promising them, though the soil was barren and poor, that they should never want, since all the tribes round would vie one with the other in pouring rich offerings into the Delphian temple. Thus they followed him to the Pythian temple, singing Cretan pæans, while he marched before them playing the lyre, and they became his trusty servants and interpreters.

This hymn confuses Apollo Pythius and Apollo Delphinus. Apollo Delphinus would seem, as Welcker remarks, to be the deity who gives at sea fine weather, when dolphins play on the surface. We have reason to think that he was worshipped in this guise in Crete, and especially by Cretan mariners, and the very name Crissa indicates that there was a Cretan settlement on the sea-shore by Delphi. Crissa was conquered by the Amphictions about B.C. 590; and it appears that the hymn dates from an earlier period than this: it has all the air of a priestly invention, a hymn made partly with a view to raising contributions. Delphi must have belonged to Apollo Delphinus, but the name Pytho, which seems older, carries other associations. The Pythian Apollo is not, like the Delphinian, detached, but is the son of Leto and the brother of Artemis: in Delphic inscriptions this is clearly testified; and he is far more nearly akin to the deity of the *Iliad* and of Delos. He is the great oracular god who governed the public conscience of Greece, and without whose advice seldom a colony set forth, nor did a

city adopt a new cultus, nor even sometimes a man of rank take an important step in life.

In later times the attribute of healing of diseases, which had belonged successively to Pæon and to Apollo, passed to the son of Apollo, Asklepius. The worship of Asklepius originally belonged to Thessaly, whence it seems to have passed to Epidaurus in Argolis, but was also firmly seated in Cos and at Athens. It was also adopted warmly by the people of Pergamon, and when that city grew great the cultus of the deity spread more and more widely. In late Greek times it was exceedingly prevalent: belief in many deities died away, but the gifts of Asklepius were of so material and obvious a value that his cultus was maintained, and was in fact largely adulterated with the juggling and theomancy which marked the religion of later Greece. When the impostor Alexander of Aboniteichos set himself up as the revealer of the will of the gods, Asklepius was the deity whom he claimed specially to represent. The temples of Asklepius in every city were much resorted to by those who had diseases; these slept in the temple, and the god revealed to them in a dream by what means they might become whole. Of late years it has been the custom to represent the temples of Asklepius as hospitals and his priests as skilled physicians; but this seems to be at least an exaggeration of the truth. Physicians were inclined to regard the services of the Asklepiian priests as quackery, and the very complete excavations of the Asklepieia at Athens and Epidaurus made recently¹ have failed to show that in it any methodical course of therapeutic treatment was ever adopted.

Besides the deity of Delphi and Delos, the brother of Artemis, and the prophet of Zeus, there existed in Greece many forms of Apollo. These seem to have been originally independent, though of course in later times their splendour was overshadowed and their attributes absorbed by the Homeric and Delphic divinity. At Athens, for instance, a local deity was worshipped under the name of Apollo Patroüs, and by a remarkable turn of legend he was said² to be a son of Hephæstus and Athena—one instance among many of the extreme elasticity and nebulousness of Greek myths. It was in honour of this god that the Athenian Thargelia were celebrated; and he was regarded as the father of Ion, and invoked on solemn occasions as the ancestor of the Athenian race. At many

¹ Cf. Girard, *L'Asclépieion d'Athènes*; Kavvadias, *Fouilles d'Épidaure*; P. Gardner, *New Chapters in Greek History*, chap. xii.

² Cicero, *De Nat. Deorum*, iii. 22.

Athenian doors again stood an image, a shrine, or an altar of Apollo Agueius, the god of streets, and his sacred laurel commonly grew near by.

Argos was one of the principal seats of the worship of Apollo Lyceius, the god of light and of day. For some reason, and probably a reason more solid than mere resemblance of name, the wolf was in Argos regarded as the sacred animal of Apollo, and in that capacity appears on the coins of Argos from the earliest period. Apollo Lyceius was the great god of Lycia, and the early coins of Lycia are full of emblems which may refer to his solar functions, the three-legged symbol, the lion, and winged monsters. It is, however, to be noted that the wolf is not among them. In the Troad also, which was partly occupied by Lycians, Apollo Lyceius was held in universal honour, a fact which may account for the Trojan bias of Apollo in the *Iliad*. In some parts of the Troad, however, as at Grynium, he was worshipped as Smintheus, the patron or the enemy of mice.

In other parts of Greece again Apollo was regarded as patron of herds and agriculture, and called Nomius or Epimelius. In this form the deity was carried by Minyans to Cyrene, where, according to legend, Apollo watched over the flocks and bestowed on men the gift of the silphium, the principal production of the district. He became, by Cyrene the nymph, father of Aristæus, a great patron of agriculture and the first of mankind to keep bees for honey. Of the same character was the Apollo Carneius, or Hyacinthius, worshipped at the old Achæan town of Amyclæ in the shape of an archaic statue, a trunk but for the head, hands, and feet. Apollo Nomius possessed large flocks and herds in various parts of Greece, at Apollonia in Epirus for instance, which were tended by sacred slaves and brought great profit. They remind us of the herds of Helios in the *Odyssey*. No doubt the story that Apollo kept the flocks of Admetus at Pheræ is one of the legends which attached to the pastoral form of the deity.

Like Apollo, Artemis is presented to us in Greek religious history in two forms, sometimes as the twin-sister of Apollo, sharing his honours at Delos and Delphi, sometimes as an independent goddess of uncertain origin. Of course as time went on the sister of Apollo absorbed all other forms of Artemis, and the legends belonging to her were applied freely to them also. But it is noteworthy that in the Homeric Delian hymn the birth of Apollo only is mentioned, not that of Artemis; and in the *Iliad*, Artemis is dealt with in a manner

which would have been impossible had her fame and worship been as widely extended and as deeply seated as in later times.

As the functions of Apollo are derived from his identification with the sun, so those of Artemis accrue to her as the Moon-goddess, even those in which she is closely united to Apollo as a colleague. In Asia Minor the lion and the bull occur and recur apart and together in all early art: the former represents the sun and dry heat, the latter the moon and that moisture which the ancients closely connected with it.¹ Among the Greeks the nobler forms of Apollo and his sister take the place of these animal symbols, but yet also appear together; together they shoot Tityus and destroy the children of Niobe; together on the frieze of the Phigaleian temple they advance in their chariot; and Artemis hastens to the aid of her brother's temple when it is attacked by the Gauls. As Apollo sends an early and easy death to men, so does Artemis to women.

Some of the most general and important of the functions of Artemis are those connected with child-birth, which are attributed to her, although regarded as a virgin, in virtue of her lunar nature. Scarcely in any Greek city would a temple of Artemis be wanting, and hither would the women flock to pray for gentle treatment at the time of child-birth. Of the vows there taken we have abundant record in the commonness of such names as Artemon and Artemidorus. Partly in connection with this function of Artemis, and partly from an idea that dampness is the source of life and growth, young creatures of all kinds, both wild and tame, were regarded as under the protection of the goddess. Many of her temples in Peloponnesus and elsewhere were surrounded by parks full alike of the more timid and the bolder of wild beasts: that of Artemis near Cleitor and that of Syracuse are instances. These were places of asylum for animals chased by men or by beasts of prey, and it was said that these latter lost their savage nature on entering the sacred precincts, and that all creatures which lived there were at peace together. We are accustomed to speak of Artemis as the huntress; but in sculpture, even when she is drawing the bow, a stag often stands by her side. She is far more the preserver than the destroyer of wild animals; and thus she became an object of worship to herdsmen, having it in her power to bestow fertility on cattle or to plague them with barrenness.

¹ The fact that dew is most abundant in clear moonlit nights must always have been familiar.

The cultus of Artemis was widely spread in Peloponnesus. Here her most frequent cognomen was Limnæa or Limnatis, and her temples were mostly set on the verge of a lake or marsh. The standing water was sacred to her, and she was queen of all the rout who were supposed by the Greeks to have their home in such places, naiads and dryads and oreads. These attended her when she sped through the forest at night, and bathed with her in remote nooks and caves; and her presence effectually protected them from intrusion and violence. In the high-land between Laconia and Messenia was a temple of Limnæa as goddess of the alliance of the two states. We are told that it was at a festival held in honour of this goddess that the quarrel between the Laconians and the Messenians took place which led to their first war.¹ According to the story of the former, the Messenians did violence to the Spartan girls who came to sing and dance in honour of the goddess. Artemis Limnæa or Potamia was carried by Dorian colonists to Sicily, and there seems to have been highly venerated. Another form of the Peloponnesian Artemis was Calliste or Callisto. Callisto was said to have been changed into a bear, and the bear was one of the animals sacred to Artemis, and often kept in a tame condition in her temple. Similarly the Brauronian Artemis of Athens was closely connected with the bear, and the girls who danced in her honour were called bears. In Bœotia and Thessaly the worship of the moon goddess took a somewhat different form. Those were the lands of witches and enchantments, and in all ages and countries the moon has been closely connected with these travesties of religion. As the witches' goddess, Artemis was called Hecate. But the degradation of Hecate belongs, like her representation in threefold shape, to a later time. There is a remarkable passage in Hesiod's *Theogony* in her honour, which is ancient, although suspected of being an interpolation where it occurs.² Hecate is said there to be of Titanic race, daughter of Perses and Asterie, and *μουννογενής*, by which it would seem that in Bœotia she had no connection with Apollo. She is praised in extravagant language, declared to possess highest honour among the immortal gods, to have been from the first partaker of the powers of deities who ruled heaven, earth, and sea, and to have been confirmed by Zeus, when he succeeded to the Olympian throne, in all her prerogatives. She can aid, the poet adds, the speaker in the council and the warrior in the battlefield; giving

¹ Paus. iv. 4, 2.

² Lines 411-452.

honour to whom she will, she assists kings in judgment and hunters in the chase, and with Hermes can increase the cattle in the stall. Indeed, according to this passage, Hecate seems to have occupied for a time in Bœotia much the same position of dignity which Athena held in Athens; indeed, much of the language used would apply well to Athena. At Pheræ in Thessaly Hecate was much worshipped under the name of Brimo, and she appears frequently on the coins of the city under a form scarcely to be distinguished from that of Artemis, never in triple shape.

By no means identical with the Hellenic Artemis, yet related to her in attribute and perhaps of similar origin, were other female deities in lands bordering on Greece, whom the Greeks called by the general name of Artemis, and whose cultus was adopted by Greek colonists when they settled in lands where it was already established. Such was the Thracian Bendis, whose worship was a recent importation into Athens in the time of Socrates, and seems to have possessed something of orgiastic and Phrygian character; such was Dictynna, the moon-goddess of Crete, who was in late times the chief or at least the most characteristic deity of the island; such was the Selene of Mount Latmus in Caria, whose association with Endymion sufficiently distinguishes her from the virgin sister of Apollo. The deity worshipped on the shores of the Euxine, and called the Tauric Artemis, was, according to legend, a fierce and martial deity to whom were sacrificed all strangers found in the country. She was probably chief goddess of a tribe of wreckers who caused terror among the Greek sailors of the Euxine. The name Tauris, from its likeness to *ταῦρος*, seems to have caused a confusion between the Tauric goddess and Artemis, or Selene Tauropolos, a moon-goddess who was represented in art as riding on a bull, and to whom oxen were often sacrificed.

But of course the most celebrated of the Asiatic forms of Artemis, so celebrated indeed that in the late times of Greece she outshone her Hellenic namesake, was the Artemis of Ephesus. It appears that when Androclus the son of Codrus landed with his Ionian followers at the port of Ephesus, he found near the hill, which he chose as a site for his city, a temple of an Asiatic goddess of nature surrounded by a colony of temple slaves or *ιεροδοῦλοι*, and an ancient college of eunuch priests. This deity the new colony adopted. Her nature they could not entirely change: its roots were struck too deep in local veneration; but they gave her a Greek name, and identified her with Artemis, because, like Artemis, she was a

moon-goddess, patroness of young life and growth, and ruler of waste places. The Greek civic life and the ancient religious hierarchy of the temple went on side by side, sometimes the one encroaching and sometimes the other. In the stirring times after Alexander, the Hellenic spirit was near gaining the entire mastery; and at that time probably the Hellenic legends were most freely applied to the Asiatic divinity; but a reaction came, and in the later days of paganism, when the Greek gods were scarcely believed in, but more venerable and mysterious cults were in demand, the Artemis of Ephesus reverted more to her older form. The barbarous, many-breasted, archaic image, in which her majesty was embodied, constantly appears on coins of Ephesus of Roman times and is copied on the coins of other cities far and near. Closely similar to the Ephesian Artemis was the Artemis of Perga and several other cities of Asia.

With Apollo and Artemis we may compare another pair of celestial twins of fame less wide. These are Castor and Polydeuces, called in a special sense the Dioscuri, or sons of Zeus. Their mother Leda nearly corresponds to Leto in name and in function, and they, like the children of Leto, are impersonations of the heavenly bodies. They are in one aspect the morning and the evening star, which are closely alike and yet do not appear together; and the tales told of them, which need not be here repeated, are mostly connected with this physical meaning. The Asvins or two riders of Vedic mythology, closely correspond to the Dioscuri in physical meaning, and like them are thought of as continually on horseback. This seems to show that the Dioscuri belong to early Greek mythology; and in fact, though these twin deities are almost exclusively Laconian, yet other pairs corresponding to them are to be found among other Greek tribes—Idas and Lynceus in Messenia, and Amphion and Zethus at Thebes.

The true home of the Dioscuri was of course at Sparta. Thence their cultus wandered forth to Dorian colonies such as Syracuse and Tarentum, and from southern Italy passed at no late period into Rome, where they became tutelary deities of the class of Equites; and in the Ægean and in Asia Minor a cultus, which seems to have been radically distinct from theirs, was mingled with it, that of the Cabiri of Samothrace, to whose agency was attributed the mysterious twin fires which in stormy weather in the Mediterranean Sea appeared about the masts of ships and was considered by the ancients to be a very happy omen. Thus the Dioscuri, being confused with

the Cabiri, were regarded as deities alike of horsemanship and of seamanship; and in the times after Alexander they became popular in one capacity or the other in Syria, and even as far as India, frequently appearing on coins of the Greek kings of those regions.

The origin of Poseidon and the way of his introduction into the Greek pantheon have been much discussed. Certainly by the time of Homer he is not only a member of the Olympian assembly but one of the most characteristic members of it, differing in this from the other great deities of water, Nereus and Triton and Oceanus. Herodotus,¹ as is well known, declares that the Greeks imported alike the name and the cultus of Poseidon from Libya; but to modern writers this seems so extremely improbable that they are driven to supposing that Herodotus was misled by some similarity of name. It is supposed that the name Poseidon is connected with *πόσις*, *πότος*, *ποταμός*, but in early times Poseidon was regarded not as ruler of drinkable waters, but of the sea only. The opinion generally accepted is that Poseidon was deity of some sea-roving and fishing tribe of Hellenic or semi-Hellenic race, and from them adopted among Greeks generally. If so, we must place such adoption at a very early period indeed, for among Æolians, Achæans, and Ionians, the worship of Poseidon is of a widespread character and has every appearance of being ancestral. He was the reputed father of many heroes, the founders of great houses, and disputed the possession of Athens with Athena, and the possession of Corinth with Helios.

The two chief functions of Poseidon seem at first sight to be somewhat inconsistent one with the other. Poseidon is on the one hand god of the sea, of its waves and storms, and of earthquakes, and on the other hand as Hippius the giver to mankind of the horse, the patron of horse-races and the ancestor of chivalrous races of horsemen. It is strange that sailors and cavalry should have the same special patron. Welcker shows in a learned passage that in many countries ships are spoken of as horses, and that it is a natural image of poetry to compare waves which race and gallop to white-maned horses.² This is true, yet we are scarcely disposed to consider the aptness of these comparisons a sufficient reason for attributing the patronship of horses and ships to the same deity. There are probably historical reasons for the phenomenon. In Greece the same races were renowned for riding and sailing. Thessaly was the

¹ ii. 50.

² *Gr. Götterlehre*, i. 632.

great seat of the chivalrous aristocracy who established the cultus of Poseidon Hippius, and it was from a Thessalian harbour that the Argonauts sailed to bring home the golden fleece. The Bœotians and the Minyæ were alike renowned for cavalry and ships. So were the Tarentines. Taras was regarded as a son of Poseidon, and in his city of Tarentum the cultus of Poseidon was firmly established; and at the same time the people of that city were noted for their love of horses. Their coins commonly bear on one side Taras riding on a dolphin, on the other Taras or Phalanthus riding a horse. The Dioscuri too, the mythical horsemen *par excellence*, were especially gods of mariners.

In Greece proper there were several renowned seats of Poseidon. On the Isthmus of Corinth was a noted temple dedicated to him, surrounded by a sacred *temenos*, which was the scene of the famous Isthmian games, games in which a considerable part was taken by horse-races, and in which boats would seem to have competed.¹ At Sunium, where Attica juts out into the sea, there was another important Poseidium, of which interesting remains are still to be seen. But it was among the cities of the Achæan shore that this deity was most highly esteemed, at Ægæ and Helice, where, according to Homer, the Ionians brought him splendid presents and sacrificed bulls in his honour. The horse-loving aristocracy of Thessaly and Bœotia had many temples of Poseidon, and his figure or his symbols are frequent on coins of those districts. To the special pantheon of the Dorians he seems on the other hand to have been a stranger; and it is noteworthy that the Dorians, stalwart spearmen as they were, were scarcely at home either at sea or in the saddle.

In Asia Minor the most noted seat of the god was the Panionium at the foot of Mount Mycale, where assembled in his honour representatives of the Ionian cities of Asia Minor. There until late times was held a sacred festival and games, as at all the great seats of the gods; and the temple served as a tie to bind together the great cities of the coast, and to remind them of their common origin as contrasted with that of less civilised neighbours.

Poseidon as recognised ruler of waters stood at the head of a large class of deities who dwelt in and ruled sea and river. Some of these, such as Nereus and Triton, seem more strictly elemental beings than Poseidon himself, and may have been in-

¹ See the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, ii. 315.

troduced earlier than he into the pantheon of the Greeks. But these were scarcely objects of worship in historical times ; they were spoken of in mythological poems, and sometimes represented in works of art, but it was not to them that sailors prayed in distress or dedicated pictures on their safe return home. In the later art of Greece, beginning from the time of Praxiteles and Scopas, sea-dæmons, called by the generic name of Tritons, and sea-nymphs who sported with them amid the waves, together with sea-horses, sea-bulls, and other imagined monsters occupy a great space. They are as familiar to all lovers of Greek art as are the Satyrs and Panisci and Nymphs, who are their counterpart on dry land. But these are the creation of Greek artistic fancy and not of the religious needs of the people ; they arose more from the love of beauty than from religious sentiment.

On the other hand the deities of rivers and the Nymphs of springs were the objects of real worship. Achelous at Dodona and Alpheius at Olympia stood in close connection with the greatest of Greek temples and received continual sacrifices. Even lesser streams had their shrines and altars, and Hesiod¹ bids his countrymen not to cross a river before washing their hands and praying, looking earnestly the while at the stream. Shrines of the Nymphs must have been among the commonest features of Greek pastoral scenes, by every flowing stream and in every cave. The Nymphs were regarded with awe as the beings who often brought youths and maidens to an untimely end, carrying them off like Hylas. They were looked on as the principle of life and growth, and of individuality in spring or tree or glen, the soul of nature diffused everywhere through its body.

Not one of the deities of Olympus is of loftier stamp or more purely Hellenic character than Pallas Athena. The noble conceptions formed of her have both in ancient and modern times somewhat concealed her physical origin, and made it less obvious which of the elements of the physical universe is embodied in her person. According to Welcker she represents the æther, that substance which plays a great part in the theories, half physical, half metaphysical, of ancient philosophers. Æther was supposed to be a substance bounding the heavens above, the source of light ; and at the same time diffused through plants and animals as the source of their life and energy. Sauer and Roscher prefer to consider her as the

¹ *Works and Days*, 735.

impersonation of the lightning and a deity of storm. Athena is born from the brain of Zeus, is his favourite daughter, and bears the ægis, the symbol of storm and thunder. Athena has close relations with Hephæstus; these receive an explanation when we think of both as spirits of fire and lightning. She is patroness of thought and of wisdom; and we reflect that, by the ancients, thought in man was supposed to be due to the presence of heavenly light and fire. Athena also, like almost all Greek goddesses, is not free from an admixture of lunar elements.

It has been observed¹ that a close parallel to Athena in several of her functions is to be found in the German Valkyrie, the dæmon alike of storm and battle, who at the same time, like Athena, is cunning in the works of the loom.

In a fine passage, the twenty-eighth *Homeric Hymn* tells how in the solemn assembly of the gods Athena leapt suddenly from the head of Zeus, spear in hand, and glistening in golden armour; how wonder held all the immortals, while earth shook and foam leapt forth from the sea, and the son of Hyperion stayed his swift steeds in the sky. It is difficult to read the passage without finding in it a mythical version of the facts of the storm; and it is but another reading of the same facts when Athena is described as most conspicuous among the gods in that great battle with the Giants, which is prominent alike in Greek mythology and Greek art.

The great seat of Athena in historical times was of course Athens, the city which bore her name, and the personality of which she entirely embodies. In the reliefs at the head of treaties and other such documents, Athena always appears as the sole representative of Athens; and on Athenian coins, from the earliest to the latest days of coinage, her effigy is all but invariable. She is involved also in all the most ancient of Athenian legends. Erechtheus, the original serpent-footed inhabitant of the country, from whom later Athenians were derived, was regarded as her special favourite. He no doubt would have been represented as her son, but that her virginity was part of the current legend; he was therefore regarded as son of Hephæstus and Ge, but received at his birth by Athena, and by her handed over to the fostering care of her priestesses, the daughters of Cecrops, Herse, Aglauros, and Pandrosos. These priestesses play an important part in Athenian legend, and they are as embodiments of dew inseparable from the

¹ Roscher, *Lexicon*, p. 675.

cultus of Athena. Cecrops their father learned from Athena the secrets of agriculture, and received the gift of the olive, most precious of trees to the Greeks. Thus in the early legend the goddess appears as patroness of country life and agriculture ; it was not until Athens became rich and populous that she appears in Attica as a stately city goddess.

But it would be a mistake to suppose that Athena was at Athens a single and definite personality. Rather we notice in this case prominently a phenomenon familiar to all who study Greek religious belief, several forms of the same deity existing side by side, distinguished by varying surname and attribute, and regarded in popular belief as actually distinct. On the Athenian Acropolis the temple of Athena Polias was distinct from the temple of Athena Nike ; and in the narrow limits of Attica there were many other recognised forms of Athena which must be studiously kept apart. At Alalcomenæ was a very ancient shrine, and the title *Ἀλαλκομένης* is applied to Athena even by Homer. Then there was a temple of Athena Sciras on the sacred way, which was a great place for casting lots. In Athens also were shrines of Athena Ergane, Athena Hippiia, Athena Hygieia, and each of these surnames indicates a new set of attributes appropriated to Athena, and a fresh pursuit placed under her patronage and protection.

Probably the common people of Athens could scarcely rise above these distinctions, or see in all local forms the same Olympian deity variously revealed ; but the more educated, who of course formed a larger proportion of the population at Athens than at other cities, were capable of such abstraction, and really thought of Athena as she appears to us in the evidence of poems and dramas and works of sculpture, as the pure and high-minded virgin, who shared the counsels of Zeus and imparted of her abundant wisdom to men : the lofty patroness who founded the Athenian state and still upheld it in a thousand dangers, giving its statesmen wisdom, and diffusing through the breasts of its soldiers valour, such as in days long gone by she had bestowed on Herakles and Tydeus and Odysseus ; receiving from the hands of the Athenian people all that they had best to bestow of art and poetry, and in return blessing the givers of these gifts with tenfold increase so that their city shone throughout Hellas as the queen of wisdom and the mistress of beauty.

If we enter into the feelings of the Greeks, we shall find it easy to discern the connection of the various attributes of Athena. The poets, as is well known, did not make dis-

inction between the moral and the intellectual qualities of men : both alike they considered to be the fruit of the heart. And Athena, by strengthening and inspiring men's hearts, could give them courage for the conflict, and at the same time wisdom in council. Her especial favourites, such as Diomedes and Odysseus, were noted alike for prudence and courage. The great Pheidian statue of Pallas on the Acropolis towered above the city, and seemed a standing menace to any invading host. Nike was the attendant and servant of all the greatest gods, but of Pallas she was the second self and invariable companion, ever flying at her bidding, and yet being always near her. The wingless Nike of the Acropolis was only Athena herself in varied form ; and as Athena gave wisdom and courage, so she bestowed skill on those engaged in craft and handiwork. Athena Ergane was, as Sophocles says, venerated by all the working-people (*πᾶς ὁ χειρῶναξ λεώς*). She was patroness alike of architect and sculptor, of carpenter and potter. And women's work was in a still fuller degree hers : none could, like her, teach to hold the distaff and spin the thread, or give such skill in the arts of the housewife.

As *βουλαία*, Athena controlled the deliberations of the Athenian senate ; as *ἀγοραία*, she guided the popular assembly, and dominated the market-place. As *ἵππια*, she took the place held in Thessaly and Boeotia by Poseidon, as guardian of the knightly houses of the people, and patroness of equestrian shows and exercises ; as *ὑγίεια*, she stood beside Asklepius in imparting healing gifts to men. In short, whatever an Athenian was doing from morning to night, it was almost sure to be something wherein Athena could give him aid : wherever he went, he could not escape her guidance and control. In her constant presence he lived, and she represented to him the ever-present eye of heaven looking down on his deeds.

Though thus venerated only at Athens, Athena was by no means unknown in other cities, some of which, such as Rhodes, even claimed an older cultus than that of Athens. At Sparta there was an ancient temple lined with plates of bronze and dedicated to Athena, who was the protecting goddess of the city. At Argos, Athena was held in only somewhat less honour than Hera ; at Tegea was the great temple of Athena Alea where the goddess was regarded as potent over agriculture. The number of effigies of Athena which occur on Greek coins is enormous ; a very large proportion of cities which issue coin use this type at some period, and in dozens of places in Italy,

Sicily, Northern Greece, Peloponnesus, Asia Minor, it is the leading device, indicating that these cities regarded her as their principal deity, *πολιοῦχος θεά*. One of these cities deserves special mention, the Greek Ilium, which was noted, from the time of Cræsus onwards at all events, for its temple of Athena Ilias. On the coins of Ilium the temple-statue frequently appears, an archaic figure bearing in one hand a lance, in the other a spindle, and thus conformable to the words of the *Iliad*, which speak of the Trojan goddess as equally conversant with the arts of the heroes who wielded spear and shield, and those of the women who held the distaff and twined the thread. In the ancient temples of Hellas were a multitude of archaic figures of Pallas, representing her in full panoply, and a number of these claimed to be the actual Palladium of Troy, which was either stolen by Diomedes or borne away by Æneas. The multitude of these images, and the wide extent of land over which they were spread from Rome to Asia Minor, is the best proof of the great antiquity and universality of the worship of an armed goddess. This armed goddess, when thoroughly naturalised in Greek belief, necessarily took the form of Athena, though it is by no means impossible that the images were in the first instance imported from the East, and were intended by the workmen who produced them for the Sidonian Astarte, or some other martial goddess of the Asiatic peoples.

Among all the deities of the Greeks, the one who least lost his primitive and material signification was Hephæstus. Hephæstus was placed at Athens in close relations with Athena, especially in the matter of the birth of Erichthonius. The Chalkeia were at that city celebrated in honour of Hephæstus and Athena Ergane, both of whom protected in common certain trades, such as those of smith and armourer. But the special home of the cultus of Hephæstus was the island of Lemnos on the Thracian coast. That island was the seat of volcanic phenomena, and contains an extinct volcano called Mosychlus, at the foot of which was the town of Hephæstia and the temple of Hephæstus. Among the Greeks generally, the cultus of fire had almost died out, or had become attached to Hestia and the dæmons of the hearth; but a more defined cultus remained among the dwellers in the Thracian islands; and Hephæstus is the embodiment of fire, alike when he falls like lightning from heaven, hurled out by his angry father Zeus to fall on the island of Lemnos, and when he is busy in caves and underground dwellings, as the hidden fire which underlies the earth and occasionally bursts through its crust in earthquakes and

volcanoes. And like the fire in smithies he is the tamer and moulder of bronze and gold and silver, working them into fresh forms of art and beauty. Like flames too he is in his motions unsteady and oscillating.

At Lemnos then Hephæstus retained through historical times what we may conceive to have been his original character of a deity of fire in all its forms. And we find the same character attaching to him in a few other places, such as *Ætna* in Sicily and *Lipara*, places where there either was volcanic power in activity or the Phœnician settlers had left traditions of their Cabeiric deities who worked in metal. There was something of this loftier conception current at Athens, or the Athenians would never have thought Hephæstus a worthy companion for *Athena*. Hephæstus figures largely in Homer as well as in certain early legends, such as that which tells how he assisted at the birth of *Athena* by opening the head of *Zeus* with his axe. But in most parts of Greece he was merely the deity of the members of a particular trade, that of workers in metal, and outside the religious feelings and observances of the most of the people.

Hermes was, as we have seen, of no great account in the Homeric Olympus. But the longest of the hymns which bear Homer's name is composed in his honour; we should perhaps rather say that it is concerned with him, for it does not reflect much honour on him, and is far indeed from the modern conception of a hymn. *Hermes* was born one morning of *Maia* on Mount *Cyllene* in *Arcadia*; by mid-day he had already made his great invention of the lyre, which he formed of the shell of a gigantic land tortoise, such as existed among the *Arcadian* hills. In the evening he proceeded to steal the oxen of *Apollo*, dragging them backwards into his cave in *Cyllene*. *Apollo*, after a while, discovered his loss, and, tracing the oxen to the cave, entered and found *Hermes*, an infant asleep in his cradle, who denied at once any complicity in the theft, pointing to the absurdity of supposing that a mere babe could plan a great theft. *Apollo* summoned him to the presence of *Zeus*, and even then he persisted in his tale with effrontery: in vain, for *Zeus* obliged him to reveal the place where the oxen were hidden. But even yet he understood how to pacify the just wrath of *Apollo* by presenting him with the lyre which he had invented. With this *Apollo* was so fascinated that he not only forgave the theft but promised *Hermes* that he should in future be his chosen friend and companion among the immortals, and gave him the staff of wealth and prosperity, with

rule over flocks and herds, wild creatures, and horses in the stall. Only the gift of prophecy Apollo cannot impart to him, much as he desires it: that he is bound by a vow not to bestow on any one.

In this legendary poem we see traces of the principal functions fulfilled by Hermes in mythology. The view strongly advocated by Roscher, and now generally accepted, is that in origin Hermes was a god of the wind, and so of the swift changes of the sky, especially at sunrise and sunset. From this primary notion Roscher tries to derive all the functions exercised by Hermes in later myth. Some of his explanations seem reasonable: the least satisfactory of them is that which constitutes the god of wind a herdsman's deity, and ruler of flocks and herds.

It is certain that from early Pelasgic times Hermes was regarded as presiding over the propagation and increase of flocks and herds. He was a shepherd's and herdsman's god in the primitive district of Arcadia; and in the Pelasgic island of Samothrace he was worshipped in a very naïve fashion as patron of propagation, the ram being his sacred animal. Even in Homer there is a strain of coarseness in Hermes, who is made in the lay of Demodocus to declare that he would accept the humiliating position of Ares, if he might thereby gain the favour of Aphrodite; and in the Arcadian stories he is almost as random in his amours as Pan and the Satyrs. In the Hesiodic *Theogony* he is spoken of as the increaser of cattle; and as in early times men's wealth consisted of flocks and herds, it need not surprise us that a deity of propagation should become the giver of wealth and prosperity.

The history of the cultus of Hermes is very instructive. He plays but a poor part in early legend, and never at any time bears a high character like those of Apollo and Athena, yet he is continually growing in favour with the people, and constantly receiving fresh functions, until in later Greek times he is one of the most frequently invoked and universally cultivated of all Hellenic deities. Out of Arcadia he had few great temples, but few towns were without some sanctuary of Hermes, and little chapels built in his honour were scattered along all roads and over all fields. His physical meaning was lost sight of, but as people had learned to regard him as giver of wealth, of eloquence, and other good things, which are much sought after in wealthy and progressive communities, he never lost his hold on the affections of the people until paganism entirely decayed. Even in latest times he divided with Τύχη

or Fortune the homage of those who, in their hearts, believed in no god but the Emperor and his representatives. Yet how little respect was mingled with this universal worship may be judged from the concluding phrase of the Homeric Hymn—

παῦρα μὲν οὖν ὀνίνησι τὸ δ' ἄκριτον ἡπεροπέει
νύκτα δι' ὀρφναίην φῦλα θνητῶν ἀνθρώπων.

As Hermes is the divine herald, so he has already in the *Odyssey* become on occasions the messenger who announces to deities and to men the solemn decrees of Olympus. And this heraldic function of his is in later times much enlarged, Iris retiring into the background. He becomes the messenger of the gods in all things: thus it is he who has control of dreams, dreams which hover about us most often in the dawn, which is the time of Hermes' influence. Those which he sends are sometimes meant to deceive and mislead, but they must never be wholly despised, since sometimes they convey the counsel and will of Zeus himself. And Hermes is also intrusted with the function of leading away those to whose life the gods and fate have put an end, and introducing them to the realm of shades below. For this reason a sacrifice was at Argos offered to him¹ by the friends of one who had died, thirty days after the burial. And thus he is represented in art and legend as the guide of Herakles Orpheus and other mortals who ventured to penetrate into the world below. He is also often depicted as engaged in other business on behalf of the gods, bearing young Dionysus to the care of Nysa, or carrying young Arcas.

To heralds the gift of eloquence was essential, and so Hermes, as deity of the guild of heralds, was patron of eloquence. Ready of speech and quick of resource, he was high in favour among the quick-witted and not over-scrupulous. The eloquence of St. Paul caused him to be taken at Lystra for Hermes, and Hermes λόγιος was the special deity of orators and pleaders. By a natural association the god of eloquence was also supposed to be skilled in all arts and attainments. "By favour of Hermes," says Odysseus,² who "gives grace and glory to all men's work, no mortal may vie with me in the business of a serving-man." In this aspect, Hermes was sometimes associated with Athena and set over all skilled labour of handicraft. Commerce is the natural complement of manufacture, and this was in a still more special manner put under the patronage

¹ Plutarch, *Qu. Græc.* 24.

² *Od.* xv. 319.

of Hermes. As *ἀγοραῖος* he watched over most markets, and as *διέμπορος* granted a good market to merchants, and inspired them with lucky ideas as to the selection of an object of commerce or a time of sailing. But the connection of this clever and inventive being with commerce would scarcely tend to raise its character: the Greek merchants, like their Phœnician predecessors, were too much given to double-dealing and cheating; and they might easily fancy that their persons would be scarcely less acceptable to their guardian deity in consequence of any little peculations. In outwitting their customers they only followed in his steps. Indeed, the Greeks did not hesitate to go further still. As every craft and guild had a special deity, thieves must have one too, and Hermes *δόλιος* was appropriated by them as bestower of their unjust gains and their teacher in the arts of trickery and deceit.

Far more respectable was another function of Hermes, that of overlooking palæstræ and encouraging athletic sports. His appropriateness in this connection arises from the fact that the Greeks in all their contests valued skill and address far more than mere force, and reserved their loudest applause for those competitors who by means of science vanquished those more robust than themselves. At the entrance of the Stadium at Olympia were two altars, one of *Καῖρός*, Opportunity, and one of Hermes *ἐναγώνιος*, implying that in order to win, an athlete must do the right thing at the right time. His skill enabled Hermes to hold his own in boxing against Ares. In later sculpture he is represented as the model of a slender but highly trained Ephebus, who might well win in running or the pentathlon, while Herakles is made on the model of the brawny wrestler or pancratiast; and Herakles and Hermes stood side by side in many gymnasia as overlookers.

Small figures of Hermes, or rather heads of Hermes placed on square columns, were of frequent occurrence alike in country and town. In the fields they marked the boundaries of fields and estates, giving a sacred character to the landmarks which divided the lands of individuals and of communities, or they indicated even at a distance the course of roads over the hills, roads not easily made nor frequent among the rocks and torrents of Greece. In the cities they were not less common, and in particular were a feature of the streets of Athens. The dwellers in the houses near by would, on festal occasions, deck these rude figures with crowns and flowers, and strong testimony to the attachment of the people to them is to be

found in the account given by Thucydides of their consternation on discovering the mutilation by Alcibiades. But these Hermæ, like the pillar-shaped images of Apollo ἀγυιεύς, which stood near them, were more like the Lares and Penates of the Romans than the embodiments of actual Olympian deities.

A sort of double or reflection of the Arcadian Hermes, the god of flocks and herds, was Pan, the goat-footed shepherd's god. Pan was more local in character than almost any Greek deity: he belongs originally to Arcadia and even to the district about the Lycæan mountain. The superstitious rustics of that district honoured him with firstlings of their flocks, and dreaded to disturb Pan as he lay in the caves in his mid-day slumber, for his temper was not light when he was provoked. From Arcadia the superstition spread into other pastoral districts. But we might have heard little of Pan but for his connection with the battle of Marathon, when he aided the Athenians and spread panic terror through the ranks of the barbarians. Henceforth, following the impulse of Miltiades, the Athenians adopted Pan, consecrating to him the grotto on the side of the Acropolis hill, and dedicating to him and the Nymphs many of the woodland glades and caves in the Attic hills. And the second school of Attic sculptors fully introduced Pan into art, associating him with the rout of Dionysus, and multiplying him for the purposes of their craft into a crowd of goat-hoofed and horned Dæmons to sport with Nymphs and to be the prey of Eros.

Ares is a deity whose cultus certainly receded into the background in the historic age. It is true that he was regarded as a son of Zeus and Hera and the deity of war. Yet he is not prominent on coins or in the pages of Pausanias, and was certainly one of the less regarded of the Olympian gods. His fall had begun before the days of Homer, who treats him with scanty respect. Yet we can find in Greece traces of his early worship on many sites. At Olympia he gave way to Zeus, to whom he bequeathed the surname "Ἀρεῖος. The name Areiopagus at Athens was a standing testimony of a time when the hill was dedicated to Ares.¹ But the district especially connected with Ares was Bœotia, called by Æschylus γαίᾱς πέδον τῆσδ' "Ἀρεῖον, and notably Thebes.

The noble families of Thebes were termed Sparti, and said to be born with the mark of a spear on their bodies: in these

¹ Some recent writers, however, connect the name Areiopagus with ἀπαλ (hill of curses), rather than Ares.

ways was indicated their connection with Cadmus, the ancestral Theban hero, who married Harmonia, the daughter of Ares, and founded the Theban commonwealth. In the Cadmean circle of legends Ares appears as the local deity. Like other Theban deities, Ares had his primitive seat in Thrace. Herodotus speaks of Ares Dionysus and Artemis (Cotyto) as the principal Thracian deities; and it was especially in Thrace and Macedon that Ares was worshipped in historical times.

After the Roman conquest of Greece, Ares being identified with Mars, the father of Romulus and a god of much account among the warlike nations of Italy, recovered something of his ancient consideration.

The meaning of the Cadmean legends has been a matter of much dispute. Formerly they were regarded as establishing beyond dispute the existence of a Phœnician element in Boeotia. To this view, however, there are grave objections. Thebes is not the kind of site which attracted the people of Tyre and Sidon, and the Bœotians are connected alike by legend and the probability of the matter rather with Thessaly than with Phœnicia. We are in fact at present unable to determine the ethnic origin of the ancient race of Thebes; but we pass from the field of conjecture to that of certainty when we recognise the fact that certain of the Greek deities and heroes had some of their most ancient votaries among the Cadmeians. These are Ares and Dionysus, and in a somewhat less degree, Herakles, Hephæstus, Aphrodite, and Demeter.

The Greeks accepted the foreign origin of Aphrodite, yet somewhat strangely she appears in early literature as the daughter of Zeus and Dione, the primitive Dodonæan deities, who are essentially Hellenic. This is the ancestry attributed to the goddess by Homer; but Hesiod has quite another account. In the *Theogony*¹ he makes her spring from the blood of Cronus after his mutilation by Zeus, and tells how she arose from the sea and made her way to Cyprus and Cythera. One of the few poetical lines of the dull *Theogony* is that which relates how around her tender feet the grass sprang when she reached the Cyprian strand. A beautiful Homeric hymn relates the visit of Aphrodite in the guise of a mortal maiden to Anchises as he lay with his flocks, and tells how she inspired him with passion and afterwards disclosed herself to him as the daughter of Zeus. This narration shows that the Trojan legends were mingled with those of Syria in

¹ Lines 191-200.

the history of Aphrodite as accepted by the Greeks, even in early times. In Cyprus itself, however, the legendary lover of the goddess was not Anchises but Adonis, whose cult was imported with hers from Syria.¹

Eryx in Sicily was an early seat of the worship of Aphrodite, said to have been carried thither by Phœnician settlers. Ancient temples of the goddess were to be found in many Greek cities, often connected with traditions of the same race. In some cases the archaic statues of the goddess were armed, in this reminding us of the figure of Astarte, who was a warlike goddess as well as an amorous. In various cities the character attaching to the worship of Aphrodite greatly varied, changing with the character of the people and their tendencies, more severe in Sparta, dissolute at Corinth, and so forth. Everywhere, however, she represented human love, whether a higher or a lower phase of it; to excite the progeneritiveness of animals was not her task but that of Hermes and Pan; and fertility of crops was the gift of Demeter. Only the philosophers like Democritus made of Aphrodite the principle of engendering and of growth in all parts of the universe.

At Athens, according to Xenophon,² there were separate shrines of Aphrodite Urania and Aphrodite Pandemos, and the sacrifices and ceremonies of the former were more chaste, those of the latter more impure. Xenophon makes Socrates ascribe to Pandemos sensual passion, and to Urania the love of the spirit. It is possible that in later time the mere name Urania, which was applied to Astarte as a moon-goddess, was misunderstood and supposed to imply a moral elevation.

In later times the connection of Aphrodite with the sea was not dropped. In art she frequently appears in connection with dolphins and sea-monsters, and she rules the rough hosts of Tritons and Nymphs. Art also associates her more and more closely as time goes on with Eros, not of course the cosmic Eros, the venerable deity who was worshipped at Thespiaæ and Parium, but the youth who appears in the art of Pheidias and Praxiteles as a tall and pensive youth, and who becomes in later art a mere winged baby, lending himself to all sorts of scenes of genre, and forming an important element in the scenes where swarm the dæmons of country and of sea.

Of Demeter and her daughter Persephone, the chief local

¹ The question of the origin of the cultus of Aphrodite is discussed above, p. 86.

² *Symposium*, viii. 9.

seat is of course Eleusis in Attica. The celebrated *Homeric Hymn* informs us what tales of these deities there had course. Persephone had been seized by Hades as she gathered flowers in a meadow, and carried to the world below. Demeter was seized with uncontrollable grief at her loss, and knowing not whither she had been borne, wandered for nine days and nights in vain search. Then hearing the truth from Helios, she renounced the society of the gods and betook herself across the lands to Eleusis, where she entered the service of King Celeus, and was intrusted with the nursing of his son Demophon. Him she set about rendering immortal, feeding him with ambrosia by day, and plunging him in the fire at night; but this process was stayed through the motherly terrors of Mataneira the queen. Indignant at the spoiling of her plans, the goddess could only be propitiated if a temple were built her on the spot. Gladly the people set about raising one, and there for a year the goddess dwelt apart, a year terrible to the dwellers on the earth, for she withheld her aid, and the corn rose not out of the ground. The whole race would have perished had not Zeus determined to pacify the irate goddess by restoring her beloved daughter. Persephone came back to earth; but the restoration could not be permanent, for in the realm below, Hades had persuaded her to taste a grain of pomegranate, which prevented her from remaining for the whole year away from him. Henceforth then she led an alternating life, abiding eight months on the green earth and four in the realms of the dead. Demeter returned to Olympus; but before she went she imparted to the daughters of Celeus and to her favourite Triptolemus, details of the services to be done in her honour, and of the mysteries which were to remain a constant memorial of the return of Persephone.

The physical meaning of this myth is so clear that it seems scarcely to need explanation. Demeter, γῆ μήτηρ, as the ancients themselves explained the name, is the fruitful earth; Persephone is the springing corn which lies hidden for months as seed in the realms of darkness and night, and then arises to gladden the eyes and the hearts of men. The earth in winter mourns the death of vegetation, which is wasted by the destroyer and carried into the unseen country, and is once more pacified when it appears in spring. The whole cultus of Demeter and Persephone is based on these ideas; and that cultus seems to belong to a different, perhaps a more primitive layer of beliefs than most of those of Greece. The

ancients considered Demeter to be a Pelasgic deity ; and the distribution of her temples shows that she belongs to the more primitive Greek races rather than those which are more prominent in later times. Pelasgians, according to Callimachus,¹ planted in Dotian territory, near Lake Bœbeis in Thessaly, a grove in honour of Demeter. In Argos was a temple of Demeter Pelasgis. At Thermopylæ an annual festival was celebrated in honour of Demeter, who was one of the chief protecting deities of the ancient Amphictionic League. At Thebes, the temple of Demeter was considered a foundation of Cadmus himself,² and in the *Phœnissæ* of Euripides³ the Chorus calls on Ge, on Demeter, and Persephone as the original deities of the land. In Attica, not only have we Eleusis with its very ancient temple and primitive mysteries handed down from early inhabitants of the country, but at Athens itself the Thesmophoria, which were celebrated in her honour, were some of the oldest and most splendid ceremonies of the city, and in the opinion of some modern scholars earlier than the Ionian conquest. In Peloponnesus the worship of Demeter was firmly established in early times, especially in Messenia, where mysteries were celebrated in her honour at Andania as to which we can recover many details from inscriptions,⁴ and in Arcadia. In the later age of Greece we find the head of Demeter on the coins of the Messenians when restored to their city by Epaminondas, of Pheneus, and other places ; and Demeter Panachæa was one of the chief deities of the Achæan League. On the other hand we do not find that the Dorians had any original cultus of Demeter ; and she was perhaps only borrowed by the Achæan and Ionian races.

We may more readily understand the distribution of the temples of Demeter if we consider the nature of the gifts which she bestowed on men : she is the fruitful land which causes the seed sown in it to spring into leaf and to give fruit ; and legends ascribed to her the instruction of mankind in ploughing and harrowing, and in gathering and winnowing the grain. To her favourite, Triptolemus, she imparted the knowledge of husbandry, and despatched him on her own car drawn by winged serpents, to pass through the lands, and dispense everywhere alike the seed of corn and knowledge of its culture ; and she was said to have bestowed her favour on Iasion, when

¹ *In Cer.* 25.

³ L. 686.

² *Paus.* ix. 16, 5.

⁴ See the chapter on *Mysteries*.

he had led her into a field which had been thrice ploughed in Crete, bearing to him a child named Plutus, an allegory of easy interpretation. We should then expect that she would be held in honour by the early inhabitants of the fertile Thessalian plain, and in agricultural Bœotia, the country of the *Works and Days*, and in Attica, which prided itself on the antiquity and goodness of its agriculture. The wide spread of the cultus during historical times was greatly aided, probably, by the high favour wherein the Eleusinian Mysteries were held throughout Hellas. As paganism declined, their lustre became brighter, and people came from far-distant lands to be initiated. Knowing these facts, we may be less surprised that corn-growing Sicily was regarded as an island entirely devoted to the service of Demeter and Persephone; and in the times of Roman dominion no deity was more popularly worshipped in Peloponnesus.

Demeter, however, was the giver of more than mere corn. As *Θεσμοφόρος* she was the foundress of stable institutions, and the regulator of political life in countries. It is scarcely at first sight clear how this can be the province of a goddess of agriculture, much as agriculture does to settle and make steady the lives of men. But the Thesmophoric feasts, which existed in many Greek states, including Athens, were essentially festivals of matrons, who excluded men from them. Demeter is eminently the matronly goddess and patroness of marriage. We can think of several ways in which wedlock and agriculture may be connected, and it is even possible that the ancients had made the generalisation that nations devoted to agriculture are usually monogamous, those given to pasture polygamous, and therefore holding women in less esteem. No doubt the exact nature of the institutions due to the influence of Demeter was in time forgotten, and she was regarded as the lover of all that was stable in law, of time-honoured custom, and ancient privilege. So, to Triptolemus legend ascribed three commandments: that men should honour their parents, offer to the gods fruits, and be gentle to animals. And so at Athens, the command to honour one's parents was closely attached to the service of the agrarian Athena.

Persephone is almost always closely associated in cultus either with her mother, of whom she is in many places a sort of duplicate, or with Hades. Hades and Persephone occupied a very prominent place in the Greek mind, as undisputed king and queen of that unseen world into which, after long or short time, all go down. But the Greek idea of death was

gloomy and with small admixture of hope : a hundred epitaphs and epigrams speak of the sacred pair, but usually as the hard-hearted abbreviators of human life, and as the great separators of lovers and friends, beings stern and pitiless, and the dispensers of small joy ; and though Death had in some places altars and priests, Hades had none. Pausanias¹ remarks that within the range of his observation, only the people of Elis had altars and litany to Hades.² And indeed of what avail could prayers be when addressed to one who never spared ? And the same absence of worship as a rule tinged the thoughts of the Greeks with regard to Persephone, when considered as a chthonic goddess.

According to Herodotus, the latest additions to the Greek pantheon were Dionysus and Pan. Pan was, as we know, practically added to it in the time of Miltiades ; Dionysus at an earlier and uncertain time, but later than that of Homer. However, both Pan and Dionysus had existed as deities in particular districts long before they were accepted by the Greeks in general. Dionysus appears to have been imported from Thrace, where, under the name Sabazius, he was from early times the object of an enthusiastic cultus, celebrated with wild orgies and excesses of every kind. The Thracians were of kindred race with Phrygians and Bithynians ; and the religion of all these races was penetrated by the same love of excitement, partly spiritual, but in a far greater degree physical, and leading to self-mutilations and sexual aberrations of an extreme kind. So we hear that the Thracian women and those of Macedon were in the habit of forming orgiastic choruses in honour of Dionysus, and retiring to the mountains, where they gave full vent to their frenzy.

In Thrace were ancient oracles of Dionysus, such as that in the country of the Bisaltæ, and the tribe of Bessi had a sort of hereditary right to furnish priests of Dionysus.³ Even Homer knows the story of Lycurgus and Dionysus, which seems to contain in perverted form the key of Thracian mythology. It is related in the *Iliad*⁴ how Lycurgus "chased through the goodly land of Nysa the nursing-mothers of frenzied Dionysus" (the Dionysiac Nymphs), and how Dionysus fled from him and hid beneath the waves and took refuge with Thetis. Lycurgus, the man hateful to the gods, seems to be Ares under another

¹ vi. 25, 3.

² Ancestor-worship is, however, scarcely to be distinguished from the worship of Hades. See Book ii. ch. i.

³ Herod. vii. 111.

⁴ vi. 129-146.

name, and the rivalry between him and Dionysus to point to some rivalry between their cults. The *Homeric Hymn*, on the other hand, has no Thracian tinge: it merely relates how Dionysus was captured by Tyrrhenian pirates as he wandered by the sea and carried away; and how the bonds which they put upon him did not stay but slipped off, and how wine began to flow about the ship, and vine and ivy to climb the mast; and how the god himself became a lion in the midst, and the sailors leapt in terror into the sea and were transformed into dolphins. Yet both these stories well characterise Dionysus as the Greeks thought of him, a young, blooming, and aggressive deity, everywhere invading and always in the end triumphant; wandering about the lands at the head of his crowds of Satyrs and Mænads, and introducing far and wide the culture of the vine and the practice of the wild orgies in which he delighted.

The Hellenic home of Dionysus was at Thebes. The Thebans found him a mother, Semele, whom they called daughter of Cadmus, and placed him among their ancestral deities. From Thebes the cultus passed south. It passed to Delphi, where Dionysus shared with Apollo the honours of worship, and was associated with him in legend. It passed to Athens, where from the earliest historic period Dionysus enjoyed a rare popularity.

It is the association of the God of wine with Athens which has most contributed to his renown. It will not be forgotten that we owe to the Athenian Dionysia the origin alike of comedy and tragedy, and that during the time of Athenian greatness the festivals of Dionysus were a time, not merely of revelry and jollity, but of the highest intellectual enjoyment, and even of moral elevation and progress. In the same way the nightly revels and wine-drinkings, which were under the patronage of Dionysus, were varied on occasion by philosophic discussion and patriotic song, as well as by wild excess and debauchery. True to its origin, the Bacchic enthusiasm inspired sometimes religious and sometimes sensual passion. Not seldom did the Dionysiac fervour cause men to forget their dignity and women to take leave of their modesty, so that every kind of excess was almost openly committed, and we even hear of human sacrifices. To tear a child limb from limb seems to have been no unheard of proceeding at these festivals; and the sacred legends justified such crimes by furnishing a host of precedents, in which, under the maddening influence of the god, parents had torn to pieces their children and even devoured raw the reeking limbs. With justice then the Dionysiac

festivals received in some cities the name Agrionia or Agriania ; and we are inclined to justify the Romans, who, discovering that Dionysiac rites were making their way in Campania, sternly put them down at the cost of much bloodshed.

The cultus of Dionysus became in the hands of Alexander the Great a weapon of considerable political avail. It served as a bond between Greek and Asiatic ; for the Greeks still retained in their worship of Dionysus rites scarcely different from those of the Phrygian Sabazius and the Lydian Bassareus. In the Cabul valley in North India the Macedonian army found a people who cultivated the vine and loved its juice, and who were willing to let the Greeks believe that they had been settled there by Dionysus. With these tribes the Greeks seem to have become friendly ; and from this period there prevailed those stories of the Indian campaigns of Dionysus, which were so largely current in later Greece, and which are related by Nonnus. In fact it is likely that the deity of Indian origin, whom the people of Cabul were ready to identify with Dionysus, was Siva.

A particular form of Dionysus which belonged specially to Crete, and was thence diffused, especially by the agency of mysteries, was the chthonian deity Zagreus. Zagreus was said to be son of Zeus and Persephone, and was worshipped in taurine or semi-taurine form. In the legends of Zagreus, in the place of victims being torn in honour of the god, it is the god who is torn in pieces by the nefarious hands of Titans, who take advantage of his youth to attract him into their power with playthings. Pallas rescues his bleeding heart and carries it to Zeus ; Demeter clothes it with a new body. Zagreus lives again, but lives as ruler of the world of shades, and as such receives the worship of a crowd of votaries. Of Zagreus we shall speak again when we reach the subject of the mysteries. In Greece sacred tales took the place of a creed, and agreed with forms of worship, and it may easily be seen how well such a tale as that just mentioned would suit mystic ceremonies and enthusiastic orgies.

Beside the deities we must for a moment place the greatest of Greek heroes, Heracles the Theban and Argive. To him the Greeks ascribed unlimited force and not less resolution and energy of soul ; he was the unconquered and unconquerable. Greek legend and Greek art were never tired of his feats, which are the theme of endless reliefs and paintings ; and the Hellenic mind seems to have particularly affected the tales of his victories over older deities : how he assisted Zeus in the

Gigantomachy, how he wounded Hera in the breast and Apollo in the eye, how he planted an arrow in Hades himself and bore away the watch-dog Cerberus, how he lay in wait for Death and robbed him of his fair prey, Alcestis. Finally, having met and conquered a thousand perils, the Greeks represent him as winning a way to Olympus by his valour, and entering it as the favourite of Athena, and the husband of Hebe; even the jealous anger of Hera giving way before his achievements.

In later Greek times Herakles has almost entirely dropped the hero and assumed the god. We must bear in mind other lines of his derivation; for he undoubtedly stands in many legends and traditions for the Tyrian sun-god Melkarth, and his character is as much derived from Phœnician as from Hellenic sources. But though Herakles was a god, and one of the most widely worshipped, yet his origin as son of a Theban woman was remembered enough to make him a greater favourite. As reverence for the gods declined, this parvenu, who had so often defeated and disgraced them, and finally forced his way into their ranks, became more and more popular, at all events with the common people. His aid was not unnaturally looked for when any difficult thing had to be done. He was also regarded as able to turn aside evil from his votaries. Herakles, ἀλεξίκακος and σωτήρ, had many an altar in the Greek cities: he was summoned by the sick to turn away the power of their diseases, and by husbandmen to avert blight and caterpillars. The class most devoted to him was, as was natural, athletes, he being the earliest and greatest of their class. His statue stood in the gymnasia, and his form, as represented in later art, was regarded as the model of an athlete of the heavier class, a wrestler or pancratiast. But respect for Herakles was not confined to the many, for educated people persuaded themselves that his labours were undertaken unselfishly for the good of mankind, and philosophers even made him a pattern for conscientious youth, as did Prodicus in the well-known story of the choice of Herakles.

But the recognised deities of Olympus were by no means the sole recipients of worship in Greece. Besides these there were a host of dæmons of various kinds, which seem to have been endowed with reality in very various degrees, some being clearly recognised objects of cultus, others appearing to be mere abstractions, and inventions of poets and philosophers. Among these dæmons many were specially attached to the train of some deity: the Erotes to Aphrodite, Satyrs to Dionysus, Tritons to Poseidon. But not rarely beings regarded as quite

subordinate in most parts of Greece were in some local cult raised to a high place of honour. Eros was venerated beyond all deities at Thespiæ in Bœotia; and the Graces or Charites were greatly honoured at Orchomenus. Nike, the personification of victory, was raised to the rank of an important deity at Olympia, where the games were placed, not unnaturally, under her tutelage, nor does any figure appear more constantly than hers on Greek coins. Of the same class was Eirene, who, in works of art, is scarcely to be discriminated from Nike. We hear of shrines erected at Sparta to Φόβος and to Γέλως, two dæmons whose power was not much felt practically in that city; and at Olympia to Καῖρός, fitting opportunity, whom to know rightly was a great aid in any competition; and to Ὀμόνοια, whom we may suppose to have watched over the many agreements and treaties of which memorials were there set up. In Arcadia they venerated as persons Βροντή and Αστραπή, the thunder and lightning of Zeus. Temples were also raised to Εἰλείθνια, the impersonation of child-bearing, whom the Greek woman who expected to become a mother was sure to venerate and present with offerings; in the *Homeric Hymn* to Apollo, however, this being is considered as having little power or will apart from those of her mistress, Hera.

Two personifications of ancient date and widespread renown were Ἀγαθὸς Δαίμων and Ἀγαθὴ Τύχη, the male and female representatives of good luck in life. An invocation of them sometimes stands at the head of Greek civic decrees; and there were ancient shrines dedicated to them and images of them in many Greek cities. It is sometimes supposed that they were of Roman origin, and only adopted in later Greece; but this is a mistake. It was, however, a custom of later Greece, taking its rise probably in Hellenistic times, to establish in cities a cultus of the Τύχη of that particular place, a sort of impersonation of its destiny. Such creations received much worship in late times; and indeed, as belief in the gods declined, the belief in Fortune steadily grew; so that many soldiers in the armies of the time seem to have acknowledged no other deity.

Below the hierarchy of gods and dæmons comes the race of demi-gods or heroes. Of the origin of the cultus of the dead in prehistoric days I have already spoken; it remains only to make a rapid survey of the heroic population of Greece in historical times.

Hesiod, in the *Works and Days*,¹ intercalates the race of

¹ L. 157.

heroes between the race of bronze and that of iron which is still existing. These were, he says, the noble and warlike race who fought around seven-gated Thebes, and under the walls of Troy; and after their death Zeus removed them to the islands of the blessed, where, under the rule of Cronus, they dwell in peace and plenty. A number of the heroes venerated in the cities of Greece were of this class. Achilles was for some strange reason worshipped on the shores of the Euxine, and even as ruler of the waves of that inhospitable sea. Ajax was greatly honoured in Ægina, the home of Æacus, and gave his name to one of the Athenian tribes. At the time of the Persian war his aid was formally besought by the Athenians; and after that war was over we find Themistocles¹ piously ascribing the victory to the aid of gods and heroes. Menelaus and Helen received constant honours at Sparta. The Locrian Ajax Oileus occurs as the regular type on the Locrian coins, and Protesilaüs sometimes makes his appearance on those of the Phthiotic Thebes. Every student of Greek history knows how the bones of Orestes were removed to Sparta, and those of Theseus to Athens, to be venerated in those cities and to confer on them lasting benefit; and incidents of this character are to be found in the annals of most of the little republics of Greece.

But the name and honours of a hero were by no means confined to Homeric and epic worthies. There were traditionary heroes of a quite local character, like Marathon and Echetlus, who fought on the side of the Greeks at Marathon. When any person had by his death hallowed or made memorable a spot, he retained for ever a certain power or influence there. For such reason Neoptolemus was treated as a hero at Delphi; thus, too, the Spartan defeat at Leuctra was considered generally as partly due to the nearness of that place to the tombs of the daughters of Scedasus, whom the Spartans had in former days wronged and murdered. But one class of heroes obtained quite a special cultus: it comprises the founders of cities who had led the colonists to them and performed on the spot those sacred rites without which no Greek city came into being. Such a leader was, if possible, buried under the market-place, that his presence might still dwell among the citizens: in any case, a shrine was erected in his honour, and, in times of danger and distress, his aid was solemnly invoked by the people. And this was done not only in case of founders whose distance

¹ Herod. viii. 109.

in past times might be supposed to lend them something of sacred character, such as Phalanthus at Tarentum, or Androclus at Ephesus, but even in case of comparatively late founders. Thus Miltiades was revered as founder, *κτιστής*, by the Greek colonists of Chersonesus, and Brasidas by those of Amphipolis. The cities of Sicily with one consent raised to the rank of hero and second founder Timoleon, after he had freed them from the Carthaginian yoke.

Later the literary Ptolemies of Egypt erected a heroon to Homer, and so with better historical claim did the citizens of Smyrna. Orpheus became a hero in Lesbos, where his head was preserved, and Bias in his native city Priene. We even hear that Socrates, who was condemned to death for impiety, received a temple after death, and there were altars of his rival Anaxagoras; but phenomena like these belong to the decline. In better times the raising of one dead man to heroic rank was a serious business. It has been frequently and not inaptly compared to canonisation in the Church of Rome. As it is the privilege of the Pope to decide on the canonisation of saint or martyr, so it was commonly the authority which among the Greeks most nearly corresponded to the Pope, the Oracle of Delphi, which pronounced judgment on the merits of those proposed for heroic honours. But the Delphic oracle was far more lavish in its grants of honour, and not only usually passed those proposed, but very commonly recommended on its own account the establishment of some heroic cultus as a remedy for a disease which ravaged a city or a calamity impending over it. But private individuals often took it upon themselves, in virtue of a dream or portent, which strong wishing might easily produce, to establish a heroon in honour of a deceased friend; and such heroon, if well endowed with worldly goods, might last for ages, and easily by chance, or through a pious fraud, become celebrated.

Students of mythology are familiar with the process by which deities once powerful were reduced to the rank of *dæmon* or demi-god and attached in a subordinate position to one of the great Olympic deities. Nereus thus becomes subordinate to Poseidon, and Adonis sinks from a great god into the human lover of Aphrodite; but the reverse process is at least equally common. Among the Greeks not only men were constantly being elevated to the rank of heroes, but also a few of the more prominent heroes passed into the ranks of the gods.

Of the last mentioned progress a few instances will suffice. Herakles was practically regarded by the later Greeks as a god,

although the time at which he was supposed to have lived was well marked in Greek heroic annals; and several races of Peloponnesian kings and nobles claimed to be descended from him in the ordinary human way. Asklepius was usually thought of as one who had lived in the world, and his sons Podaleirius and Machaon led to Troy the men of Tricca in Thessaly, yet in Hellenistic times few deities enjoyed greater reputation, and he is termed in inscriptions μέγας, σωτήρ, and even Ζεύς. Amphiaraus was said to have accompanied the first expedition against Thebes, but his oracles were held in very high estimation in Hellas, yielding scarcely to those of Apollo himself, and he himself was reckoned as a deity. Mythical founders of cities were in many instances worshipped in those cities, not as heroes but as gods—Autolycus, for example, at Sinope, and Tlepolemus at Tiryns.

Even men in the later days of Greece were sometimes accorded divine honours. This was a custom evidently of Oriental origin. From early times the great kings of Assyria and Egypt were reckoned as gods by the people who had to render them a slavish obedience, and sometimes they seemed to the down-trodden multitudes the only gods able to help and to punish. Welcker¹ remarks that Lysander was the earliest of the Greeks to be thus honoured; the Samians, or at least the oligarchical party among them, singing a hymn in his praise, that is, invoking him as the healing god to deliver them from the bondage of Athens, and changing the name of their greatest festival from Heræa to Lysandria, in his honour. Philip of Macedon allowed the people of Amphipolis to sacrifice to him as a deity, and at the wedding of his daughter Cleopatra, figured with the twelve great gods as one of them. That Alexander went further still need surprise us little, for after his conquests he assumed the airs of an Oriental monarch, and divinity was but one of these. After his death Alexandria became the seat of a great cultus of him as a deity, and henceforth the assumption of divinity is made by all his marshals who attain any position of power or renown. The Ptolemies in Egypt have regular temples with their colleges of priests attached to the service of the reigning monarch, and the Seleucidæ in Syria assume as their regal name some title, doubtless selected by the priests, from among those commonly conferred on deities, such as σωτήρ or ἐπιφανής. Demetrius at Athens received the title of θεὸς σωτήρ, and was lodged in the Parthenon as friend and guest of Athena; even

¹ *Gr. Götterl.* iii. 300.

to his wives, as impersonations of Aphrodite, temples were erected in various part of Greece. The deification of the Roman Emperors, which the Romans had the decency to postpone to their death, but which the Greeks sometimes carried through while they lived, was but a continuation of the customs into which these latter had fallen in the case of their own kings. We can scarcely be surprised to learn that in days when divinity was conferred on those who could exercise high functions of command, the lower grade of heroism was bestowed at death on almost any person whose surviving friends desired it and could pay for it.

BOOK III

CULTUS

CHAPTER I

SACRED PRECINCTS AND TEMPLES

IT is well known to every one that in Homer, though Olympus is spoken of as the home of all the gods, yet they each have some favourite spot where they dwell by preference, as Hera at Argos and Poseidon at Ægæ. This local tie does not prevent them from hastening to any spot on the earth where their presence may seem desirable, but it furnishes them with a home to which to return. And although prayer is frequently addressed to various of the Olympians by heroes on the battle-field or in their wanderings, it would yet seem that all save three or four were of more ready access if the suppliant were physically near one of his seats. So Achilles, when he wishes to invoke the aid of his mother, goes down to the shore of the sea.¹ Pelops in Pindar,² when he prays to Poseidon, does the same; and sometimes in Homer a prayer is not heard because the deity to whom it is addressed is absent on other affairs; and always a deity was present in his own shrines as nowhere else.

In the dawn of Greek history we already find everywhere plots of land set apart for and consecrated to certain deities. The cause in each case can scarcely at this distance of time be recovered; at most it can only be matter of hypothesis and conjecture. In all likelihood the Greeks in many or most cases merely recognised and adopted an appropriation made by earlier inhabitants of the countries in which they came to dwell. It certainly was thus with the enclosure dedicated to the Ephesian Artemis, whose worship was locally established

¹ *Il.* i. 350.

² Pindar, *Ol.* i. 72.

long before the Athenians under Androclus came to settle on Mounts Prion and Coressus. It was so at Delphi, where an oracle of Gê was established time out of mind, long before the arrival of the Hellenic Apollo. In fact, it is a general rule with archæologists, when they find an ancient religious precinct lying outside the walls of a Greek city in any district but the oldest seats of the Hellenes, to suppose that the foundation is not Greek but pre-Greek, the work of barbarous and forgotten races. And in these cases we shall only be misled if we try, from our knowledge of the Greek mind and Greek religion, to find reasons for the choice of particular localities.

Nevertheless we are able to attain, by a process of induction, to some of the causes which led in Greece to the setting apart of localities for religious purposes. These causes are divided by Hermann¹ into three classes—physical, ethical, and historical, and we cannot do better than follow closely in his steps.

(1) Physical. Certain kinds of localities seemed to the Greeks especially full of the presence of supernatural powers. Groves were frequently dedicated to divinities in Greece as in most countries from the Britain of the Druids to Babylon. In a grove of myrtles one might expect to light on a temple of Aphrodite, in one of olives on a temple of Athena, while laurel-groves belonged especially to Zeus and Apollo. If in a grove or meadow a tree of specially beautiful appearance grew, it would be in early times worshipped itself as a fetish; in later times it would be consecrated to some deity, as was the celebrated ilex sacred to Zeus which grew at Gortys, and the oak of Dodona. The tops of hill and mountain were usually hallowed. Pausanias records abundant instances. Commonly they were set apart for Zeus under the titles *ἑτίος*, *καταιβάτης* and the like; but Hera was worshipped on Mount Eubœa, Aphrodite on the lofty Acrocorinthus, Hermes on Mount Cyllene, and so forth. This connection of mountains with the gods takes the place of the worship of the mountain itself, which we find in non-Greek lands—such worship as that of Mount Argæus in Cappadocia. Caves and grottoes were among the earliest temples; but perhaps the most usual of all seats of early worship were rivers and springs. In a climate like that of Greece rivers are not only useful but necessary to the fertility of a district, and the springs which come rushing forth from chasms in the rocky soil were an endless source of joy and prosperity. The Greeks surrounded them with masonry,

¹ *Gottesdienstliche Alterthümer*, Ed. Stark, p. 62.

propitiated them with offerings, and sought to draw from them auguries as to future events. On many a green tree and beside many a fountain would be found images, fluttering fillets, and simple rustic gifts, remains of a very primitive nature worship, such as remains to this day usual in Japan, and not unheard of even in our country, where sacred trees and wishing wells are not entirely things of the past. Only as religion grew more articulate and anthropomorphic in Greece the sacred spot was usually connected with Olympic deities, and the mere fetishism which had first made it sacred passed into the background. Thus on the sea-shore rose shrines to Poseidon rather than to sea-dæmon and nymph, and the typical river Achelôus was worshipped on the banks of lesser streams.

(2) Next to the physical circumstances which lent sanctity to a spot Hermann places the ethical. Human associations from earliest time mark out for purposes of religion certain parts of abode or city. The most typical is the hearth, whether that of a single family or that of the prytaneium, the place of union of sept or clan. A hearth of some sort was usually to be found in Greece at the site of most great temples. At that of Poseidon by Mycale was the assembling-place of the Ionians; the shrines of Demeter Panachæa and Zeus Homagyrus were places of union of the Achæans; while the prytaneium of Olympia was as it were the common hearth of all Hellas. All old Greek cities having their nucleus or starting-point in an acropolis hill, that hill was the cradle and hearth of the race, and some part of it was set aside for the divinities who protected the unity of the state and watched over its prosperity, the *πολιοῦχοι θεοί*. As the inhabitants, with the advent of more settled times, spread down from the acropolis hill to the plain below, a larger share of the hill was left to the deities, until sometimes as at Athens it became altogether a consecrated place, and all secular buildings were removed to the agora in the plain. And not only did the deities thus acquire the *ἄστυ*, acropolis, but pleasant sites were chosen for such of them as came into favour in the *πόλις* below. Socrates is represented by Xenophon¹ as declaring such spots to be most fitted for dedication to the gods as could be well seen by all, and yet were out of the way of easy approach, so as not to be crowded. Aristotle speaks to much the same effect.

(3) Next to the centres of human circles of intercourse the most

¹ *Memor.* iii. 8, 10.

suitable spots for sacred enclosures were held to be the circumferences. The bounds which separated state and state were often the seats of temples : we may instance the temple of Artemis on Taygetus on the bounds of the territories of Spartans and Messenians, and the Isthmian sanctuary of Poseidon between Corinth and Megara. In this way the deities at once divided states and formed a bond between them. On the neutral ground which they occupied, enemies could meet in peace and discuss terms of friendship and alliance, markets could be held for exchange of goods, and documents could be laid up binding on both states. Along the high-roads of Greece were frequent chapels ; and in places where three ways met in particular were very usually shrines of the triple Hecate. An arrangement introduced for religious motives, and probably continued for those of convenience, directed that travellers who had food to spare should lay it on the altars of Hecate for travellers less amply provided to take and enjoy as the gift of the goddess. The figures of Hermes, which divided lands and marked the course of roads, made a little space round them sacred, and their cultus was never entirely absorbed by those of Hermes and Apollo in the cities : the local feeling always survived. Market-places were always put under the protection of θεοὶ ἀγοραῖοι, Zeus, Athena, or Hermes, who guarded the fidelity of contracts there made, and punished sharp dealing or breach of faith ; and in gymnasia a part was set aside for the occupation of the agonistic gods Hermes and Herakles, of whom one bestowed skill and address, the other force and courage.

Whenever a spot was set apart as sacred to a deity, a legend would arise as if out of the ground to justify such consecration. But in some cases the legend had historical justification. This was most commonly the case when an event of good or evil omen marked out the place where it happened from ordinary ground. Thus a spot struck by lightning remained to all time a sacred enclosure. On the spot in Argos where the Epirote king Pyrrhus fell,¹ the Argives erected a temple to Demeter, and buried the hero therein. In fact, the graves of heroes were everywhere held sacred. No doubt if we could trace back into pre-historic times the rise of places afterwards held sacred in Greece, we should in many cases find that the first impulse to consecration of the spot came from one of those encounters with supernatural powers which are so frequent an experience of the primitive man. He finds, or thinks he finds

¹ Paus. i. 13, 8.

some deity, perhaps embodied in the form of animal or snake in possession of a spot which he has rashly invaded, and the supernatural tenant has to be thenceforward propitiated by continual rites. And as prescription rules in religious matters with unyielding stubbornness, when a deity or dæmon had in any way made good a claim to a particular spot, he would commonly retain it. In later times, often land was made over to some deity in consequence of a dream, an omen, or an oracular response,¹ or by bequest of some person dying with or without heirs.² Sometimes the land of a conquered foe was made over to some deity as a sacred temenos; and a dozen other causes might cause the passage of land from human to divine possession; and as land once made over thus could never be reclaimed, the gods gradually acquired, in the course of Greek history, a larger and larger share of the country.

In the case of the larger sacred places, more especially such as were the seats of agonistic festivals, the *τέμενος* or sacred enclosure was of considerable extent, and contained many buildings adapted for various purposes. It was rigidly marked off from the profane buildings round by a wall, or at least by stones such as are still occasionally discovered, bearing the inscription "*Ὀπος Διὸς*," "*Ὀπος Ἀθῆνης*," and so forth.³ The sacred precincts of many deities were asylums, that is they were safe refuges for those who had committed crimes, for slaves who had been ill-treated or dreaded ill-treatment, for debtors who could not pay their debts, and all persons who stood in fear of enemies or justice. In rude early days, when manners were fierce and justice rudimentary, such an institution must have been productive of much good, putting an end to interminable blood-feuds, and affording the persecuted a means of escape from the tyrant. But in later days the privileges of asylum were serious hindrances to the execution of law. Then most of the precincts lost the right of asylum; and even when a fugitive from revenge or from justice fled to the very altars of the gods, which in all times retained their inviolability, he was liable to be starved into surrender, or even carried off by force, so long as no blood was shed. Of all the temples of Greece that of Athena Alea at Tegea possessed the most inviolable right of asylum. Leotychides and Pausanias the Spartan kings both took refuge there when afraid of punishment by their

¹ Dittenberger, *Sylloge*, Nos. 360, 368.

² *C. I. G.* 2448. The so-called will of Epicteta.

³ Dittenberger, *Sylloge*, Nos. 377, 378.

compatriots, and lived in peace. Pausanias the traveller¹ says that the Spartans did not even ask for their surrender. Hither too fled Chrysis, the priestess of the Argive Hera, after she had accidentally set fire to the Heræum. Sometimes grave evils resulted from the extension of the right of asylum. At Ephesus for instance the limit of the privilege had been fixed by Mithridates² at a bow-shot from the temple of Artemis in every direction. Mark Antony doubled the area of the inviolable space, but in so doing he unfortunately included a part of the city, which at once became a sort of Alsatia, a refuge of robbers and murderers, without law or security for property, and Augustus was obliged to restore the former limits.

Sometimes the sacred enclosure was absolutely forbidden to the foot of man. A wood sacred to Dionysus existed at Megalopolis,³ which was surrounded by a *θρυγκὸς* or barrier, and not accessible to any one. More frequently it was only to be entered on rare occasions and by privileged persons, like the enclosure at Olympia which contained the tomb of Hippodamia, which women only were allowed to enter once a year.⁴ Very frequently a temenos was accessible only to one sex, and nearly always some classes were excluded. Thus from the temple of Leucothea at Chæroneia all of Ætolian race were excluded. No stranger was admitted to the temple of Hera at Amorgos.⁵ No Dorian was admitted to the temple of Athena Polias at Athens; generally indeed it was supposed that the sight of one of a rival or hostile tribe was displeasing to the deities of a city. In the tribal religion of the Greeks it was reckoned a great privilege to accord to an alien to give him the right of attending public sacrifices.

At the very entrance of all sacred precincts was a vase of water for the purification of those who approached. These were called *περιρραντήρια*. Also there were commonly inscriptions stating who first dedicated the spot,⁶ and on what conditions it might be entered, or enjoining cleanliness and reverence on all votaries.⁷ The enclosing wall was usually only intermittent at one place, and at that spot propylæa were erected. These in outward form somewhat resembled a temple, but their interior arrangement was different, the central point in them being a strong door calculated to keep out intruders and even a hostile force, while within and without the door were

¹ iii. 5, 6.

² Strabo, xiv. p. 641.

³ Paus. viii. 31, 5.

⁴ Paus. vi. 20, 7.

⁵ Dittenberger, *Sylloge*, No. 358.

⁶ Cf. *ibid.* No. 356.

⁷ *Ibid.* Nos. 357, 359, 361.

chambers for waiting in, and sometimes stoæ at the sides as in the noble Propylæa of Pericles.

Inside the peribolus wall were a variety of buildings. The most important and essential spot of the whole was that occupied by the altar. Hermann with justice observes that the altar was of more moment in a religious point of view than either temple or image, and commonly it was far older than either. Sacred places need contain no shrine and very commonly contained no figure of a deity, but must contain an altar of some sort, or the deity remained entirely inaccessible to his votaries. Pausanias mentions an altar of Zeus Lycæus which was a mere mound of earth on the summit of the Lycæan mountain. Originally the altar was a simple structure. In Apollonius Rhodius the Argonauts are represented as heaping up, wherever they land, stones for a temporary altar. In Theocritus¹ we read of altars formed of oak, ivy, and asphodel. Some of the most renowned altars in Greece, the great one at Olympia for instance, were formed of the ashes of sacrifices which were not removed, but allowed to accumulate. At Didyma near Miletus was an altar formed by Herakles of the blood of victims; and we read of others made of their horns. But after a time the artistic taste of the Greeks added masonry and ornament to these primitive structures. Horns were placed at the corners, whether to be grasped by those who took oaths, or to support flowers and fillets. Altars were fenced off from the crowd by *θριγκοί* or barriers. Sometimes they became of colossal size, like the Olympian altar, which was 125 feet in circumference and 22 in height, and that magnificent Pergamene altar, of which the remains decorated with colossal friezes now adorn the museums of Berlin. Of another and peculiar character was the gigantic wooden altar or rather pyre piled up every year at Patræ in honour of Artemis Laphria.² They made a huge enclosure of dry wood, and drove within it all manner of game and living creatures; then set fire to the whole and made a huge burnt-offering to the deity. Commonly altars were consecrated to one, or at most two or three deities, and could not be used for sacrifice to others; but there were exceptions: the altars in the Prytaneia, for instance, were used for sacrifice to all national deities. At Oropus³ was an altar divided into four parts, and each of those parts was devoted to a group of deities.

When temples began to arise throughout Greece, they com-

¹ xxvi. 5.

² Paus. vii. 18, 11.

³ Paus. i. 34, 2.

monly included small altars whereon incense could be burned, and small bloodless sacrifices laid at the very feet of the deity. But the larger altars, whereon sheep and oxen were offered, remained outside, so placed in reference to the temple that the votary sacrificing at the altar could see the image in its cella. The reason for this is obvious enough: the slaughter of animals would have polluted the temples and filled them with blood and filth, while the thick smoke would soon have spoiled the beauty of the divine images; and on the other hand it was essential to the efficacy of an altar that the smoke from it should rise freely to heaven into the presence of the gods. Thus in the rare cases in which a great altar was included in the temple-walls, an open space above it was left in the roof, through which the smoke might rise.

It was usual to place in the *τεμένη* of Greek divinities tombs of those men who had founded them. The Pelopium, the supposed grave of Pelops, stood by the temple of Zeus at Olympia, the tomb of Hyacinthus by the Apollo at Amyclæ. Neoptolemus, son of Achilles, was said to be buried in the temple at Delphi; Clearchus the founder of Miletus in the Didymæum near that city. An instance from later times was the already-mentioned tomb of Pyrrhus of Epirus in a temple of Demeter at Argos. The peribolus also included dwellings alike for the suppliants who fled thither and for the officers of the temple. Homer¹ speaks of Maron, priest of Apollo, as living in the shady grove of Phœbus. The Arrephoric maidens at Athens lived during their term of office close to the temple of Athena Polias. The sacred slaves commonly slept in cells about the temples; and in some sorts of temples there must have been quite a thronging population, as for instance in the shrines of Aphrodite, in which Oriental customs of prostitution were maintained, and in those of Asklepius, which were crowded with sick and their physicians. In some *τεμένη* even feasts were given, for example in the *ἑστιάτῳ* of the sacred island of Delos, where feasted the Ionians with wives and children. So Strabo² says of Tenos that the city was small, but without it was a precinct of Poseidon, within which were large *ἑστιάτῳ*, which would accommodate not only the people of the city but all the neighbours who might come to the feast of Poseidon. In one case, that of Delphi, there was even a theatre close to the sacred enclosure, that theatre wherein the musical contests of the Pythia were held.

¹ *Od.* ix. 200.

² x. p. 487.

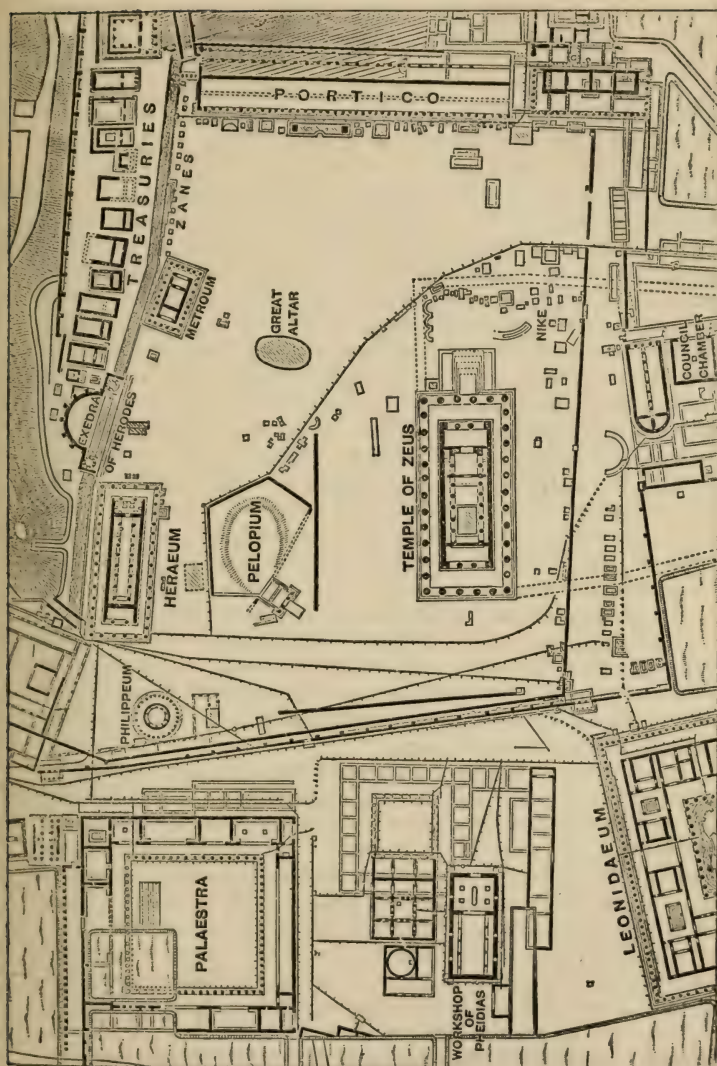


FIG. 14.—THE SACRED ENCLOSURE AT OLYMPIA.

In recent years the entire area of the great altis of Zeus at Olympia has been laid bare by the energy of German explorers, and the student can examine it foot by foot. It contained not only the great temples of Zeus, Hera, and the Mother of the Gods, but the tomb of Pelops, the circular building raised by Philip of Macedon in honour of his own family, the Exedra of Herodes Atticus, and the colossal altar of Zeus, together with a vast crowd of donaria and monuments of every kind. On one side it was bounded by a long row of treasuries, each containing the offerings of some wealthy state; on another by a long colonnade, in which probably many of the visitors to the great festival slept during the hot summer nights. The stadium and the hippodrome were outside in secular ground, together with the palæstra where the competitors practised. The visitor to Olympia is transported back into ancient times and ways of life, almost as completely as the visitor to Pompeii.

Thus were the gods of Greece localised and limited. And whether it were a tribal or national deity who acquired a fixed dwelling-place, or whether it were some divinity rising, like Cora in the myth, out of the ground, who had nothing to do with Olympus, but was essentially provincial, it came to much the same thing. A precinct was enclosed, an altar set up, perhaps later a temple, a priest was set apart, and the cult became an outward and visible fact, which had thenceforth profound influence upon the history of the district. Such a shrine had a story of growth and decline, just as much as a city had, although as a rule the story found no historian to write it down, and we have to recover scattered fragments of it from the inscriptions found upon the site, and the dedications brought to light after long ages.

The erection of temples for the gods was a result of constantly growing anthropomorphism in the conception of them held by the people. In the old days when the Greeks or their Pelasgic predecessors worshipped the powers of nature, or perhaps some totem of the animal world, or attached supernatural powers to some mere fetish, a tree or a spring, a rock or a stone, they adored in the open air. But when images, however rude, were formed, and supposed to embody the divine nature more completely than unworked products of nature, it became necessary to erect houses where these images might be placed in security, and where they might dwell as the chiefs dwelt in their own palaces. Thus the cultus-image, or idol as we should term it, was the centre of the temple, and determined its parts and their relations one to the other. And of course when the custom of

erecting houses for deities was fairly established, it was adopted even in those cases in which the deity was represented not by an image but by a mere symbol. In the great temple at Delphi, for instance, there was no great cultus-image of Apollo.

The earliest Greek chapels were either natural caves or the hollows of decayed trees. Greece abounds in caves, and few of these, even down to the latest pagan times, were without statues of deities. In historical Greece they were commonly sacred to the Nymphs, and contained statues of them, or reliefs representing them in company with Pan or Hermes, or the river-god Achelous. This was especially the case in Attic territory, and several reliefs such as these are now in the Athenian museums. But some caves were dedicated to other divine beings. There was in Crete a sacred cave where Rhea was said to have given birth to Zeus, and where the child was fed with honey by bees. There was the cave sacred to Apollo at Apollonia, where the flocks of the deity were shut up at night. There was the celebrated cave of Trophonius, and that near Eleusis, into which Pluto disappeared, bearing the captive Persephone: indeed very deep and gloomy caves were usually connected rather with the deities of the nether world than with the Nymphs. In a cave at Bura in Achaia was a shrine and oracle of Herakles;¹ other caves were sacred to Cybele, Apollo, Aphrodite, and other deities. Trees were also, as Bötticher has abundantly shown in his *Baumcultus*, not only themselves worshipped as fetishes, but also used as receptacles for rude images in early times. An instance may be taken from Pausanias, who saw near Orchomenus a chapel of Artemis with her statue in wood, placed in the midst of a large cedar, and so called Cedreatis.²

It may easily be imagined that the needs of Greek cultus soon outgrew these primitive shrines. The Homeric heroes, having stately palaces of their own, could not let the gods remain without a dwelling. And in fact, in the Homeric poems are numerous passages which prove that in the time when they were written temples were not rare in Greece. We hear of the temple of Poseidon at Ægæ; of the λαῖνος οὐδὸς of Apollo at rocky Pytho, full of rich offerings. Nausithoüs is said in the *Odyssey*,³ when he built the city of the Phæacians, to have erected in it temples to the gods. In an Assyrian monument of the latter part of the eighth century, a date not much later than that usually given to Homer, in the reliefs

¹ Paus. vii. 25, 10. . . . ² Paus. viii. 13, 2.

³ vi. 10.

found by Botta in the palace of King Sargon,¹ there is figured, standing between two fortresses, a building which has all the appearance of a Doric temple, with a pillared front surmounted by a pediment, and with shields hung against the outer walls. It is in a city hostile to the Assyrians, who are scaling its roof. The inscription shows that the locality is on the borders of Armenia. It seems likely, then, that in its essential features the Greek temple was copied from structures of the Asiatic inland.

But there still exist in Greece itself temples of a very primitive character. One such was found by Mr. Hawkins near the site of Carystus in Eubœa, an oblong building with rude walls and a roof formed of stone slabs arranged in tiers so that each row projected beyond that beneath it until they nearly met in the middle. Such a mode of construction may indicate very great antiquity. But the column was at a very early date introduced into Greek architecture, and soon produced great improvements in it. Indeed, the arrangement of pillars gives at once the key to a Greek building. The most important part of a Greek temple was that which contained the statue or symbol of the deity, the *ναὸς* proper or cella. This was the casket which contained the jewel, and however it might be architecturally adorned or architecturally concealed, it remained the one essential thing. This cella was oblong in form, and in the larger temples was sometimes in part open to the sky. If the two sides of the cella be continued forwards, and between the projecting buttresses a couple of pillars be inserted, we shall have what Vitruvius calls a *templum in antis*. If the sides be continued but a short distance, and a row of pillars placed free in front, the temple will be prostyle; if the sides be also continued backwards and a second row of free pillars placed behind, the temple will be amphiprostyle, like the temple of Nike Apteros at Athens. This arrangement gives us three chambers, the *ναὸς* itself with a *πρόναος* and *ὀπισθόδομος*. And now architecturally the temple must be considered as complete and incapable of further development: all that can be done is to surround it with columns, in which case it will become a *ναὸς περίστυλος*, or *περίπτερος*. The temple of Zeus at Olympia, of which the plan is here given, is *in antis* and peripteral.

The orientation of a Greek temple was commonly to the west or the east, though exceptions occur, as in the case of the

¹ Botta, *Découvertes*, pl. 141.

temple at Phigaleia. Their form was fixed with considerable rigidity. In the size, the number of pillars, perhaps the method of lighting, as well as in the style of architecture there was variety; but the general shape and arrangement was unvaried. The apparent exceptions, such as the Erechtheium at Athens, owe their abnormal form to the fact that they are not single temples, but groups of separate shrines under a single roof, each preserving in essentials the normal form. A construction of so simple plan evidently did not admit much variety or much improvement with time: a modern taste would become tired of the incessant repetition of the same forms and the same lines, just as it would weary to find the same scenes represented

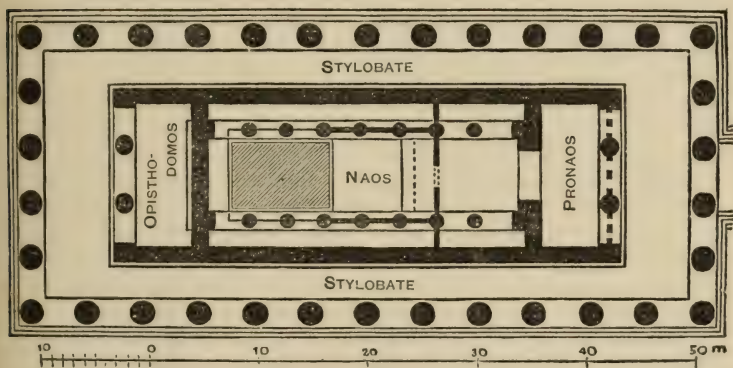


FIG. 15.—GROUND-PLAN OF THE TEMPLE OF ZEUS, OLYMPIA.

in the sculptures of the walls in endless repetition—the labours of Herakles, the battles of the Centaurs and Lapiths, or of the Greeks and Amazons. But Greek taste affected slight varieties in essentially similar compositions.

The dimensions of the largest of Greek temples, the Artemisium at Ephesus, were, according to Mr. Wood, 342 feet in length by 163 in width, the measurements being taken on the outer colonnade in both dimensions. The Parthenon was not much more than a fourth of this size, and the majority of Greek temples were of small size, never having been intended to admit a great concourse of people. An exception was the hall at Eleusis, intended for the use of the Mystæ, which was made of

an unusual square shape, and measured some 220 feet by 180, so as to hold a large crowd of people.¹ On the front of the temples was often an inscription recording by whom it was set up, and on what occasion, and to what deity dedicated.² In approaching the building the votary first encountered the flight of steps leading up to the door, for temples were in all cases raised upon steps to lift them above the common earth. These steps ran all round the building: the number was uneven in order that the right foot of the suppliant might touch both the first and the last step. In front of the great doors were lustral vases for purification. Immediately within them was the *πρόναος*. Alike the *πρόναος* and the intercolumniation without were commonly full of statues and dedicated objects. At the Argive Heræum,³ for instance, there were outside the doors statues of the priestesses of Hera, as well as of Orestes and other heroes; inside, archaic statues of the Graces and the couch of Hera and the shield of Euphorbus, dedicated by Menelaus. It has been doubted by what title statues of one deity could be placed, as was so often the case in Greece, in the temple of another. The analogy proposed by Maury of the images of saints in a Catholic church is misleading; and it does not appear that these subsidiary statues received worship, they were often merely placed in sacred buildings as beautiful works of art fit for the acceptance of the gods. But it seems not unnatural to place in the chief temple of a city and under the protection of its guardian deity statues of other beings whom the city held in honour.

The central part of the temples was occupied by the *ναός* or cella. In large temples this contained three divisions or aisles, the side aisles being, as in our churches, separated from the middle one by rows of columns. In the central place of honour stood usually the chief statue of the temple deity. In early times this was commonly a rude and simple symbol, a conical stone, a meteorite, or a rudely fashioned log, like that *σάβις*, which was said in very early days to have represented the majesty of the Hera of Samos. To these symbols succeeded rude images, often ending below in a mere block, such as the Artemis of Ephesus and the Apollo of Amyclæ.⁴ These were in all after time held sacred in the highest degree; they were clad in rich robes and treated almost like living creatures, carried annually to the bath, and even chained by the legs to

¹ Book iii. chap. ix.

² Paus. ii. 17, 3.

² Dittenberger, *Sylloge*, No. 356.

⁴ The whole of this process can be well traced on coins. See my *Types of Greek Coins*, pl. xv. pp. 77-85.

prevent their running away. But with time, in the course of the fifth and fourth centuries, they yielded their conspicuous position to the masterpieces of Pheidias and Praxiteles, retiring into adyta, but still drawing after them the heart and belief of the people. It was not the Parthenos of Pheidias which received the annual peplos from the Athenian people, but the old wooden statue of Athena Polias. It was not the Eros of Praxiteles which was really worshipped at Thespiae, but a conical stone, which had represented the god time out of mind. In some cases in Greece the statues of a group of deities occupied the centre of the *vaós*, as in that remarkable temple of the Great Goddesses at Megalopolis,¹ where, beside statues of Demeter and Cora, stood lesser images of Artemis and Athena, and a little Herakles a cubit high, or, as in the temple of Hera at Mantinea,² where, beside the statue of Hera, stood figures of Hebe and of Athena. And sometimes there was no image at all, as in the temple of Peitho at Sicyon,³ or as in the great Delphic temple itself, in which case the absence of an image would usually be explained by a sacred myth.

In front of the chief statue would usually lie a table whereon offerings might be set. Sometimes these were of gold or silver, like the gold table seized by Dionysius in the temple of Asklepius at Syracuse;⁴ often they were adorned with elaborate reliefs: one at Megalopolis in the temple of the Great Goddesses with figures of Horæ and Nymphs, Apollo and Pan. Daily gifts were laid on these tables, mostly of a simple kind: flowers and fruit, bloodless and pure offerings, which lay for a time in the presence of the god, and then were carried away by the priests for their own tables. On the table of the Dioskuri at Cyrene, silphium was continually laid. The upsetting or destroying of this table was looked on as a bitter offence to the deity; thus we hear that Apollo upset and destroyed the table of the monstrous Python, and for that rash act, in spite of his divine nature, had to undergo purification.

How the light was admitted into the cella of a Greek temple is uncertain. It must have come from above, and the term *hypæthral*, applied by Vitruvius to larger temples, seems to indicate that they were open in the middle to heaven; but Mr. Fergusson, in an ingenious treatise, maintained that great temples were lighted through a clerestory, wherein a kind of lattice-work was contrived for the more partial admission of daylight.

¹ Paus. viii. 31, 1.

² Paus. ii. 7, 7.

³ Paus. viii. 9, 3.

⁴ Athen. xv. p. 693c.

Every part of the *ναός* was adorned with works of painting and sculpture. In the temple of Zeus at Olympia¹ there was a splendid curtain (*παραπέτασμα*) of Assyrian work, richly embroidered, the gift of Antiochus IV., which is said to have come from the great temple of Jehovah at Jerusalem. The barriers which in the same temple fenced off from public intrusion the space under the statue of Zeus were adorned with an elaborate series of paintings by Panæus, containing mythographic subjects. The Theseium at Athens contained paintings of all the exploits of Theseus. The very statues of the deities themselves were used as a background for works in relief. Even the buckler and the sandals of the Athena of Pheidias were covered with reliefs; so was the throne of Zeus at Olympia, and that built by Bathycles of Magnesia round the archaic figure of Apollo at Amyclæ.

Pausanias² gives us an account of a perpetually burning lamp in the temple of Athena Polias at Athens, which was fed with oil but once a year, while over it stood a brazen palm. As to this, Bötticher justly remarks that it can have stood nowhere but in an aisle at the side of the statue; if placed in front of it, it would have shut it from view. Indeed, an altar with perpetual fire would seem to have been an usual part of a Greek temple, especially of such temples as belonged to the special state deities. Lamps were naturally among the most frequent donaria to temples, being of use as well as beautiful, and their splendour in some instances may be judged from the statement³ that Dionysius presented to the Tarentines a candelabrum which held as many lamps as there are days in the year, or the fact mentioned by Cicero⁴ that a candelabrum stolen by Verres had lighted up with the splendour of its gems the temple of Zeus in which it had stood. In the side aisles also sometimes stood the thrones of priests and priestesses. The priestess at Athens who repulsed Cleomenes in his celebrated attempt to enter the temple of Athena⁵ is said to have risen from her throne at his approach. In the temple of Nemesis, at Rhamnus in Attica, stood two thrones, one inscribed with the name of Nemesis, and one with that of Themis.

The Adytum was often part of a Greek temple. This was, as the name implies, some part of the sacred building entrance to which was prohibited. Sometimes the whole temple was thus shut up, the priests alone entering on stated occasions; and

¹ Paus. v. 12, 4.

⁴ *In Ver.* ii. 4, 28.

² i. 26, 7.

³ Athen. xv. p. 700d.

⁵ Herod. v. 72.

in fact the central part of the cella in most great temples was really an adytum, close approach to the statue being forbidden. But the term was more especially applied to those secret chambers in which the priests hid sacred or mysterious objects. These were usually underground. At Delphi there was an adytum in which, in the time of Pausanias, there was a golden statue of Apollo. Commonly when a new statue was placed in the cella, the older and more sacred image was removed to an adytum. The underground adyta were in many instances the grave of the mythical or traditional founder of the temple. Such was the case at Corinth,¹ where the grave of Palæmon was a subterranean adytum, and at Amyclæ, where the grave of Hyacinthus was below the statue of Apollo. The excavations of Rayet and Thomas at the Didymæum at Miletus have disclosed in that temple an adytum which lay at a low level, and was probably used as an oracular shrine.

In the temple itself, as well as in various parts of the precinct which surrounded it, were stelæ covered with inscriptions, which must have been of the greatest value to Greek historians. The state documents of antiquity were published by being set up for all to see in stone or bronze in certain specified temples. In the treaties and agreements which have come down to us, as a consequence of this custom, it is sometimes provided that copies of the document shall be set up in the chief temples of the contracting parties. The various decisions as to the land over which Samos and Priene disputed were recorded in tablets at the temple of Athena at Priene, many of which are now in the British Museum. Even laws of the state were commonly exposed in the temples as in a place where they would be accessible to all, as well as in a peculiar degree under the protection of the gods. Even the honorary decrees, of which later Greece produced so abundant a crop, were frequently set up in temples. A quantity of such were found on the site of the temple of Artemis at Ephesus by Mr. Wood. Of more special character and more particular value were the stelæ² at the temple of Asklepius at Epidaurus, on which were recorded the names of those who had been healed there, and their disease, together with the mode of cure, καὶ ὅπως ἰάθη.

Not only were both the exterior and the interior of the temples adorned with sculpture by great masters, but inside they were complete museums of art. The ordinary place for the bestowal of votive wealth was the ὀπισθόδομος, a part of

¹ Paus. ii. 2, 1.

² Paus. ii. 27, 3.

the building walled off and protected by the near presence of the statue. This chamber is seldom mentioned by writers: even Vitruvius is silent in regard to it, and Pausanias passes by without a word even the *ὀπισθόδομος* of the Parthenon. In his time it may have been empty, but abundant inscriptions testify to the wealth with which it overflowed in the great time of Athens.

Indeed at places like Olympia and Delphi the interior of the temple was quite insufficient to hold the overflowing tribute gathered by the god from all quarters, so that a series of stone treasure-houses, *θήσαυροι*, had to be erected within the precinct for their reception. The foundations of a whole row of such buildings have been discovered at Olympia during the recent excavations.

These votive offerings were most varied in character. The piety of votaries heaped up in the temples all kinds of objects in the precious metals—tripods and cups, sometimes coins or mere ingots of metal, such as the bricks of gold and electrum which Cræsus presented in such abundance to the treasury at Delphi. Statues of precious metal or of stone were also frequently given to the deities. To the Olympian Zeus those who incurred a fine at his festival were obliged to present bronze statues of the god, which were set up in the sacred enclosure; and victors at the games dedicated in the same way their own likenesses in bronze or marble. So, too, artists frequently dedicated their best works in the temples, thus making sure of leaving them to the admiration of posterity, just as some of our artists leave their best works to national museums. Indeed, by the results of this custom temples became in all parts of Greece noble museums full of specimens belonging to each successive phase of Greek artistic activity: statues and paintings, reliefs, vessels, and ornaments. The great work of Pausanias shows us what an incredible quantity of these works still remained, after all the ravages of the Roman conquerors, to the age of the Antonines, and excavations have of late years brought to light many scattered fragments of such wealth.

Besides works presented on account of their beauty as worthy of divine acceptance, there were in the temples innumerable *ἀναθήματα* of a more personal character, presented in memory of some deliverance ascribed to divine aid, or perhaps given in fulfilment of a vow made in time of distress. Hair was frequently cut off by women and suspended in shrines, whether merely in fulfilment of some custom, such as that by which young men and maidens, on reaching puberty, gave their hair to

a river-god or other ancestral deity, or, in consequence of a specific vow, as was the case with the Egyptian queen Berenice. Numerous epigrams of the *Anthology* show us how common it was for persons to devote to the gods clothes which had been worn on any special or state occasion; how often musicians presented their lyres, fishermen their nets, the votaries of Aphrodite their mirrors or ornaments.

Frequently the ἀναθήματα were of the nature of ἀπάρχαι, or the divine share of what was won in peace or war.¹ When a victory was won, Olympia or Delphi commonly received a certain number of spears and shields and helmets, sometimes inscribed with a suitable inscription, like the celebrated helmet in the British Museum, which was dedicated by Hiero of Syracuse out of Tyrrhenian spoils. States returned thanks to Demeter for a plentiful harvest in the form of ears of corn of actual not figurative gold; merchants paid a share of their gains to Hermes, or any other deity to whom specially they ascribed the success of their ventures. The colossal statue of Athena Promachos on the Athenian Acropolis-hill was a votive offering, erected from a tithe of the booty taken at Marathon. After the victory at Salamis the Greeks dedicated at Delphi a colossal statue of Salamis, personified in a female figure, who held a prow in her hand, as well as three Phœnician triremes set up, one before Poseidon at the Isthmus, one at Cape Sunium, and one at the island of Salamis, inscribed to the hero Ajax. The street of the Tripods at Athens was flanked by tripods dedicated to Dionysus by those citizens who had won them in the competitions of the Dionysia. Indeed, it savoured of overweening pride, according to Greek ideas, if a winner in any competition in games and festivals kept to himself the meed he had won: by presenting it at once to the deities he was supposed to show proper gratitude for their assistance, and at the same time to avoid the dread Erinnys, who was always watching prosperity with envious eyes, and longing to bring it to the ground.

It has occasionally happened that an explorer has been so fortunate as to light on the unrobbed treasury of an ancient temple. The silver vessels found together at Bernay in France, and now preserved in the Louvre, were part of the temple-plate of a temple of Mercury. But naturally the instances in which pagan temples escaped robbery in early Christian times must be few.

¹ Various inscriptions belonging to archaic ἀπάρχαι were recently found on the Athenian Acropolis. Cf. *Jahrbuch des Inst.* ii. 135.

It is our good fortune to be particularly rich in inscriptions which throw light on the ancient customs of dedication. This results from the custom, kept up at many of the great temples of Greece, of year by year drawing up an inventory of all the objects there preserved. The custody of these was every year handed over to a new set of officers, and it was their first business on entering on their office to see that the whole temple wealth was handed over to them in full tale and good order. The outgoing officers were therefore required to have a complete list drawn up and engraved upon stone, and the incomers compared the stone with the fact. We have a large series of these annual lists from the Parthenon at Athens, and the care and minuteness with which objects are described in them is extraordinary. If a votive-wreath wants a leaf or two, the fact is set down ; if a dedicated coin is false, that also is stated. Nor are objects merely mentioned, but their weight is also carefully recorded. We also possess one or two lists from the temple of Asklepius at Athens.¹ These are of late date and much fractured, but they are interesting as showing what kinds of offerings were presented to the god of healing by those who ascribed their cures to his favour. These consist mostly either of:—(1) Tablets with reliefs, which represent the deity and the votaries approaching him with offerings. Several of these reliefs still exist, having been lately found in the ruins of the temple. (2) Models in the precious metals, or in stone or wax, of the part of the body which had been sick and had been made whole, trunks, faces, eyes, and ears and the like. Some modern writers have fancied that a collection of votive offerings of this kind may have been of use to ancient physicians as anatomical or pathological records ; but this notion is not true to Greek art, which loved beauty and not deformity. The model dedicated would be in most cases copied from the restored and not the diseased limb ;² and even if the artist inserted in the model some hint of the disease, it would be but a hint. By the Greeks anything so repulsive as a pathological copy of a diseased member would scarcely have been tolerated. (3) Objects of value—cups, coins, and the like—which must be considered as payments made to the god by his grateful patients. The Asclepieian lists indicate in some cases with

¹ Published in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* vol. ii.

² In the British Museum is a set of stone models of this class, found near the altar of Zeus Hypsistos at Athens. These represent healthy and not suffering members.

considerable exactness in what part of the temple particular offerings were set up.

But we know from other inscriptions that offerings were not regarded as things too sacred to touch and alter. The gods commonly followed the fashion. Old fashioned and clumsy offerings in metal were melted down and refashioned. We have, for example, a decree from Oropus¹ in Bœotia, in regard to the plate of the temple of Amphiaraus, in which the senate and people make a decree that as the old gold and silver vessels of the temple are out of date and not fit for use, and anathemata of the precious metals have fallen from the walls, these shall all be collected and weighed and handed over by the *ἐπάρχαι* in charge to three commissioners, chosen out of all the citizens, in order to be melted down and re-formed into new vessels for the temple-service. And in order that the pious donors of these old gifts and bequests may not be injured, it is ordered that their names with a specification of their gifts shall be inscribed on a pillar set up in the temple. We have two similar decrees passed by the Athenian people, for the purpose of renewing the sacred vessels of a hero, called the Hero Physician. Offerings consisting not of metal but of inferior substance, images in terra-cotta, clothes, and the like, were probably at intervals buried or burned. This is rendered probable by the fact that large quantities of fractured terra-cotta statuettes have been occasionally found in excavations, and to the present day the churches of the Levant dispose in a like summary way of offerings which have accumulated to an inconvenient extent.

The inscriptions recently found at Delos, and now in course of publication by M. Homolle,² give us more complete details as to the custody and arrangement of votive objects in temples than we had before possessed. The treasures of the temple of Apollo in Delos were, in the times of Athenian supremacy, under the protection of the Amphictions; after Delos had become independent they were placed in the custody of *ἐροποιοί*, who were annually appointed; and year by year, as at Athens, lists were drawn up by the outgoing sets of officers, and checked by the incoming sets, and a ceremony of transference took place, at which all the civic officials were present. The fact that these lists are dated in the third month of the year, Galaxion, seems to prove that they were drawn up with deliberation and care. This indeed sufficiently appears from

¹ *C. I. G.* 1570.

² *Bull. Corr. Hell.*, 1882, &c.

internal evidence : not only are the lists most detailed and exact, but most of the smaller objects are weighed in the public scales, and any defect in an article is conscientiously recorded.

When a votive offering was brought to the temple it was at once registered in the list, *λεύκωμα*, and a registration mark was assigned to it, some of the letters of the Greek alphabet. A place was then found for it, either in the temple of Apollo or in some other building within the sacred precinct. From a study of the lists, we can realise fairly well the appearance which the sacred repositories must have presented. For the Delian lists do not, like those of Athens, record the offerings in their chronological order of acquisition, but follow their actual arrangement on wall or floor. They pass in review, first the right wall and then the left wall of the *πρόδομος*, first the right and then the left wall of the temple, and even roughly describe the position of many objects—over the door, on the wall, and so on. Objects of large size were placed on the floor or on plinths, wreaths were ranged in rows hanging on the wall, phialæ and other vessels were ordered on shelves ; while the smaller and the most valuable of the offerings were placed in closets or in boxes. As a rule the new acquisitions were placed at the end of those already possessed ; but at long intervals an entire rearrangement took place, so as to bring together things of the same class and produce a more orderly sequence. A label or an incised inscription indicated, in case of many of the offerings, the name of the giver and occasion of dedication, the deity to whom they were given, and often the date. In fact, the Hieropœi and their subordinates did the work, and pursued the methods, of the custodians of national museums in the present day.

Articles of great value or of historical importance do not seem to have been restored or kept in repair : we find their weight falling in inventory after inventory, and their broken or fragmentary condition persisting ; but the more ordinary gifts were kept in regular repair. Materials for such repair were provided by the melting down or breaking up of articles in a ruinous state or of bad work. At Delos the Hieropœi could only make recommendations as to the breaking up of worthless objects : a decree of the people was necessary to the carrying out of the recommendation ; and such decree gave explicit directions, as we have seen in the inscription from Oropus, as to the disposal of the proceeds. Another curious fact appears from the Delian lists. When animals and fruit were presented to the temple, and not immediately required for the temple

services, they were sold, and some offering of a more lasting character purchased with the proceeds of sale. Certain dedications were made regularly every year. The ταμίαι of the town of Delos regularly presented twenty silver phialæ a year, and the Hieropœi two, and others were given on the occasion of festivals. The god also every year received part of the prizes won at the games; but the greater part of the riches of the god came from the liberality of wealthy strangers. We find in the lists the names of Datis, Lysander, Nicias, and others, while the princes of the Alexandrine period vie one with the other in the richness of their gifts, Stratonice, wife of the first Antiochus, being of conspicuous liberality. It may somewhat surprise us to learn that the dedication, even of objects preserved in the temple of Apollo, was by no means always to that deity. We might expect dedications to Artemis, who at Delos was so closely united to Apollo and to Leto; and even to Eileithuia, who may have been reckoned as identical with Artemis; but it is very remarkable to find in the lists objects inscribed to Asklepius, and even to Aphrodite or Hera. We have already classified the donaria according to the motive of the dedicator. M. Homolle divides them, in a more material aspect, into six classes:—(1) Materials of cult. Chief among these are the various kinds of drinking-vessels, the numbers and varieties of which are immense. In the temple of Apollo alone were preserved some 1600 of the flat vessels called by the Greeks φιάλαι, and by the Romans pateræ, mostly of silver, but in some cases of gold, of various patterns. It is very tantalising to find some of these described as covered with representations of living creatures, but to be able to recover no further details. Next in number to the φιάλαι are the ποτήρια. In an early inventory there are mentioned 266 of these vessels in the temple of Artemis alone; but their number is far less in later inventories; either they went out of fashion and were by degrees melted down, or else the term is a general one which at a later time gave place to more technical names. And as a matter of fact we find the names applied to what appear to be the same vessels greatly varying from list to list. There are many other kinds of vessels mentioned—among others those tripods which could in a temple of Apollo scarcely fail. (2) Objects of adornment. First among these may be mentioned the golden wreath and the ring worn by the statue of Apollo, which was an archaic work by Tectæus and Angelion.¹ In

¹ See *Types of Greek Coins*, pl. xv. 29.

the temple of Apollo were fifty votive wreaths hung on the walls. Also there were great quantities of objects of female adornment, clothes and jewels, presented for the most part, we may suppose, to Artemis, in gratitude for past or hope for future deliverance in time of child-birth. Among the necklaces was one which passed as that of Eriphyle. (3) Works of art. These are mostly reliefs and engraved stones. Statues are but few, and paintings do not occur. The obvious reason is that suggested by M. Homolle, that only such objects are mentioned in the lists as might be misplaced or stolen, and stone statues and the like would very naturally be omitted. (4) Tools and weapons. Among these, arms and the weapons of the palæstra take a prominent place. It is curious to note that no instrument of surgery or medicine is mentioned, which shows that the Delian Apollo had little connection with the healing art. (5) Coins.¹ These are of all countries. Many are plated. With what intention these last were dedicated may be doubted. No one surely would expect to win the favour of Apollo by the present of a false coin. Rather we may suppose them brought under the notice of the deity by those who had been deceived and incurred loss through them, to beg the vengeance of the deity on the unknown forger. (6) Bullion; also bronze, ivory, wood, and the like, for use in the reparation and restoration of votive offerings. Fragments falling from statues were for this purpose carefully preserved.

CHAPTER II

TEMPLE-PROPERTY

IN Greece not only sacred enclosures and consecrated spots belonged to the gods, but many possessions beside. Greek temples, like mediæval monasteries, possessed a large share of the soil of the country and all that it produced. And as land once given up to a deity could not without impiety again be made secular, a larger and larger share of the country fell into the hands of the deities and the religious corporations. But there were also great differences between the Greek and the mediæval tenures of sacred lands. Church lands in the middle ages belonged either to a particular monastery or an order of

¹ See the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1884.

religious persons, who dealt with them just as secular owners or rather corporations might deal. In Greece, on the other hand, the principle of the division of church and state was not recognised. In cases where the acknowledged deities of a state, or one of them, held landed property, that property was indeed regarded as belonging to the god, and not to be touched for secular purposes. But the entire administration of it and control over it was vested in the hands of the state itself. Decrees of the *βουλῇ* and *δῆμος* regulated the conditions on which it should be let to tenants, and the measures which should be taken to keep it intact. Officers were appointed by the state to make disbursements and to audit expenditure. Only with the ritual and customs of the cult the state did not meddle.

It was otherwise with the estates belonging to private foundations and attached to the temples of deities not fully recognised by the state. These, as we shall hereafter see, were managed by corporations or officers elected by them, the state retaining in all cases an overriding power.

The older and more noted of the Hellenic temples possessed great landed estates. To the temple of Apollo at Delos belonged not only the soil of Delos, but also that of the far larger neighbouring island of Rhenea. To this temple the Athenian general Nicias¹ presented lands to the value of 10,000 drachms, on condition that sacrifices should be annually made with prayers for his prosperity. After the war in which Cirrha was destroyed, the Amphictions made over to the Delphic temple² in perpetuity all the lands which had belonged to that city. The temple of Artemis at Ephesus had, as we know from abundant testimony, large landed estates. The temple of Apollo at Apollonia, in Epirus, possessed rich pastures, on which fed flocks of sheep sacred to the god, which were watched and tended by an officer selected from among the most wealthy and honourable of the citizens.³

It must be observed that lands and flocks and herds, when in the possession of the gods, were often not put to most profitable use. For reasons of religion, the lands were often kept lying idle. Sophocles speaks of the *ἄτομος λειμών* of Zeus on Mount Ceta.⁴ The territory on the borders between Attica and Megara was kept idle and untilled, in honour of the great goddesses of Eleusis. Around the heroon of Hrynetho at Epidaurus was a grove of olives and other trees, the fruit of

¹ Plutarch, *Nicias*, 4.

³ Herod. ix. 93.

² Strabo, ix. p. 419.

⁴ *Trachiniae*, l. 200.

which no man was allowed to gather or carry away, nor to prune or cut the trees themselves. And if this was the case with lands, it was still more so in regard to flocks and herds. These animals were either left to their own devices, or at any rate kept only for the service and food of the deity to whom they belonged; to sell them for food would have been an impiety. Thus at Cyzicus there was a herd of heifers belonging to Persephone, which were rigidly kept for her altar. Around various Greek temples, especially of Artemis, were groves inhabited by all manner of wild creatures, which were never hunted or molested; nay, it was said that even wolves and dogs never pressed the pursuit of stag or hare when it had once taken refuge in the sacred domain. In the temples of Aphrodite were flocks of doves; and fish were kept in ponds in her honour, not to be molested for trade or profit. Sacred fish were kept in the fountain of Arethusa at Syracuse, and commonly in the temples of Atergatis.¹ Perhaps the commonest of these protected animals was the snake, a favourite in Greek temples, as in Greek houses, and credited by the people with a close connection with the dead and with the healing art.

Nevertheless it would be absurd to suppose that the Greeks would systematically refuse to make use of wealth because it was in the hands of a god; and the evidence of inscriptions proves abundantly that they let temple-lands, and put temple-moneys out at interest. An inscription from Ephesus² proves amply that the enormous wealth of the temple of Artemis in that city was let out at interest, and that officers were regularly appointed to collect the interest due. This appointment takes the form of a regular decree of the Ephesian state, and the commissioners are empowered to remove the names of defaulting debtors from the list of citizens of Ephesus. Another document of this class, and full of details, is the so-called *Marmor Sandvicense*,³ which gives the details of the annual audit of the temple of Apollo at Delos, while the island belonged to the Athenians, and the temple was in the hands of the Amphictions. It seems that in the year to which the inscription refers, some five talents were received as interest from states and private persons. Rent of lands and fines brought in some four talents more. But the sanctity of the temple does not seem to have weighed greatly with the debtors, for they are terribly in arrears in their payments, above twelve talents being set down as still

¹ Dittenberger, No. 364.

² Lebas and Waddington, iii. p. 56.

³ *C. I. G.* 158.

owing to the god. The inscription ends with a list of fines imposed by the temple officers on transgressors, together with a list of the houses which belonged to the temple, the position of each being described with an accuracy like that of a modern conveyance.

Recently the French archæological exploration of Delos has resulted in the discovery of documents belonging to the later period of Delian independence of Athens, which are still more important and more detailed than even the *Marmor Sandvicense*. M. Homolle has published¹ an inscription of great length, giving the complete accounts both of receipt and expenditure of the Hieropœi of the temple of Apollo during the year, about B.C. 180, when one Demares was archon, which shows us with the utmost minuteness how the treasures of the deity were kept, whence they were derived, and how expended. On each of these three heads we will give a few particulars.

The Hieropœi (ἱεροποιοί) were four in number, and annually elected. They had entire charge of the temple and the sacred precinct. And they had in their keeping, three distinct treasuries:—(1) The treasury of the god. This was a chamber, very probably underground, containing a row of jars, στάμνοι. These were full, or partially full, of money received from a great variety of sources; on each jar was an inscription stating the amount of money to be found in it, together with the source whence it was derived, and the time when it was laid by. This treasury was handed over with great solemnity by each successive set of Hieropœi to those who succeeded them, in the presence of several urban authorities, the town-clerk, and the prytanes of the senate in particular. At the same time a careful list of the jars, with a copy of their inscriptions, was drawn up, and engraved upon a slab of marble, in order that all might be able to see the state of the treasury of the deity, and that peculation might be impossible. The duties of the Hieropœi in connection with this treasury were simple: they had to deposit therein all the moneys they received from any source on behalf of the god, in a jar with appropriate inscription; and to take out—emptying at random, apparently, any jar which came first—the moneys required for the divine services. They could not, however, enter the treasury, save in the presence of all the principal magistrates of the city, nor could they make payments of any importance without a special decree of the senate, or even the general assembly. (2) The treasury of

¹ *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1882.

the state. This is perfectly distinct from the other, and seems to have been handed over to the sacred magistrates merely for the sake of custody. The Hieropœi add money to it or remove money from it under the same rigid conditions as those existing in regard to the sacred treasury. But there is probably the difference that they had some control of the religious budget and expenses, whereas in case of the civic they were merely convenient agents of the city officials. (3) The votive gifts placed in the temple and in neighbouring buildings. As to these I spoke in the last chapter.

The accounts drawn up by these Delian Hieropœi give us ample information as to the sources of revenue of the temple and its channels of expenditure. The sources of revenue were the following :—(1) Rents of houses and of farms, the former termed *ἐνοίκια*, the latter *ἐνηρόσια*. Both kinds of property were leased in accordance with the provisions of a document called *ἡ ἱερὰ συγγραφή*, for the space of ten years. The occupier was bound to find sureties, and to pay his rent regularly at fixed times; failing which, he was first to be condemned to pay an increased rent, and if still insolvent, might have his stock and property sold, and his name might be inscribed on the list of debtors to the god. It is a very curious fact which M. Homolle¹ deduces from a comparison of several hieropœic lists, most of them still unpublished, that in the course of history, coming down from the fourth to the second century B.C., the rents of houses in Delos rise steadily and rapidly, while those of farms show as regular a declension. (2) Tolls and imports, *τέλη*. The god or his representatives seem to have levied taxes on every pursuit in the island which could be made to bear them, on purple fishing and sea fishing, on the ferry to Rhenea and Myconos, and on pasturage. Every vessel which came to the harbour had to pay its tax, or more than one tax, accordingly as it merely touched at the island, or landed its burden there. (3) *Τόκοι*, interest of loans. This source of income figures more largely in the early lists, such as the *Marmor Sandvicense*, than in the later; but it was at all times important. The loans were made for five years; each year interest at the rate of ten per cent. had to be paid, and the principal returned at the end of the period. In case of default, all the goods of the debtor were liable to seizure. (4) Miscellaneous. Under this head come sales of temple-property, animals, doves, and the like; also the subvention paid by the

¹ Op. cit. p. 65.

state towards the expenses of the Thesmophoria, the produce of the *θησανροί*, and that which came from the phiale, *ἐκ τῆς φιάλης*, the last a phrase of unexplained meaning. As it recurs every month, it looks as if a collection for the god were made in a plate at the monthly sacrifices.

It is a curious fact that these moneys do not come direct to the Hieropœi, but are in all cases entered by them, as received from intermediaries. The regular phrase is *ἀπὸ τῆς Νυμφοδώρου καὶ Ἡρακλείδου, ἀπὸ τῆς Φίλωνος καὶ Σιλήνου*, and so on. M. Homolle supplies after *τῆς* the word *διοικήσεως*, and supposes the intermediaries to be *διοικηταὶ*, who received the dues and passed them on : possibly *τραπέζης* may be really the word to be supplied. Three payments out of four come in in the month Poseideon, which was the last of the Delian year.

Besides the above channels of revenue, appear others of a less regular character. These come through the hands, not of the *διοικηταὶ*, but of the *ταμίαι*, who are civic officers annually elected to regulate the expenses of the state. These receipts may be divided into three classes : (1) repayments by the town to the temple of sums previously advanced ; (2) money paid by the state for religious purposes, such as the training of a chorus, *τὸ χορηγορικὸν*, and the cost of exhibitions given by a society of Dionysiac artists ; (3) the half share in certain civic taxes, the other half of which went to the state. And in addition to all these, the revenue was swelled by confiscation of the goods of those who committed impious actions, and perhaps by occasional contributions from abroad. M. Homolle reckons the total revenue of the temple from all sources at about 27,000 drachms, representing some £900 of our money ; but if we make allowance for the greater value of money in antiquity, we shall find that the temple was as wealthy in comparison with its surroundings as with us would be an institution far from any large city with a revenue of £15,000 or £20,000 a year.

The expenses of the temple are set forth with the same minuteness in the invaluable document which we are analysing. Of the heads by far the most important is that which monthly recurs under the vague title, *εἰς τὰ ἔργα*. These works absorb in the course of the year nearly 10,000 drachms. They comprise almost all that was necessary to keep up the temple buildings and services. There was a great deal constantly going on in the way of repairs and new constructions, to superintend which an architect or clerk of the works was in constant employment at the comparatively large salary of 720 drachms a year. Each piece of work was given out to con-

tractors, on stringent conditions. They had to find sureties; and the details of construction, the nature of the materials, the time allowed for completion, and the epochs of payment were all rigorously fixed. In the accounts of the archonship of Charilas¹ it appears that one half of the contract price was paid to the contractors on their producing security, $\frac{4}{10}$ on completion of half the work, and $\frac{1}{10}$ on its entire completion. Money being thus advanced for the payment of wages, it is evident how necessary was the nomination of sureties—an almost invariable custom in Greek contracts of every nature. The *ἔργα* also include monthly payments for current expenses, and the larger annual outlays on the occasion of festivals. For the latter a vote of the assembly was usual. The regular expenditure was moreover placed on a board, *λεύκωμα*, and exposed in the market-place. Monthly a pig was purchased for the purification of the temple, and a quantity of wood, coal, and resin for the various altars, and flowers and crowns for the officiating priests. We also find entries for paper and other materials. The annual expenses included the yearly dedication of a statue to Dionysus, with all that attended it; the erection of a tablet recording the accounts of the Hieropœi for the year, which sometimes cost as much as 200 drachms; and the salaries of the officers and servants of the temple. The list of these salaries is most instructive; the best paid official by far is the clerk of the works, who receives 720 drachms a year; the secretary receives but 80; the neocori, from 180 to 60; a *κρηνοφύλαξ*, well-keeper, 90; a *παλαιστροφύλαξ*, 120; *ἐπιμεληταὶ* and *ἐπιτιμηταὶ* receive some 40 to 60 drachms a head, in the way of travelling fees, *ἐφόδια*; finally, certain flute-players, *αὐληταὶ*, receive each some 120 to 140 drachms for food, and 16 to 20 for dress; probably a special dress was required of them when they attended at sacrifices. The salaries, it is interesting to observe, are fixed, identical in the earlier and later lists.

Besides the regular expenditure on the works, we find extraordinary outlays on special occasions. A certain sum was voted *εἰς τὴν κατασκευὴν τοῦ ναοῦ τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος*, no doubt some special piece of work on that temple; and another, for a crown of gold for King Philip, who must be Philip V. of Macedon. Also a loan was repaid. The total of ordinary expenses of a year amounted, about B.C. 180, to some 21,000 drachms; but as we may see from the list of salaries, a drachm went among the Greeks almost as far as a pound with us.

¹ At present unpublished: our authority is still M. Homolle.

A few documents recording the letting of temple-lands have come down to us. The noted *Tabulæ Heracleenses*¹ are a document of this nature, and contain the most detailed and carefully drawn list of conditions on which certain temple-lands at Heraclea, in Italy, are to be let. The tenants are to pay a rent of 400 *medimni* of wheat, and to find sureties for five years; if they sub-let, the sub-tenants are to find sureties in the same way. In that part of the land which is fit for growing vines, vines shall be planted over at least ten *schaeni*; in all the land suitable for olive-growing, olives shall be planted, at least four in every *schaenus*. If a dispute arise as to the capabilities of the soil, the land shall be examined by a commission, and a report on oath made to the public assembly. The roads are to be kept in repair, water-courses kept up, and certain farm buildings erected within a given time. In case of non-compliance with these conditions, the lessees are to pay a heavy fine.

Such conditions may have been part of the ordinary routine of letting lands in a well-managed estate. Other inscriptions, however, show us that there were certain peculiarities in dealing with sacred lands. For example, some inscriptions from Olymus, in Caria,² record the letting of lands belonging to Zeus Labrandeus, Apollo, and Artemis. This is done, as is usual in all such cases, by a decree of the people. The lessees are to cultivate the lands as if they were their own, and the possession is to descend to their heirs and assigns. But there is a very strange provision as to the rent: it is to be not less than half the interest of the purchase-money of the estates. It seems very strange that temples which could give perfect security of possession to a tenant, and were in every respect most eligible landlords, should choose to exact so low a rent. The same thing appears with equal clearness in case of an inscription from Mylasa,³ which records that one Thraseas, having two landed estates near that city, sold both to the commissioners of the temple of Zeus Hypsistus for a sum of 7000 drachms. He then made his appearance before the public assembly and offered to hold the lands as before, paying to the temple-funds annually the sum of 300 drachms. This offer was accepted on certain stated conditions; if the rent was not regularly paid, the land was to be entered on by the commissioners. In this case it is easy to see what advantage Thraseas gains by the transaction. He receives 7000 drachms, for which

¹ *C. I.* No. 5774.

² Lebas and Waddington, iii. No. 332.

³ *C. I.* No. 2693e.

he pays as interest only 300, which would be scarcely half the interest usual among the Greeks. The title to the property would also be improved by being placed under the protection of the deity. But it is not so clear what the temple gains; it seems to lay out a sum of money at very low interest, and to gain no contingent advantage, unless it be the remote chance of entering into possession of the property, in case Thraseas incurs forfeiture. Bœekh says, "*templa malebant prædia emere, quæ emphyteutis possidenda traderent, quam pecuniam mutuum dare cum periculo damni.*" But this seems insufficient explanation for so anomalous a case; nor does M. Waddington¹ attempt any explanation.

Temples had sometimes a lien upon lands belonging to individuals, for procuring some articles required in the temple services. Thus in Attica in certain districts the olives were regarded as the property of Athena; and the tenants were bound to furnish a certain quantity of oil to the state at a fixed price, to be used for sacred purposes in connection with the festivals of Athena.

The temples were large slave-owners. Like other owners of lands, they required slaves to cultivate the soil; and in addition there were many menial offices in connection with temples which were beneath the dignity of freemen. On the tableland of Phrygia, whence the Greeks borrowed much of their religion and their art, it was customary to find grouped about great temples communities of hierodules (*ἱεροὶ δοῦλοι*), who enjoyed the protection of the shrine, and in return lived in a state of practical serfdom towards it. In historical Hellas we only find here and there traces of such a state of things, as, for instance, in the relation in which the Craugallidæ lived to the Delphian temple; but it may have been common in earlier days. The ordinary means by which the supply of temple-slaves was kept up was war, a certain proportion of the captives, as of the other spoil, being dedicated to the gods. Sometimes, however, the sons and daughters of freemen were set aside for the service of the gods in consequence of legend or oracle; for instance, every year two virgins from Locri were sent to be slaves in the temple of Athena at Ilium, in order to make atonement for the violation of that temple by the Locrian Ajax Oileus; and this custom was, we are told, kept up for a thousand years. In certain of the temples of Aphrodite,²

¹ Lebas and Waddington, iii. No. 416.

² Strabo, vi. p. 418; viii. p. 581.

that at Eryx, for instance, and that of Corinth, were crowds of female slaves who produced a revenue for the goddess by the practice of prostitution—a practice which at once reveals the oriental origin of the cult of Aphrodite. There is a story told by Pausanias,¹ how Herakles, having vanquished the Dryopes in battle, placed them at the disposal of the Delphian Apollo, who sent them by an oracular response to colonise Asine.

The manumission of slaves was commonly accomplished by devoting them to the service of some deity, after which they enjoyed the protection of the priest and the sanctuary, while their work could easily by arrangement be made merely nominal. In such cases a sum of money commonly passed. It was really the ransom provided by the slave himself, but nominally it was paid by the temple which purchased him. As the purchase was thus fictitious on the part of the temple, it is likely that the servitude was thereafter little more than nominal. We have abundant inscriptions from Delphi which give us complete details as to this mode of enfranchisement. It was accompanied by a solemn ceremony in the presence of several witnesses, and the emancipating master had to find securities that he would not attempt again to reduce the slave to bondage, nor allow any one else to do so. Sometimes he made conditions reserving for himself the right to the services of the slave for a certain specified time or until his own death.

It is commonly stated that besides being capitalists and lending money, temples received sums on deposit for safe keeping and restored them to the lenders on demand. The temple of Artemis at Ephesus seems to have been especially used for this purpose, and some writers go so far as to compare its position in the commercial world to that now held by the Bank of England. This, however, is gross exaggeration. As a rule money placed in a temple became sacred and could not be withdrawn, or at least could only be taken for purposes of state. Most of the passages quoted in defence of the view just mentioned refer to peculiar cases. Xenophon, for example, deposited a sum of money in the Ephesian temple and afterwards withdrew it, but it was in order to found a new temple of Artemis in Peloponnese. In other instances we hear of money left by states and individuals in the hands of the people of Ephesus and by them honourably returned. They may have kept the treasures in the temple or its vicinity; but lending to the Ephesian state was another thing than lending

¹ iv. 34, 9.

to the estate of the goddess. It is obvious, that if it had been lawful to place money in temples for security and withdraw it at pleasure, such a privilege would have been very frequently used, and the priests would have become regular bankers, which they never were. It is, however, maintained by Professor E. Curtius that the earliest coins were issued by temples which felt the need of a ready currency, and this theory though not proved is plausible.

In a somewhat different category must be placed the wealth laid up in the temples of many of the great deities of Greece, notably in that of Athena at Athens. In the opinion of the Greeks the deities of a state were quite as much concerned in its preservation as were the citizens themselves; they therefore did not hesitate in times of straits to borrow money from the sacred treasuries, to be repaid at some more convenient season. We have an Athenian inscription¹ which records such a transaction. It appears that in the time of the Peloponnesian war, during the eleven years B.C. 433-422, considerable sums of money were advanced to the Athenian state by the treasurers of Athena and of the other gods; and that, after the conclusion of the peace of Nicias in B.C. 421, this money was repaid with interest. This was probably no isolated case; but the same thing, at least as far as the borrowing was concerned, would have taken place in other cities. But on the whole the Greeks respected these deposits; and when temple treasures were violated, as by the Pisatæ when they obtained possession of Olympia, and by the Phocians when they seized Delphi, all that was best in the race was scandalised, and a speedy vengeance of the offended gods fell, or was supposed to fall, on the violators.

CHAPTER III

ORGANISATION OF RELIGIOUS SOCIETIES

ON the origin of religious societies and sacred places in Greece, some light is shed by the interesting and valuable inscription from Thera, which is called the will of Epicteta.² Epicteta having lost her husband Phoenix and two sons, erected in her lifetime heroa in their honour in a sacred precinct dedicated by her husband to the Muses. On the point of death she

¹ *Corpus Inscr. Att.* No. 273.

² *C. I.* 2448.

made careful provision that these heroa, together with that to be erected in her own honour, should have worship in all future time. She bequeaths the sum of 3000 drachms, secured upon real property, to a Community of Kinsfolk, *κοινὸν τῶν συγγενῶν*, and arranges that her daughter Epiteleia, who inherits her property, including the precinct of the Muses, shall pay annually to the said community the sum of 210 drachms. Every year the community is to meet at the temple of the Muses, when the rent of Epiteleia is to be paid over. They are then to appoint certain of their number to see to the performance of certain sacrifices, the particulars of which are duly set forth, and to order a banquet. The Community of Kinsfolk is to include all the descendants of the testatrix, and the priest to preside at the temple of the Muses and the heroa shall be the eldest son of her daughter Epiteleia, with reversion to the eldest male of her family, in case of his decease.

This testament brings into curious relief many of the chief characteristics of Greek cult. A cult could be founded by the mere intention and wish of any one so disposed, and the founder could even include himself among the persons thus honoured. He could appoint a priest by the mere provisions of a will, a priest not only of deceased ancestors but even of deities. Another notable fact is the social and family character of some cults. A family gathering, with sacrifices to deceased parents and a feast—such was a common idea of worship in Greece. If it had happened that the descendants of Epiteleia had greatly multiplied, the heroes mentioned in the inscription might have been revered as founders of cities or nations. If some chance had brought the local worship of the Muses into prominence and popularity, the little *Μουσείον* might have grown into a great *τέμενος*, with temples and treasures; and the local priest, whose functions were exerted but for a few days in the year, might have become the head of a hierarchy, the deliverer of oracular responses, or the eponymous magistrate of a republic. It is highly probable that many of the greatest cults in Greece had an origin as humble as that of the *Μουσείον* at Thera.

The process by which cults passed from families to tribes is well illustrated by an inscription from the island of Chios,¹ erected by the phratría of the Clytidæ to record certain phases of their common history. The very form of the name

¹ Dittenberger, *Sylloge*, No. 360.

of the phratria implies that its members considered themselves to be descended from one person. But their common cultus was not nominally directed to him, but to Zeus Patroius, which is the same thing in a varied form. It appears from the inscription that for a time certain families of the phratria retained in their private dwellings sacred objects essential to the cultus, and made these houses the seat of worship. This exclusiveness displeased the other members, and these decided, after omens had been taken by sacrifice as to the propriety of such a step, to build a temple to receive these sacred objects, and to make a temenos round it. But it seems that even after the erection of this temple the matter was not settled, for the patrician houses still claimed the right of taking to their homes the sacred objects after all the customary ceremonies had been enacted. Omens were again taken, and in accordance with their direction it was further ordered that the sacred objects should thenceforth never be removed from the temple, but remain there in perpetuity. This record shows us with the greatest exactness the process which took place when a cultus spread from a family to a phratria.

And by a continuation of precisely the same process, the cultus might spread from a phratria to a city, whether its object were an ancestor or a deity. *Æacus*,¹ founder of the noblest family of *Ægina*, was reckoned one of the heroes who protected that island; and indeed, so much was his defence of it dreaded, that the Athenians, when they meditated an attack on it, founded in their own city a cult of the hero, in order to make his opposition to them less keen. It has even been suggested that the Eleusinian cultus of *Demeter* was originally the private possession of the family of the *Eumolpidæ*, and that the *Athena* of Athens herself was originally the family deity of the *Butadæ*. And, like the family and the phratria, so the city too had a common hearth and a common table. Both were in the *prytaneium*. There daily dined certain persons selected to represent the city—magistrates, or distinguished men. At Athens those who won a victory at the Olympic games had the right thereafter to a public maintenance in the *prytaneium*. There, too, was maintained a perpetual fire, the sign of the presence of *Hestia*, in which were offered sacrifices to all deities and heroes acknowledged by the state. Ordinary altars were dedicated to one or at most two deities, but the public city hearth could be

¹ Herod. v. 89.

appropriated by none, though the offerings to which it was most completely adapted were those offered to the heroic founders of the state.

Hermann¹ begins his account of Greek priests with the statement that cultus was based upon exchange of services; and though the phrase may seem harsh, it conveys the truth. Notions of self-devotion and asceticism must be laid aside in thinking of Greek cultus. Of the three parties concerned in worship, each made some advantage. The deity received sacrifice and veneration; the votary who brought these gained in return divine assistance in the matters he had in hand. The priest who was the mediator between the two had his share of the offering and no small part of the honour.

Among the Hebrews there was a rigid line of demarcation between prophet and priest, even a frequent rivalry and clashing between the two orders. The priest had to do with the ceremonial observances of the Temple: he offered sacrifice, and carried out the detailed injunctions of the Mosiac Law, but he was not regarded as speaking in the name of Jehovah. The prophet, on the other hand, might come of any race or family, had nothing to do with ceremonial observances, belonged to no caste or clan; but when once acknowledged he was regarded as one who had special faculties for ascertaining the Divine will and intentions, and his voice was listened to with all respect as being the nearest exponent of the will of Jehovah.

There was the same distinction among the Greeks, though the different character of their religion made it seem less pronounced. The *μάντις* or soothsayer was quite a different class of being from the *ιερεύς* or priest. The priest was attached to a particular temple, and was usually in the service of one particular deity. The soothsayer was altogether unattached, and his function was to read the will of heaven in all that went on in the world, to exhort, to warn and threaten. He saw the future as wrapped up in the present through the wisdom and clearness of vision which the gods bestowed on him. The soothsayers, however, will concern us hereafter. Their importance gradually diminished in the course of Greek history. Detached and wandering prophets, instead of being respected, as among the Jews, were by the later Greeks thoroughly despised, and regarded as charlatans or barbarians, though in the days of Homer their honour had been not inconsiderable. Their function partly died out and partly was

¹ *Gottesdienstliche Alterth.* ch. xxxiii. sqq.

put in commission. Poets were regarded as more worthy mediums for the communication of the will of the gods. The oracles grew constantly in fame, and established a regular business in responses from gods and heroes ; and the mysteries were regarded as taking men direct into the divine presence.

As the consideration of the prophets declined, that of the priests proportionally increased, and at the same time they managed to get into their hands many of the functions previously exercised by the laity. In early times, any head of a family was regarded as competent, not merely to conduct the family worship of ancestors, but to carry through almost any sacrifice or ceremony, except those of a public and national character. If he wished to sacrifice to Zeus or Apollo, he did so in his own house at the family hearth. Or, if he preferred calling in assistance, he would summon to his aid some soothsayer like Calchas or Tiresias to conduct the ceremony, while the minor functions would be performed by heralds. This irregular worship, though it never quite ceased in Greece, fell into the background as the temples grew and multiplied, and the priests increased in number and importance.

It is remarkable how seldom priests are mentioned in Homer, and how little they have to do with the action of the early epics. They are spoken of, indeed, with respect, as venerated like gods by the people, and under full protection of the deities to whom they were attached, as unmistakably appears in the first book of the *Iliad*. But the Greek army is accompanied by no train of priests, and sets up no temples. If the generals wish to ascertain the divine will, they trust to dreams, the explanation of which they seek not from professional expounders, but from the wisest men to be found ; or they ask Calchas for the interpretation of flights of birds and motions of serpents. If they wish to make a sacrifice, the king with his heralds carries it out, assisted by chiefs and people. The idea that the priest has a monopoly of the means of addressing heaven has not yet arisen.

The radical connection between priest and king survived to a late time of Greek civilisation. The Kings of Sparta, as might have been expected, were especially given to asserting their right to offer sacrifice. One of them was priest of Zeus Hypsistus, the other of Zeus Lacedæmon ; but it was not to Zeus alone that they sacrificed. Cleomenes,¹ after defeating the Argives, marched to the Heræum ; and after by force

¹ Herod. vi. 81.

turning out the priest, proceeded to sacrifice to Hera in his own person. Pausanias, after the victory at Plataea, sacrificed in the agora of that city to Zeus Eleutherius;¹ and in some cities, notably Athens, after kings had become in a political sense things of the past, the name was still continued and applied to an elected officer, who took in cult and sacrifice the part which had originally belonged to the real king. The reason is evident. The Greeks would not expect the favour of the gods to rest on any change of institutions which involved loss to their interests. Men were free to change political institutions, but not without divine permission to innovate in the matters of cult. The βασιλεὺς was not a priest regularly attached to a particular deity or a special temple; but he had to represent the state at various festivals, such as the Lenæa and Anthesteria, and to perform sacrifices of ancient institution with which the prosperity of the state was supposed to be bound up. His wife, the βασίλισσα, had also duties in connection with the Anthesteria. He was elected by lot, and must be of blameless repute, and one who had been initiated in the mysteries; his wife also had to be of true Attic family and correct life. We hear of somewhat obscure magistrates at other cities, who bore the title king, and represented no doubt the same principle. More frequently, however, when republican succeeded to monarchical government, the new elective heads of the state took over the religious functions of the kings, as well as their other duties and rights. Thus in many states the Prytanes managed the affairs of religion.

Most of the great cults of Greece belonged in the origin to a family or sept, from whom by degrees cities or states adopted them. We cannot therefore be surprised, conservatism in all countries prevailing in religious matters, to find the priesthood of many deities restricted to the members of a particular family. The Eteobutadæ at Athens were alone eligible as priestesses of Athena Polias; from the ranks of none but the Eumolpidæ and the Ceryces could be taken the hierophant and torch-bearer of Demeter and Cora at Eleusis. The priesthood of Apollo at Didyma belonged of right to the Branchidæ. Telines carried from Cnidus to Gela in Sicily certain rites pertaining to the Great Goddesses; and in communicating these to the city, his family reserved the right of being hierophants of the cult. Herodotus tells us² that this tenure of office gave them ascendancy in the city, so that in

¹ Thuc. ii. 71.

² Herod. vii. 153.

time one of them, Gelon, made himself master of the city, and finally of a great part of Sicily. The Asclepiadæ at Cos kept in their hands the priesthood of the temple of Asclepius, and with it something of a monopoly in the exercise of healing arts. It was natural that in cases where a cult belonged to one family, the priest should succeed by some rule of inheritance. The rule which we have already noticed in the case of the priesthood founded by Epicteta, that the eldest male descended from a particular person should succeed, was a not unusual one. Thus we have a long list in an inscription from Halicarnassus, of the priests early or mythical, who had presided at the temple of Poseidon, beginning with a son of Poseidon himself. In this list, brother succeeds brother more often than son, father; which shows that the principle of descent ignored primogeniture, and the office descended to the eldest male. This is, indeed, the common rule in primitive communities.

Most priesthoods, however, were less restricted in their tenure, and could be filled by any one thereto appointed by election or lot. Even when the lot was the final arbiter, only those were allowed to appeal to it who possessed the due qualifications. The exact nature of these qualifications was seldom set forth by the ancients, but we can gather their nature from a variety of statements. The first qualification for any priest or priestess was that he or she should be a full citizen, a *bonâ fide* member of the state to which the priesthood belonged. No alien could perform the traditional rites to the satisfaction of the civic deities; nor would a priest attached to a temple of Apollo or Athena at one city be allowed to assume office in the temple of the same deity elsewhere. A priest must also, like the victims he offered, and like all creatures presented to the gods, be free from every corporeal blemish and defect; no piety or wisdom would make up for deformity or incompleteness. And he must be of good and unblemished reputation; though this provision, being of less external and definite character than the others, might be more commonly neglected. In one city,¹ at Messene, it was ordained, that if a child of priest or priestess died during the term of office, the parent had at once to vacate the office. There were cults in which ministers were chosen for personal beauty: more commonly a certain rank and birth were required in a priest.

¹ Paus. iv. 12, 4.

But, in fact, each temple had its own law in the matter. Herodotus¹ remarks that in Egypt men only could become priests, whereas in Greece this honour was extended to both sexes. But we must not suppose that anywhere priests or priestesses were appointed indiscriminately; nor was the simple rule adopted that a priest should tend a god and a priestess a goddess. The whole matter was one of tradition and usage, accordant with sacred legend or oracular response. On the same grounds it was sometimes a fixed rule that an elderly person should be appointed, or a child.

Though temperance and chastity were looked for in priest and priestess, yet celibacy was seldom required. In cases of a few cults either of foreign origin or peculiar character we do find this requirement. Thus in the temple of Artemis Hymnia² in Arcadia, the priest and priestess were bound to complete chastity, and fenced in by a set of regulations so strict that they could not even visit the house of a private person. The hierophant at Eleusis was obliged to abstain from all sexual indulgence, and in many cities the priestesses of Artemis and Athena were required to be virgins. But so contrary to nature did this regulation seem to the Greeks, and so hard was it to them to observe it, that usually chastity or celibacy was understood in a very modified form. Thus it was a common provision at temples that the priestess should be married but once; and when the regulations were more stringent, the office was held either by an aged widow, or by a young girl, who ceased to hold her function when she came to the age of marriage. Instances of this arrangement occur in the temple of Poseidon³ at Calaureia, and that of Herakles at Thespiae.⁴ The priestess of Artemis Hymnia was originally a young virgin, but the beauty of a priestess having caused the violation of the sanctuary by King Aristocrates, the violator was stoned; but it was ordained that in future the priestess should be an elderly woman.⁵ Chastity during a particular feast or celebration, or even for a short term of office, was more commonly required, especially in the cult of Demeter and that of Dionysus. The priest of the Misogynous Herakles in Phocis had to maintain his continence during the year of his office. The practice of securing chastity by mutilation seems to have been entirely foreign to Greek ideas, though it was very usual in Asia Minor in the cultus

¹ Herod. ii. 35. He is wrong as to Egypt.

² Paus. viii. 13, 1.

⁴ Paus. ix. 27, 5.

³ Paus. ii. 33, 3.

⁵ Paus. viii. 5, 12.

of Cybele and deities of her class, such as the Ephesian Artemis.

As early as Homer we find mention of an elected priestess.¹ Of Theano Antenor's wife we read—

τὴν γὰρ Τρῶες ἔθικαν Ἀθηναίης ἱέρειαν,

and this custom of election by the people was usual in later times in the case of those priesthoods which were not inherited. In Hellenistic times kings and generals freely assumed the right of appointing priests and priestesses within the dominions over which they happened to bear sway. With this election was mixed as an additional or alternative means of decision the casting of lots. The election of the priestess of Ge Eurysternos near Ægæ was determined by lots;² but only those could draw lots who fulfilled the conditions required, that is, they must have been married but once, and otherwise preserved their chastity, and had to maintain their character by a judicial test of drinking the blood of bullocks. The lot is also mentioned in inscriptions³ in connection with election in such a way that it looks as if the people sometimes elected a certain number of persons as fit to hold priesthoods, and to these were assigned by lot the service of particular deities. In fact in some of the inherited priesthoods the choice of a person in the priestly family was made by lot and not by seniority.

Sometimes the method of election was less orderly. We hear of lawsuits at Athens, in the court of the king archon, arising from disputed succession to some sacerdotal function, and we even hear of a sale of priesthoods. In an inscription from Erythræ in Ionia there is a record of sales of priesthoods and of the prices fetched by them in the market. The most valuable of those mentioned seems to have been the priesthood of Hermes Agoræus, who probably, as the office fetched the large sum of 4610 drachms, had some claim to market dues. In a Halicarnassian inscription⁴ the post of priestess of Artemis Pergæa is put up for sale, but can only be purchased by a lady of aristocratic descent. She is to be entitled to a certain share of the sacrifices and other emoluments, which seem to have constituted at Halicarnassus a respectable provision for a woman of the upper class.

The duration of priesthoods varied not less than their other conditions, and depended also on the circumstances of their

¹ *Il.* vi. 300.

³ *C. I.* ii. 2270, 2374e.

² *Paus.* vii. 25, 13.

⁴ *C. I.* 2656.

origin or local traditions. The most ordinary tenure, perhaps, was that for life, *διὰ βίου*. The Hierophant of Eleusis was appointed for life, so was the priest of Hippolytus at Træzen, the priestesses of Hera and Aphrodite at Aphrodisias, and a host of others. A fresh appointment annually was also very usual, more especially, as Schömann well observes, in cults of late origin and in democratic states, while life-priesthoods belong on the contrary to old cults and aristocratic states. More especially in Hellenistic and Roman times it became usual to change priests with frequency in order to bestow the honours on as many people as possible in rotation. Sometimes again the appointment was for a term of years. The boy who was priest of Athena Cranæa at Elateia in Phocis¹ held office for five years, and lads had to be elected at such an age as not to emerge into manhood before the end of their term of office. Sometimes a religious functionary was elected merely in connection with a particular feast or ceremony; the Hierophant of the mysteries of the chthonian goddesses at Phlius² for instance; a fresh Hierophant being appointed for each celebration, which took place every fourth year.

The duties of priest and priestess were, as we have already had occasion to observe, strictly confined to the particular temple to which they were appointed. In late times we meet with instances in which popular or prominent men combine in their own persons the sacerdotal functions of several cults; but this kind of pluralism was all but unknown in earlier times. The functions of religious officers varied, as we shall presently see, at various places. Speaking generally, we can only say that it was their duty as servants of the deity whom they tended to conduct sacrifices in his honour, to give facilities of approach to worshippers and suppliants, to maintain becoming order in the sacred precincts, and to see that all the generally unwritten laws and regulations of the place were duly observed. They had to protect and keep in repair temple and image, and to preserve objects dedicated. They had to supervise the feasts and processions in honour of their deity, and generally to protect his fame and property alike by the courageous assertion of his rights against intruders, and by the maintenance of orderly and dignified bearing in the city. In village temples there might be a single priest, and he might find himself compelled to undertake all these duties at once, down to slaughtering the victims and cleaning the temple; but usually in great

¹ Paus. x. 34, 8.

² Paus. ii. 14, 1.

cities and at celebrated temples there was a regular hierarchy of officers, who divided among themselves the duties just mentioned.

The Greeks, with their love of what was externally fitting, thought much not only of the character of their priests and their personal beauty, but also of their appearance and dress, which had to be such as befitted their office. Aristides¹ says of Pericles that he lived with such complete decency that his life was like that of a priest. Their garments were ample and trailing, and of white colour, though purple was sometimes worn by priests of chthonic cults. The king-archon at Athens had shoes of a special cut, βασιλίδες,² no doubt cothurni, like those worn by actors to increase their stature and dignity. The stephanephorus of Herakles at Tarsus wore white shoes, and a garment of white with purple stripe. Chryses is represented in Homer³ as bearing a sceptre adorned with gold, like that carried by kings, and in other passages the staves of office of priests are not seldom mentioned. They usually wore garlands made of myrtle or laurel, flowers or fruit, according to the attributes of their deity; the laurel belonging to Apollo and Zeus, myrtle to Aphrodite, olive to Athena, and so forth. And they also, like victors in the games, wound *tæniæ* or fillets about their heads and arms, as well as about the sacred tripods and the property of the gods. Priests allowed their hair to grow long, in the good archaic Hellenic fashion, and this was the more conspicuous as they sacrificed bare-headed. The priestesses let their garlanded hair flow down freely. At the great festivals it was not unusual for a priest or priestess to appear publicly in the exact semblance of the patron deity; the priestess of Athena to appear in full armour, and the priest of Herakles or Dionysus to bear the clothing and attributes of those deities, to take their part indeed in the drama of the day, for Greek festivals commonly partook of the nature of dramas. They sometimes even bore the name of their deity; thus the priests of Dionysus bore the name Bacchus, and the priestesses of the Leucippides⁴ were called also Leucippides.

It would be a long task to detail all the titles borne by priests in the various temples of Greece, and the functions indicated by those titles which they exercised. We must, however, enter somewhat into the details of a few hierarchies of the more important sort, in order to make clearer the functions of the

¹ P. 159.

³ *Il.* i. 15.

² Pollux, vii. 85.

⁴ Paus. iii. 16, 1.

priesthood in Greece. We must, to begin with, rigidly distinguish three classes of persons, all of whom held sacred office. The first class consisted of the priests and priestesses proper—those who represented the deity, and presided at the ceremonies in his honour. The second class comprised those persons, usually laymen of good birth, who performed some specific duty at a ceremony or a procession, under the control of the higher officers. The third class would include the mere temple-servants, usually slaves of the gods, who performed menial functions in the temples.

Among the priests of higher rank were such as bore the title βασιλεὺς as well as ἱερομνήμων, θεωρός, ἀρχιθεωρός, στεφανηφόρος, and the like, terms which describe in various inscriptions or on coins the eponymous magistrates of various states, but whose functions must certainly have been sacerdotal. The priest of Poseidon at Megara, and the eponymous priest of Byzantium, a Megarean colony, bore the title Hieromnemon. Ἱεροθύτης was the title of the chief priest at Agrigentum and Segesta. The ἱεράρχαι and ἱεροφύλακες were also persons of importance at various cities; but they seem rather to have been concerned with the temple-buildings, and the material interests of sacred places, than with their ceremonies and ritual. The boy-priest of the Ismenian Apollo at Thebes was called¹ δαφνηφόρος, because adorned with a wreath of laurel. A priest of Aphrodite in Cyprus was called ἀγήτωρ, because in festal processions he went before the sacrifices. The priestess who was at Athens charged with the decoration of the throne of the goddess was called κοσμῶ. In some places priests were termed κληδοῦχοι, because entrusted with the temple keys. The priestesses of Artemis at Ephesus were termed μελίσσαι, and the chief priest Megabyzus, which terms had reference to the oriental origin and customs of the Ephesian cult. The priestesses of the Leucippides at Sparta were, as we have already seen, called also Leucippides, and at Athens the names Butes and Buzyges were applied to the priests of those heroes.

Among the lay assistants appointed for merely temporary purposes, we may name the θαλλοφόροι of the Panathenaic procession, the girls selected annually to weave a new peplos for Athena, and the boy chosen at Olympia to cut the olive twigs for the wreaths of the victors in the games. There were numerous such ministers of both sexes in all Greek feasts and

¹ Paus. ix. 10, 4.

processions. That their children should be selected for these purposes was an honour coveted by parents, and one which shed a certain lustre over the whole life of the children themselves. When adults were selected, it was to them like the conferment of an order or decoration. The qualifications required were gentle blood and that nobleness of bearing which the Greeks supposed to go with it; also reputation for virtue, especially the virtue of chastity. Children would usually not be eligible unless both their parents were living. Selection among eligible candidates was made by favour, beauty often counting for much. Thus at Tanagra,¹ at the festival of Hermes, an ephebus selected for beauty carried on his shoulders a lamb round the walls, thus personating Hermes himself: even the Thallophori of the Panathenaic procession were chosen for dignity of bearing.

The subordinate ministers were in number countless. In imperial times even these functions were sought after by men of family and wealth, who were determined by any and every means to come before their fellow-citizens in a public capacity. Especially such were eager to be connected with the cultus of the reigning emperor. The common names for these inferior ministers were *διάκονοι* and *νεωκόροι* or *ζάκοροι*. They had to see to the service of the temples in its details, to keep order among the votaries, and to repair and keep clean the sacred edifices. Among them were such ministers as the *ξύλεις*, who at Olympia brought wood for the sacrifices to Zeus; Pausanias calls him one *ἐκ τῶν οἰκετῶν τοῦ Διός*; also the *θύται*, who actually struck down the victims at a sacrifice; and the *οἰνοχόοι*, who poured the wine which accompanied it. Of a somewhat superior character to these menials were the *ἐξηγηταί*, who were not indeed the repositories of any particular doctrines, but who were a sort of masters of the ceremonies, and guides to show visitors over the temples, and point out to them what was noteworthy. It should, however, be observed that at some centres of religion the exegetæ were priests and functionaries of importance; at Athens, for instance, they were chosen from the noble class, and were concerned with sacerdotal discipline. The heralds, or *κήρυκες*, were persons of dignity in early times, but their office diminished in importance. Demosthenes² speaks of a herald as serving the *βασίλισσα* at Athens, and assisting her in her divine functions. They were men of loud voice, and were useful in making proclamation at sacrifices, as well as at

¹ Paus. ix. 22, 1.

² *Adv. Neaer*, par. 78.

the games, sometimes proclaiming aloud prayers and vows. There were also among the crowd of persons supported by a great temple, singers and musicians, particularly flute-players, who accompanied among the Greeks every kind of measured movement. Hermann observes that all these vulgar personages were fed at the table of the priests, and that this is the origin of the later use of the term parasite.

It is noteworthy that there were in Greece no such things as colleges for the training of priests or temple-servants. The local element prevailed in each cult to such a degree that a central college of theology or of religious practices would have been quite impossible. The very thing ordained at one seat of worship might be expressly forbidden at another, even when both spots belonged to the same Olympic deity. Tradition was the only possible teacher, and so jealously was it guarded and preserved that priests were rarely accused of having innovated in matters of cult, or failed in the honour due to their patron deities.

The rewards and privileges which priests enjoyed in return for their labours in the service of the gods were neither few nor slight. Firstly, they had solid advantages in the way of shelter and food. They were commonly housed in the precinct, and shared the table of the gods. That is to say, they received and used the bloodless offerings, fruits and cakes and cheese, which were daily laid on the sacred table; and of animals sacrificed they received a share. The inscription from Halicarnassus¹ which offers for sale the post of priestess of Artemis, also describes the emoluments of the office. The priestess is to receive, in the case alike of public and private sacrifice, specified parts of the victim and his skin, in addition to which, at every new moon, when a public sacrifice is to be offered, she is to have a drachm, and to share certain proceeds of the sacrifice with the wives of the prytanes. At certain seasons she is to be allowed to take a sort of benefit—that is, to make a collection of money in the most crowded streets of the town. She is also to establish a treasury for the goddess; but money which reaches that will not fall to her directly; the chest is to be guarded by treasurers who are to open it once a year, and take out what is necessary for the service of the goddess, or, as we should put it, to defray incidental expenses. It is probable that usually private persons who came to make a sacrifice presented a fee to the officiating priests according to an understood tariff. At Athens several priests dined daily, in virtue of

¹ *C. I.* 2656.

their office, at the public table in the Prytaneium, with magistrates of the state and Olympic victors. And in the case of all the larger temples, the estate of the god, even setting aside daily and casual incomings, was quite sufficient to keep his priests in comfort and plenty.

Of the remuneration of the priesthood in the temple of Apollo at Delos we know something from the very important inscriptions found in the island by the French expedition, and in course of publication by M. Homolle.¹ In these are recorded the salaries paid annually to the various temple-officers. It is, however, remarkable that, if M. Homolle's account be complete, there is no payment made either to the priests or to the neopœi, who, as we know, were the treasurers of the temple, and managed all its monetary affairs, nor even to the διοικηται who assisted in the collection of the revenues. In the last chapter I mentioned some of these salaries. Payments are recorded to a spring-keeper (κρηνοφύλαξ), a palæstra-keeper, a herald, several flute-players, and a number of neocori of various grades. These are, evidently, only hired servants of the temple, except the architect, whose office was not religious; and it would appear that the higher officers were either paid in some other way, or else above being paid at all.

Thus it must be allowed that as a general rule the higher priests did not accept their office for the sake of the loaves and fishes which accompanied it. As above stated, they were usually taken from older and wealthier families; and esteemed the honour of the post far more than its revenue. Homer speaks of a priest as honoured by the people as though a god; and in all periods of Greek history this honour was consistently paid. When Alexander took Thebes he spared the houses of the priests amid the general destruction. Amid the frequent wars and social revolutions of Greece the priest had but to betake himself, with wife and children, to the temple of his deity, in order to be almost sure of safety and respect. The political power enjoyed by the priests was also considerable. As Sir C. Newton² has well pointed out, whenever a pestilence or misfortune smote a people, the priests were at once appealed to, to state what deity was offended, and how his wrath was to be appeased. This appeal might furnish an unscrupulous priest, not only with means for promoting his own interests and advancement, but also with an opportunity for getting rid of a rival, or modifying obnoxious institutions; though, of course, a

¹ *Bull. de Corr. Hell.* 1882, p. 1.

² *Essays*, p. 159.

vigorous democracy might override any sacerdotal interference. As a rule, we find the democracies of Greece, as well as the tyrants and kings, as little disposed to interfere with or curtail the liberties and privileges of priests as the oligarchies themselves. They furnished the rich with a career which did not lead to political disturbance ; and the proper discharge of these duties involved a considerable expenditure of private money on public purposes.

We know from a host of honorary inscriptions what were considered the characteristics of a good priest, and how he was rewarded by the body politic for what they considered merit. In these documents priests and priestesses are praised indeed for piety, but it is usually for piety which takes the form of munificence. Thus, in an inscription¹ from Aphrodisias in Caria, Gæa, who is priestess for life of Hera, is honoured and praised for the sumptuousness which she showed when on two occasions priestess of the Imperial House. She not only feasted the people at magnificent banquets, but supplied gratis for the baths various necessities, and at the public games of Aphrodisias produced ἀκροάματα or entertainments so new and choice that she attracted into the town the people of neighbouring cities. That she discharged her proper functions by sacrificing yearly for the prosperity of the Imperial House is stated indeed, but not enlarged on. Sumptuousness in sacrifice, feasting the people, providing spectacles, such are in most cases the merits selected for praise in inscriptions ; which, however, belong mostly to quite a late period of Greek history, Roman, or at earliest Macedonian, times. And the rewards conferred on these meritorious officials are of the same pompous and vainglorious kind—a wreath, a statue or an inscription set up in a public place, a not unworthy return for *panis et circenses*. Sometimes the reward takes a more appropriate form. In an inscription from Mantinea,² one Phæna, who has behaved liberally as priestess of Demeter, is formally invited to all future festivals of Demeter. The right of front seats at theatrical performances was also commonly accorded to priests. Of this the names found on the seats of the Athenian Theatre of Dionysus are sufficient proof ; there the names of priests were mingled with those of magistrates in the place of honour ; this, however, was in the particular instance rather an honour bestowed on the priests of especial deities in their official capacity, than on individuals of merit.

¹ C. I. 2820.

² Lebas-Foucart, *Inscr. de la Grèce*, No. 352 i.

CHAPTER IV

ORGIASTIC CULTS

IN the case of Asia Minor, it seems almost certain that the dominant races, Lycians, Carians, Ionians and the like, were but small invading tribes, while the mass of the population of the country was of different, perhaps Semitic, stock. To these earlier inhabitants belongs the worship of Cybele and kindred nature-goddesses, as well as of Attis, Sabazius, and other deities of the orgiastic kind. It is extremely likely that we may find a parallel series of phenomena, which have hitherto almost escaped observation, in Greece and perhaps Italy. In Greece also it is likely that the true Aryan Greeks were always a comparatively small though dominant caste. Beneath them was a mass of population on which they imposed their language and their usages, but which retained in many ways the impress of a different temperament and a less finely endowed nature, and which often reacted upon the dominant tribes of purer blood.

However this may be, it is certain that in both Asia Minor and Greece proper there was a demand for a more ecstatic and emotional religion than that of the cultivated Hellenes. Of such religion we find, as Rohde¹ has clearly shown, scarcely any trace in the Homeric poems. The gods of Olympus are to the aristocracy of Homer anything but mystic; on the contrary, most anthropomorphic and orderly. The Homeric prophet Calchas is no inspired man, but one who has acquired skill to read the future in the flight of birds and other divine signs. But there no doubt existed in the Homeric age among the common people a religion of a less cultivated and more enthusiastic character. Not only were there locally, as we have already seen, a multitude of curious observances and ancestral superstitions; but there were also enthusiasms not attached to the soil, but migratory over the whole of Greece, taking root in district after district, and city after city, and affording an outlet for those more irregular and unrestrained religious impulses which could scarcely find scope in the service of the regular deities of the cities.

By far the most important of these safety-valves, if we

¹ In his *Psyche*.

may so term them, of Greek religion was the Dionysiac cult. Although the germs of that cult existed in many places in the form of rustic superstitions and practices, yet it was probably after the Homeric age that the orgiastic worship of Dionysus spread over all Greece, and furnished a more complete satisfaction to the untamed religious enthusiasms of the common people. Like the dance of death in mediæval Europe, the Dionysiac fury passed from district to district of Greece, and thence into Italy. In all countries, women rather than men are subject to the epidemics of religious enthusiasm. So in Greece and Italy it was the Mænads or Bacchæ, women full of the Dionysiac passion, who flocked in swarms to the waste-places, and there gave way to those strange impulses of mixed asceticism and self-indulgence, of sensual excess and the desire of a purer life, which have in all countries marked such outbursts. All through the great age of Greece the fever raged intermittently; in the Hellenistic age other ecstatic cults, those of Mithras, of Cybele, and of Isis, became rivals of that of Dionysus in popular favour.

We moderns find it hard to realise that the cultus of the God of Wine, in which naturally drinking to excess was a regular feature, could be anything but debasing and degrading. We are probably misled by the changed way in which alcoholic drinking is now regarded. Among us excessive indulgence in wine or spirits is a sottish and sensual habit, almost without higher elements. The place which wine held in the Bacchic cult, as a nervous stimulant, is partly taken in modern countries by other stimulants; such as tobacco and tea. The weak and diluted wine of the ancients did not make them, as spirits make the Englishman, stupid and brutal, but raised the spirits, cleared the mind, and diminished for the time the pressure of the body. Hence Dionysus was regarded as the god who saved men from heavy sensuality, and set the soul free from its corporeal burden, from the prison of the flesh, as the Dionysiac votaries phrased it.

The Dionysiac worship exercised great influence in early times on Delphi, and at all times on the Mysteries of Eleusis, which were a mystic and orgiastic element in the comparative sobriety of the accepted Athenian religion. Nor must we forget that it was to the Dionysiac enthusiasm that we owe the origin both of tragedy and of comedy.

Of the Dionysiac worship, the intellectual side was represented by Orphism. To the imagination of the poets of later times, Orpheus was presented as a great poet of Thrace. To the

Orphists he was far more—the man who had gone down alive to Hades in his search for his lost Eurydice, and had thence returned to instruct and raise mankind. Works professedly written by him, or other sages of the same kind, circulated largely in Greece, and supplied the people not only with a theogony, or account of the origin of the gods and the world, but also with precepts of ethics, with an eschatology, with something as near to a creed as the Greek mind was ready to accept. At one time the disciples of Pythagoras, who may be regarded as an exponent of Orphism, even constituted in Southern Italy something like a church; and on Italian vases of a late date we find representations of Hades, the elements of which could have been supplied only by Orphism.

Dionysus, though he never became one of the ordinary denizens of Olympus, yet was accepted by Athenian poetry and art, and in time to a great degree Hellenised. And as his cultus became more sober and respectable, it failed to satisfy the religious needs of the more enthusiastic of the lower people. Thus we find in later Greece a continuous invasion of deities who retained more of the orgiastic character, and whose cultus supplied that mixture of spiritual and sensuous excitement which has so strong an attraction for the mass of the uneducated.

Many of the Greek deities were originally borrowed from the pantheons of other nations—Aphrodite, for instance, from that of Syria, Ares from that of Thrace; but these deities had in historical times obtained, so to speak, full rights of citizenship among the Greeks. Their cultus was Hellenised, and being adopted by the governments of Greek republics, had become staid and moderate, and lost most traces of barbarous origin. But when the Greeks in historical times imported a strange deity from abroad and gave him a home among them, they often imported also the extravagances of cultus which surrounded him, and reproduced on Hellenic soil a fragment of Thracian or Phrygian manners. The persons attached to him formed what was called an *ἐρανος* or *θίασος*, that is, a private association, regularly organised on principles which we shall presently trace, to maintain his worship and propagate his influence.

Compared with the adherents of state religions, these associations may be called dissenting sects; and like many sects in modern times, they made up for their want of status by their enthusiasm, and for the smallness of their numbers by their extravagances. We hear of them at Athens in the times

of the Peloponnesian war. Eupolis in his *Βάπται* ridiculed the adherents of the Thracian Cotytto,¹ who conducted her worship with nightly orgies and lascivious dances, and who seem from the very title of the play to have practised some oriental rite of immersion. In the *Lysistrata* of Aristophanes mention is made of other strange deities, the Paphian Aphrodite, Sabazius, and Adonis. And Plutarch informs us² that at the time of the starting of the Athenian expedition for Sicily a feast of Adonis was being celebrated by the women of Athens with wailings and all the extravagances of oriental ritual. And Adonis was never one of the deities recognised by the state at Athens, but an importation from Syria and the object of the passionate devotion of a small clique. About B.C. 430, a Phrygian metragyrtes had incurred the displeasure of the more conservative citizens by initiating women in the mysteries of the Mother of the Gods, and was by them thrown into the Barathrum.

Nevertheless these outlandish superstitions grew in favour. A passage in the *De Corona*³ gives us full details as to the rites with which they were carried on. Demosthenes thus addresses Æschines: "When⁴ you became a man you assisted your mother in her initiations, reading the ritual and joining in the mummary: at night wrapping the votaries in fawn skin, swilling, purifying, and scouring them with clay and bran, raising them after the lustration, and bidding them say, 'Bad I have scaped, and better I have found;' priding yourself that no one ever howled so lustily—and I believe him! for don't suppose that he who speaks so loud is not a splendid howler! In the daytime you led your noble orgiasts, crowned with fennel and poplar, through the highways, squeezing the big-cheeked serpents, and lifting them over your head, and shouting Euoe Saboe, and capering to the words Hyes, Attes, Attes Hyes, saluted by the beldames as Leader, Conductor, Chest-bearer, Fan-bearer, and the like, getting as your reward tarts and biscuits and rolls; for which any man might well bless himself and his fortune."

We cannot assume that Æschines did all that he is here accused of; but we may safely conclude that the description of the ritual in which he shared is fairly exact. The deity thus adored would seem to have been the Phrygian Sabazius, the

¹ Cf. Juvenal, *Satir.* ii. 92.

² *Alcib.* 18.

³ Pp. 259-60.

⁴ Translation of C. R. Kennedy (slightly altered), p. 94.

chthonic Dionysus, who was torn to pieces by enemies and restored to life again. In his worship we find all the accompaniments of Phrygian worship: the nightly orgies, the frantic dances, the introduction of serpents among the initiated, the purification by water, the loud and discordant howlings, and the repetitions in mummary of mythologic legends of no elevating or even decent character. We can scarcely be surprised to learn that at an earlier time the Athenians had put to death the priestess Ninon for celebrating the mysteries of Sabazius. Phryne also, the noted courtesan, was near losing her life for attempting to introduce at Athens the cultus of another deity of the same class, called by Hyperides¹ Isodaites.

But it was in Macedonian times that such religious cults obtained the widest acceptance in Greece. We may easily account for this fact by the increased intercourse with Asia, the number of foreigners who came to live in Greek cities, and further, the decay of the national religion, which left the minds of the people open to all sorts of irregular enthusiasms. At Athens the bulk of these worships had, as we might expect, their headquarters in the Piræus, among the marts of trade. Of one sect, who called themselves the ὀργεῶνες, and who were attached to the worship of the Mother of the Gods, we have considerable lapidary remains, which enlighten us as to the character of their organisation and cultus.

Greek religion was essentially a thing of cities, tribes, and families. According to the ideas of the people, nothing could be more displeasing to the regularly constituted deities than to be approached in an irregular way or by improper people, strangers or slaves. Dorians were not allowed even to enter the temple of Athena Polias at Athens; but the *erani* were open to all who chose to join them, and the bulk of their members were freedmen, strangers, slaves, and women, who often indeed rose to the highest posts in them, becoming priests and secretaries. Two conditions alone had to be complied with by candidates for admission: they had to pay a subscription or fee, and they had to undergo some kind of test, *δοκιμασία*. This test was conducted by the officers of the society, and its object was to ascertain whether the proposed member was *ἀγνός*, *εὐσεβής*, and *ἀγαθός*. But the goodness and purity required were scarcely of a moral kind, rather merely conventional and ceremonial. To the members were distributed sacred emblems or *tessaræ*, which they secretly carried as amulets.

¹ Ap. Harpocration.

Something must be said as to the organisation of the *erani* and *thiasi* of foreign deities which existed in later Greece. We can now recover knowledge on these matters from a variety of inscriptions found in Attica, and carefully brought together and analysed by M. P. Foucart, in his *Associations religieuses chez les Grecs*, an excellent work. The affairs of these societies were regulated by fixed laws and traditions, to which they adhered with persistency. Such matters as the conditions of membership, the amount of contribution, the times of assembly, the employment of the revenues were strictly laid down and engraved on tables of stone, as well as the nature of the rewards to be bestowed on praiseworthy officials, and punishments reserved for defaulting members. The ritual was preserved in sacred books, which were carefully treasured by the officials and probably accessible to them alone. But within this written law there was a regular democratic organisation. The *κοινόν*, or body of members, met regularly and passed decrees, in form similar to those passed by cities in their assemblies, decrees which were binding on all members. The *Orgeones* of the Piræus met every month, probably in a sacred place or *τέμενος* set apart for the purpose. Women and men were alike present; all voted, and any could speak who pleased. Resolutions were submitted in writing, and if there was nothing in them opposed to the law of the society, might be carried. And as in the case of cities, a decree passed was engraved on a tablet and set up in some appropriate place where it could be seen by all concerned. The magistrates were annually elected, and they too, like civic magistrates, had to take an oath on assuming office, and to give an account of their behaviour on resigning it. But even while in authority they were anything but despots; and if a matter of any importance came up for decision as to which the religious books were silent, it would be settled by a decree of the assembly.

We are acquainted with the titles and functions of the officials elected by the *Orgeones* of the Piræus. They had a priest and priestess, of whom the former received the skins of male animals offered in sacrifice, the latter those of female animals. But the priestess was, as we might expect in the case of a cultus imported from Phrygia, by far the more important personage: she ruled in the temple, opened it on set days, and regulated the behaviour and even the dress of those women who took part in processions. The mysteries and the feast of Atys, the Phrygian favourite of the goddess, were under her control, and it required in her no little tact to keep in good

humour all the votaries. The ex-priestesses formed a sort of sacred college or council, and from among them were chosen the *ζάκορος*, who was the assistant of the priestess, and was usually appointed for a single year, though we hear of one *zacoros*, Metrodora,¹ who was exceptionally appointed for life. Besides these functionaries, we hear of *ιεροποιοί*, who conducted the sacrifices and collected fees in connection with them; *ἐπιμεληταί*, who sometimes undertook the carrying out of decrees of the assembly, in particular of honorary decrees; a treasurer, *ταμίας*, who was naturally chosen from among the wealthy; and a secretary, *γραμματεὺς*.

Many of the *erani* were of course not organised with anything like so much completeness. For instance, we have a curious inscription found near the mines of Laurium, which records a somewhat bold pretension of a slave who worked in them: "I, Xanthus² the Lycian, slave of Caius Orbius, established a temple of Mên Tyrannus (a Phrygian moon-god) by the direction of the god himself. No one is to enter unpurified;" and he proceeds to declare on what terms the god will dispense his favours to the *eranistæ*, and in what manner he is to be approached. There is something almost sublime in such pretensions on the part of a slave of the mines. And this slave, having no funds for the purchase of a sacred place or the erection of a shrine, occupies a deserted tomb or heroon, and there sets up the graven tables which contain the regulations of the worship of which he is the self-constituted priest.

This cult of Mên at Laurium is of late date, however, and exceptional character; usually we find a more regular constitution. Commonly the general control was vested in some such officer as an *ἀρχιθιασίτης* or an *ἀρχερανιστής* or *προστάτης*, with priest, *ιεροποιοί*, a treasurer, and other officers. We read of one *θίασος* at Piræus which paid its secretary; but in the great majority of cases the officers were unpaid. But the organisation of different societies varied greatly, and the only general rules seem to be these:³ (1) there was no hierarchy among officers; all are annual, all independent one of another, and responsible directly to the assembly; (2) there is no distinction of civil and religious functions. The same man may be treasurer and priest of a *thiasus*.

The rewards bestowed on officers by the assembly were such as were customary in civic matters—an encomium, a wreath, a portrait; sometimes also a dedication was made in their name

¹ Foucart, p. 24.

² Foucart, p. 219.

³ Foucart, p. 33.

to the deity. The extreme punishment was expulsion from the society. Short of this was the levying of a fine on the offender ; and such fine was legally recoverable at Athens.

We come next to the question of the legal status of the erani of foreign deities. At Athens law aided them through enforcing their fines. Freedom of association was fully conceded at Athens, and the corporation when formed could hold property like an individual, and could prosecute defaulting members. The law of Solon is explicit in this matter, stating that whatever agreements are entered into by club or phratRIA or eranos are to be enforced, *κύριον εἶναι*, unless they contravene the laws of the state. This exception is, however, important, for the Athenians, although they accorded full rights of association to all citizens, yet severely punished the unlicensed introduction of strange deities into their city. Foreign sojourners at Athens were of course not expected to give up their own deities nor to adopt those of the Athenians, for ancient religion was tribal, and no Greek city wished to proselytise. But just as the city had the right to expel strange men, so it had the right to expel strange deities from its coasts. Thus a decree of the Senate and the people was necessary in order to grant permission for the erection of a temple to a deity previously unrepresented. The Athenians usually made no difficulty in acceding to the request of resident foreigners when they asked to be allowed to erect a shrine to their native deity. In B.C. 333 the Citians were allowed to erect a shrine to the Syrian Aphrodite ; and at that time there already existed a temple of Isis, founded by the Egyptians of Athens. But on the other hand the law was extremely severe on those who attempted, without legal permission, to introduce the worship of strange gods, more especially if the person so offending were a citizen. The testimony of Josephus on this point is explicit.¹ "The Athenians put to death the priestess Ninos on the accusation that she initiated into the worship of strange gods: the Athenian laws forbade this, and death was the penalty for introducing a strange god." In the case of Socrates also, as is well known, a chief point in the charge on which he was capitally condemned was that he had introduced new deities. And there is another well-known story as to Phryne, that she was accused by Euthias of introducing strange deities into Athens, and would have been condemned to death but for the stratagem of her defender, the orator Hyperides, who tore aside her garment and displayed to

¹ Joseph. *Adv. Apion*, ii. 37.

the jurors the beauty of her breast, on which they acquitted her. It seems certain, therefore, in spite of the opinion of Schömann, who maintains an opposite view, that death was the penalty for unauthorised introduction of barbarian deities into Athens. For the introduction of Hellenic deities obviously no license was required, nor could piety of that kind be made into a crime.

As to the tendency of these cults and their moral bearing, various opinions have been held. Some writers, such as M. Wescher,¹ are inclined to see in them much of good, regarding them as a revolt against the deadness of the outworn Hellenic religion, and the beginning of a wider and higher religious life. Others, such as M. Foucart, will allow but little to be said in their favour. We must briefly examine the evidence. First, then, it has been maintained that the thiasi acted as benefit-clubs. But the evidence for this is not forthcoming. The society of Orgeons of the Piræus seem to have buried dead members, but this function was performed towards rich and poor alike, and seems to have arisen from religious rather than social motives. There is no record in the inscriptions of any aid offered to poor or unfortunate members; and it would seem that an equal subscription was exacted from all. There was thus nothing in thiasi to make them a boon to the poor. There were civil erani which did lend money to members, advanced a ransom to redeem those captured by pirates, and so forth; but there is nothing to prove that purely religious erani performed these functions. Secondly, there does seem, at first sight, something in the regulations of these irregular religious societies of striving after purity and a better life. The votaries tended by Æschines repeated, "Worse have I scaped, and better have I found;" and it is usually laid down in the regulations that all who take part in the religious ceremonies must be *καθαροί* and *ἄγνοι*. But we must be careful not to put too much of modern meaning into these phrases. They do not refer to moral but to ceremonial and outward purity; they do not mean that the votary must regulate his actions and feelings by a high standard; but that he must have cleansed himself in specified ways from certain acts recognised as impure, such as touching a corpse or eating onions. That real purity of heart was acceptable to the gods is a doctrine which always existed among the more intelligent of the Greeks, but was never taken in by the lower classes, and especially the slaves, who constituted the majority

¹ *Revue Archéologique*, 1864 and 1865.

of members of these societies. Again, the religious fervour of the sectaries has been contrasted with the dulness and weakness of more staid cults ; and, no doubt, in the later days of Greece, the old Greek religion was in a most decrepit state, and real belief had almost departed from it. But at the same time the way in which the votaries of Phrygian and Thracian deities displayed their devotion was anything but attractive. Frantic cries and wild dances, and scenes of not too chaste a character, were the routine of their service ; and the priests devoted themselves to the foretelling of the future, the curing of diseases, and the administration of philtres, arts far more lucrative than respectable, and worked themselves up into the wild frenzies which impressed the minds of the common people, but which had in them far more of sensuous than of spiritual excitement.

The opinion of the wiser among the ancients was altogether against outlandish cults. I have already stated what view of them was taken by the state. In the *Lysistrata*, Aristophanes depicts what he supposes to be their results on the women. Their chief patronesses were Hetææ, such as Phryne, and Aristion Menander and Theophrastus direct against them the keenest shafts of their polished wit. The best of the later Greek writers are on the side of Plutarch when he writes, "Superstition inspires ludicrous feelings and deeds, words and movements, enchantments, magic ceremonies, processions to the sound of the drum, cleansings unclean, and purifications impure, scourgings and tramplings in the mire in the temples illegal and barbarous."¹

Their barbarism is precisely that on which M. Foucart most dwells, and that which will strike a modern reader conversant with the works of Herbert Spencer and Tylor. Among all barbarous tribes we find mystic ceremonies, religious mania, the custom of producing passionate excitement, and ascribing to men in that condition superhuman powers, and a nearer approach to the deities. We should expect to find such practices in connection with the religions of Thrace and Phrygia, and they were thence imported unchanged into Greece. No doubt barbarous religion spread in Greece, because there, as in most countries, there was a lower stratum which was barbarous. The mobs of Greek cities, says M. Foucart, were never raised to the level of what was best in Greek religion, and were always sliding back to what was worse, and they found in extravagant

¹ *De Superst.* 12.

rites and furious excitement something to stir their dull susceptibilities, and satisfy their coarse spiritual appetites.

And yet it is impossible to maintain so harsh a judgment when we reflect that in several respects the thiasi were precursors of Christianity and opened the door by which it entered. If they belonged to a lower intellectual level than the best religion of Greece, and were full of vulgarity and imposture, they yet had in them certain elements of progress, and had something in common with the future as well as the past history of mankind. All properly Hellenic religion was a tribal thing, belonged to the state and the race, did not proselytise, nor even admit foreign converts; and so when the barriers which divided cities were pulled down it sank and decayed. The cultus of Sabazius or of Cybele was, at least, not tribal: it sought converts among all ranks, and having found them, placed them on a level before the god. Slaves and women were admitted to membership and to office. The idea of a common humanity, scarcely admitted by Greek philosophers before the age of the Stoics, found a hold among these despised sectaries, who learned to believe that men of low birth and foreign extraction might be in divine matters superior to the wealthy and the educated. In return for this great lesson we may pardon them much folly and much superstition.

CHAPTER V

TEMPLE-RITUAL

NOTHING is better calculated to impress upon us the difference between ancient and modern religion than a comparison of our Christian rituals with those of ancient Greece. Exhortations wherein the doctrines of the religion are proclaimed, and the hearers incited to the leading of a better life, those sermons which, especially in Protestant churches, are so prominent in religious service, had no counterpart in ancient ritual: the prayers and the hymns which make up the chief part of our services were far less developed among the Greeks. We shall presently set forth in order the little information on these subjects which ancient writers have thought it worth while to give us, or which has been preserved in inscriptions. On the other hand the act of sacrifice, which was the main and essential feature of ancient religious services, exists only in idealised

form in modern days, and tends among Protestants almost entirely to disappear. As to times of worship we find the same contrast. Except at the great festivals, when all the city turned out to watch the processions and ceremonies, the people worshipped in families and septs as occasion arose, or as individuals constantly frequented the shrine of the special deities whom they supposed to have taken their lives in charge.

It is a significant fact that the Greeks had no word appropriated to the meaning of "prayer:" εὐχή, which usually does duty for it, means also vow, or merely wish, or even curse. Yet in one sense it is more distinctive than our term prayer, since it does not include thanks for past but only hopes for future favours. Prayers of some kind must, it seems certain, have formed part of every sacrificial ceremony, and we are the more surprised that the information we have about them is so slight. Of course there was no elaborate ritual at any Greek temple, and the form of prayer if fixed was very simple. It was preserved in the memory of the priests, or if committed to writing, written only in the sacred books, which were sedulously hidden away. Before any prayer there was the customary Greek requisite of purification: Penelope, before praying to Athena, washes her person and puts on clean garments.¹ Of course at sacrifices this condition was already complied with. Slavish prostrations were by the Greeks deemed degrading to man and unacceptable to the gods: the suppliant stood merely with face and hands upraised to heaven when he called on the dwellers therein. In addressing the deities of the sea, he might merely stretch his arms towards the waters, as Achilles does when he calls on his mother Thetis. And when the beings addressed were those of the nether world, the suppliant would stretch his hands downwards and strike the earth with his foot to attract the attention of those below.

Very commonly at sacrifice and in prayer all the deities were invoked in common, or a list of them recited, beginning with Hestia. In Homer the three greatest deities, Zeus, Athena, and Apollo are addressed together on some occasions. If one deity alone were invoked, it was a matter of ordinary piety to add to the mention of his name some description, including any other designation which he might be supposed to prefer. "Zeus, whoever he be, if this will please his ears, thus I address him," exclaims the chorus in the *Agamemnon*; ² and it was customary to add some such phrase as "whatever name pleases thee best."

¹ *Od.* iv. 750.

² *L.* 155.

The reason of this lies somewhat deep in the ideas of nations of undeveloped civilisation. With such, the name is a sort of clue to personality; nor would it be easy more thoroughly to offend a barbarous chief than by addressing him by a name of which he disapproved. In the mysteries various deities were called upon by secret names, the mere utterance of which by the votaries put them at once on a footing of intimacy with the god. And the several titles which Apollo, Zeus, Artemis and other deities held at the various spots devoted to them were regarded as essential to the local cult.

The more pious of the Greeks began no enterprise without prayer. "All men," says Plato,¹ "who have any decency, in the attempting of matters great or small, always invoke divine aid." Ischomachus, in Xenophon's *Œconomica*, before he sets about the training of his wife, offers a sacrifice and a prayer that his instructions may be good for both husband and wife. Hesiod² recommends sacrifice and libation night and morning, and Plato considers it natural to utter a prayer at the rising and setting of the sun and the moon. The libations which accompanied every meal were with many the occasion of prayer, though more often they may be supposed to have taken its place. Nor did an assembly meet in Greece, nor an army take the field or enter into battle, nor was a peace or treaty concluded without sacrifice and prayers, the latter commonly recited in a loud voice by an attendant herald. The Greeks had a prejudice against prayer uttered in a low voice. Whether it was that they supposed a prayer loudly uttered to go more certainly to its destination, or whether they suspected those who prayed low to be uttering things unfit to be heard, we cannot say: both reasons may have carried weight. Certain it is that there was among the Pythagoreans a rule that all prayers should be uttered aloud. Only in the presence of the enemy, for evident reasons, an opposite rule prevailed: Ajax in Homer begs the Achæans to utter silently their prayers for his safety in his combat with Hector, lest the Trojans overhear. A greater efficacy was lent to a supplication when the petitioner could touch or kiss a statue of his deity (bronze statues were sometimes quite worn down with kissing), or held in his hand something belonging to that deity, a fillet, a twig of a sacred tree, or a sacrificial vessel. Sometimes the petition was not uttered at all, but written on a tablet and affixed to the statue of a deity or laid on his knees.

¹ *Timæus*, p. 27c. The words are given to Timæus.

² *Works and Days*, l. 339.

The Greek usually prayed for certain things which he wanted and which he hoped to get through divine aid: but of course the more refined natures coveted nobler things. The first prayer which comes before us in Greek literature¹ is that of the priest Chryses to Apollo, begging for vengeance on the Greeks who have carried off his daughter. "If ever I built a temple gracious in thine eyes, or if ever I burnt to thee fat flesh of thighs of bulls or goats, fulfil thou this my desire: let the Danaans pay by thine arrows for my tears!" The prayers of the ordinary citizens were naturally for health, riches, and advancement. "Who," says Cicero,² "ever thanked the gods that he was a good man?—men are thankful for riches, honour, safety. These are the things they beg of sovereign Jupiter, not what makes us just, temperate, wise, but what makes us safe, sound, rich, and prosperous." There is a higher and more manly note in the prayer of Xenophon,³ which asks of the gods health and strength of body, and honour in the city, goodwill in friends, in war safety with honour, and wealth which grows by fair means. This probably is as high as the ideas of a well-born and well-bred Greek would ordinarily rise: if we wish for anything nobler we must turn to the writings of the philosophers. Socrates in Xenophon prays for the good merely, leaving it to the gods to fix what was good.⁴ In Plato's dialogues he is represented as agreeing with the poet, who begs Zeus to grant him what is good whether he asks or not, and to keep from him the evil even if he asks it.⁵ But prayers like these have their place in works which deal with the history of philosophy rather than in a work dealing with Greek antiquities. They were not part of any ritual, but the aspirations of a sublime nature. More to the point, because it may have been recited at religious ceremonies, is the petition quoted with admiration by Marcus Aurelius, "Rain, rain, dear Zeus, on the fields of the Athenians and the plains." "In truth," adds the Emperor, "we ought not to pray at all, or we ought to pray in this simple and noble fashion."

A prayer appropriated by a temple and worked into its services would naturally fall into metre, that it might more easily be retained in the memory and preserve its exact form. All ancient and traditional prayers seem to have been metrical.

¹ *Il.* i. 40, Mr. Leaf's translation.

³ *Econ.* xi. 8.

⁵ *Alcib. Secund.* p. 143a.

² *De Nat. Deor.* ii. 36.

⁴ *Xenoph. Memor.* i. 3, 2.

They may thus be considered as hymns, whether they were merely recited or whether they were accompanied by the lyre and by dances. The more elaborate hymns, such as those which passed in antiquity under the name of Homer, and those of Stesichorus, Pindar, and other poets, belong not to the ordinary services of temples, but altogether to religious festivals. The choruses of the tragedians frequently contain hymns to the gods; but they cannot in any sense be said to belong to ritual. But there were hymns in more ordinary use. Indeed, we possess an inscription¹ from Stratonicea in Caria in which the hymns of daily service, and those belonging to festivals are expressly distinguished. It is there ordered that thirty boys of good family shall be selected and retained as a choir of Zeus Panamerius and Hecate, and shall be brought daily into the senate-house under the charge of the pædonomus, there to sing, clad in white and crowned with flowers, an ode in honour of these two deities. A separate chorus is to be selected for the annual hymn ordered by ancient custom. Comparatively few of these liturgical hymns have come down to us, and those which survive are of a frigid kind. The hymn of Ariphron to Hygieia, which is preserved to us both in an inscription and in the text of Athenæus,² is a fair specimen. Hymns like the noble appeal of Cleanthes to Zeus clearly do not come under this head.

Our knowledge of ancient hymns has been notably enlarged by the results of recent French excavations at Delphi.³ Among the inscriptions thus recovered is a pæan written for the god by Aristonous of Corinth, and fragments of a hymn containing triumphant allusions to the destruction of the Gauls at Delphi in B.C. 278, soon after which date the hymn was probably written. Neither of these compositions possesses much literary merit; but to the second attaches extraordinary interest, because it is set to music which is inscribed on the marble, and has been in part recovered. It is the first satisfactory evidence which has reached us as to the character of Greek music, which naturally cannot compare with that of modern days in science or elaboration, but yet possesses a certain charm.

In judging it we must remember that with the Greeks music was wholly subordinate to poetry, and that as an art it was cultivated neither for intellectual pleasure nor for

¹ *C. I.* 2715.

² *C. I.* 511; Athen. xv. 702a.

³ *Bulletin de Corresp. Hellénique*, 1893.

sensuous gratification, but with an ethical purpose. Anything which corrupted its simplicity was condemned ; and the more conservative of the Greeks resisted even the raising of the number of strings in the lyre to seven. In fact the essentially rhetorical character which belongs to all Greek literature and poetry, and even to the plastic art of antiquity, is even more conspicuous in ancient music.

The words of these Apolline hymns, though of inferior literary merit, resemble the appeals to the gods which so frequently burst forth in the choral passages of the plays of the great Attic tragedians, and bring vividly before us the fact that these dramatic performances were a part of the service of the gods, and that an appeal to them in the theatre of Athens was as much in place as if uttered at Delphi or Olympia. The theatre and the church with us lie far apart ; but it was not so among the Greeks, nor among our own ancestors in the middle ages.

We have next to speak of what may be termed the special services of Greek religion, as opposed to the daily routine of prayer and sacrifice. These special services comprise not only the great festivals which occupied a great part of the year in all Greek cities, but also religious ceremonies gone through with a special object, such as curses and oaths, and the purifications which both persons and places had frequently to undergo.

It may sound strange to speak of curses or imprecations as religious ceremonies ; but they were such in Greece, and of great value to the commonwealth. A curse was a sort of inverted prayer, implying belief in the gods and an approach to them ; only, that which was asked of them was not good, but evil. Fortunately the evil was asked in a mere hypothetical way in most cases : the curse was directed not against some particular person, but against any one who should in future violate particular ordinances. There are many rules of morality which are among nations of imperfect civilisation scarcely to be enforced by legal penalties ; such rules the Greeks frequently placed under the protection of the deities, solemnly beseeching them to see to their enforcement, and to punish all transgressors. If the offence was sacrilege against a particular deity, that deity naturally was expected to be active in his own cause ; in other cases either the gods in general were invoked, or frequently Hades and Persephone, or the Erinnyes to whom the severe punishment of mortals naturally belonged. The priests of Zeus, called *Buzygæ*, at Athens, in their litany invoked curses against those who refused to show the way to strangers,

refused aid in kindling fire, polluted fresh water, slew a ploughing ox, or left a corpse unburied.¹ In the constitution of Solon² it was ordained that the archon every year should, under a penalty of 100 drachms, proclaim a curse against those who violated the law against export of produce, from which law, only oil was exempt. We still possess an inscription from Teos³ which denounces bitter curses against those who transgress the ordinances there set forth. If any disobey the magistrates of Teos, or if any of the magistrates unjustly put a citizen to death, or if any person prepares poisonous draughts for any Teian, or prevents the import of corn, he and all his race are devoted to destruction; not clearly by the laws of the state, for in no Greek republic could laws so severe exist, but by the laws of the deities who watched over the commonwealth. In many state documents, treaties, and the like, where human law cannot be invoked to punish transgression, such clauses are inserted.

A good specimen of the curse with political intent is that recorded by Æschines⁴ as pronounced by the Amphictions against those who should attempt to violate their decree which condemned to barrenness the lands of Cirrha. "If any transgress this decree, whether city, tribe, or person, let him or them be accursed in the name of Apollo, Artemis, Leto, and Athena Pronœa. May their land bear no fruit, and their wives bear not children like their parents, but monsters; and their cattle not breed according to their wont. And may they have the worser part in war and law and trade, and themselves perish, and their house and race; and may they never bring acceptable sacrifice to Apollo, or Artemis, or Leto, or Athena Pronœa; but may their offerings be rejected."

On tombstones of later period, no inscription is more common than that which invokes a curse on those who interfere with the dead man or his resting-place. An Attic epitaph⁵ begins, "I commit this tomb to the chthonic deities to guard, to Pluto and Persephone and the Erinnyes, and all the nether gods," and proceeds to implore these beings to afflict any person who molests or injures the tomb, with fever and ague and other painful diseases.

But curses were not all of this speculative and future kind. In the *Iliad*⁶ Phoenix relates how, when he had injured his

¹ Cf. Diphilus, in Athen. vi. 35.

² Plutarch, *Solon*, chap. 24.

³ *C. I.* 3044.

⁴ In *Ctesiph.* 110.

⁵ No. 2579 in the *Corpus* of Kumanudes.

⁶ ix. 454.

father Amyntor, the latter uttered a deep curse, calling on the hateful Erinnyes, and how the nether Zeus (Hades) and Persephone brought it to pass. Plutarch, in his life of Alcibiades, gives an account of the curse pronounced on that general at Athens, after he had by flight escaped from the hands of the law, on hearing the result of the trial held in his absence. All the priests and priestesses at evening pronounced against him a solemn malediction, shaking in the air a red cloth. The time of day and the colour of the cloth were both symbolical of the death to which they devoted him. Not long after, however, we find that when Alcibiades returned in triumph to Athens, the Eumolpidæ and the heralds withdrew all the curses which they had pronounced against him, by command of the people. At Cnidus, Sir C. Newton found in a precinct dedicated to Pluto, Demeter, Persephone, and the lower deities generally, a number of leaden tablets on which were graven imprecations. The person against whom the curse was directed, was in these documents consigned to the vengeance of the two great goddesses. The usual formula is, "May he or she never find Persephone propitious," a curse the bearing of which reaches beyond the bounds of the present life into that beyond. The offences which brought down these terrible curses seem in magnitude scarcely proportioned to the punishment. "One lady denounces the person who has stolen her bracelet, or who has omitted to return her undergarments. Another has had her husband's affections stolen from her; and one much-injured wife invokes curses on the person who accused her of having tried to poison her husband."¹ On a leaden tablet found in an Athenian tomb,² Hermes and Ge are begged to punish certain persons there named. Sometimes the imprecation is made in a less direct way, as when plated coins were dedicated in temples, in all probability to rouse the anger of the gods against the unknown forger. We have a very curious form of imprecation from the temple of Hera Lacinia.³ A woman presents to the goddess three gold coins which "Melita has borrowed and not returned." The coins were not bodily presented, but they became the property of the goddess, and by the fact of dedication, Melita became indebted to her, and liable to pay the money twelve-fold to the temple, together with a measure of incense.

In dealing with imprecations, we are clearly very near the border-line which divides religion from sorcery. Prayers,

¹ C. T. Newton, *Essays*, p. 193.

² *C. I.* 539.

³ *C. I.* 5773.

oaths, and curses all gradually rose from the level of barbarous to that of Hellenic religion; and those of the people who were at a lower stage of culture, kept up in these matters the traditions of barbarism. The priest and the wizard are alike descended from the ancient medicine-man, the one representing the higher level attained by the race, the other keeping on the old level or sinking below it. In all periods of Greek history, the magicians and witches who dealt in charms, incantations, and exorcisms, drove a thriving trade by flattering the follies, and trading on the weaknesses of the many.

Oaths are closely connected with imprecations, are indeed only a variety of them. He who binds himself by an oath, invokes on himself the vengeance of some deity or deities, unless he performs his promise. It is true that oaths were not always made in that form; the father may swear by his children, the king by his sceptre, the warrior by his sword. The disguised Odysseus¹ swears by the hospitable table and hearth of his home. But in these cases the meaning is the same. The swearer invokes here, too, in case of perjury, injury on the thing whereby he swears—that the children may perish, the sceptre be disobeyed, the sword break in the battle. No doubt in common use, oaths not directly introducing the names of deities, came to be regarded as mere strong asseverations. And for this reason, when an oath was seriously taken, its meaning was carefully made clear. In the *Iliad*, Agamemnon swears by Zeus, Helios, Gæa, and the Erinnyes, and sometimes includes the rivers and the nether deities. The Homeric gods swear, as is well known, by the river Styx. Solon ordered oaths to be taken by Hicesius, Catharsius, and Exacesterius, which names we must take as titles or appellations of Zeus, rather than as names of separate deities. The Athenian Heliasts swore by Apollo Patrous, Demeter, and Zeus. At Sparta they mostly swore by the Dioscuri; at Orchomenus, in Bœotia, by Alalcomenia Thelxinia and Aulis. So in most cities or districts there was some deity or dæmon who was supposed especially fatal to perjurers. Very frequently oaths were made by the nether deities, to whom the punishment of men naturally belonged, and sometimes by Horcus (ὄρκος) himself, who was personified as a son of Zeus.

Such were serious oaths. Among the Greeks, as among ourselves, were others of lighter character—expressions which

¹ *Od.* xiv. 159.

had the form of oaths without the meaning. The common oath by Herakles probably had little meaning, Herakles not being very seriously taken. Socrates swears by the dog and by a plane-tree, Lampo by the goose. Indeed, playful expressions like these savoured of no impiety—rather, on the contrary, of piety, since by using them men avoided light use of the names of deities.

Oaths were so far regarded as religious that they were commonly taken in temples and accompanied by special service and sacrifice. The lakes of the Palici in Sicily were much resorted to by those who took oaths, and the vengeance of the deities was said to be so swift against perjurers that they left the shrine sightless. In Corinth the most binding oaths were taken in the underground building where was the tomb of Palæmon or Melicertes ; and at Pheneus, in Arcadia, there was a place called petroma, by the temple of the chthonian Demeter, where the greatest oaths were taken. In almost all cases the temples set apart for the taking of oaths were of the nether deities. Justin¹ tells us how Ptolemy Ceraunus, wishing to get into his power his sister Arsinoë, swore a great oath that he would share his kingdom with her, and to make it more sacred, went with her emissary Dio into a very ancient temple of Zeus in Macedon and pronounced the oath, holding in his hands the altar and the statue of the god. The attitude of the swearer on these solemn occasions was that of prayer ; he stood with his hands stretched to heaven. When a sacrifice took place—and that this was not unusual is shown by the use of the phrase ὄρκια τέμνειν for taking a solemn oath—it was conducted in the same manner as the sacrifices to Hades and kindred deities. The victim was cut down, and its blood allowed to flow on the ground ; in that blood the swearer bathed his hands. The dead body, as impure, was cast into the sea. Sometimes symbolical ceremonies were substituted for the sacrifice. Thus the people of Phocæa, when they left their city and swore never to return, sank a piece of iron to the bottom of the sea, swearing not to return until the iron came to the surface again.

A solemn oath was a necessary part of all treaties ; and when we have the text of a treaty, this usually forms a part of it. Each contracting state calls its own deities to witness ; usually a copy of the treaty was set up in the chief temple of each state, where its text was constantly under the eyes of the gods

¹ *Hist.* xxiv. 2.

invoked in it. In an extant treaty¹ between the people of Gortyna and Hierapytna, the oath is taken by Hestia, Zeus Phratrius, Zeus Dictæus, Hera, Athena Oleria, Athena Polias, Athena Salmonia, Apollo Pythius, Leto, Artemis, Ares, Aphrodite, the Curetes, Nymphs and Corybantes, and all gods and goddesses. In the treaty between Smyrna and Magnesia,² the Magnesians make oath by Zeus, Gê, Helios, Ares, Athena Areia, Artemis Tauropolos, Mater Sipylene, Apollo of Pandi, and all other deities, while the Smyrnæans swear by the same string of deities, only substituting Aphrodite Stratonicis for Apollo. These lists are of considerable historical value, giving us a notion what divinities the cities who made the treaty most valued and respected in their cults.

A variant form of the oath is the ordeal, which did not indeed play so important a part in Greece as among our own barbarous ancestors, but still was much in use. At Crathis, in Achaia, was a temple of Gê. The priestesses who held office in it were obliged to take an ordeal of chastity, by drinking bulls' blood, which was supposed to be immediately fatal to those who had been unchaste.³ The *locus classicus* on the subject of ordeals is in the *Antigone* of Sophocles,⁴ where the watchman narrates how eagerly all his comrades were willing to go through tests to prove that they had taken no share in the burying of Polynices. ἡμεν δ' ἔτοιμοι καὶ μύδρους αἶρειν χεροῖν, καὶ πῦρ διέρπειν, καὶ θεοὺς ὀρκωμοτεῖν, τὸ μήτε δράσαι, &c.

The Greeks in their symbolical language called Horcus the son of Zeus, and the founder of civic order. And, in fact, in their cities every person who held any office took an oath, sometimes took it again and again. At Sparta oaths were taken every month⁵ by the kings not to transgress the laws, and by the Ephors, on the part of the state, to support them constantly if they kept their oath. The kings of Epirus and their subjects took oaths one to another. The Archons of Athens, the Strategi, the Heliasts, the Hellanodicaë of Olympia, and magistrates all over Greece, took oaths of allegiance to the existing constitutions. As a specimen may serve the oath of the Heliasts in Demosthenes' speech against Timocrates,⁶ which, after entering into the utmost detail of their office, declares that they will not take bribes or be partial, calls on Zeus Poseidon and Demeter to witness, and begs that their future

¹ C. I. 2555.

³ Paus. vii. 25, 13.

⁵ Xenoph. *De Rep. Lac.* 15.

² C. I. 3137. The stone is at Oxford.

⁴ Line 264.

⁶ P. 746.

prosperity and adversity may depend on their abiding or not abiding by the words of the oath. Even those who held no state-office could not escape oaths. In every legal trial an oath was required alike of prosecutor and defendant; every witness had to swear to that which he asserted; every competitor in any sacred games had to take an oath that he would strive for the prize fairly. Even the ordinary citizens of Athens on reaching the ephebic age had to take a solemn oath to bear arms honourably in defence of state and religion, to go forth if appointed by lot as colonists, and to obey the laws and be submissive to those in office.

If it be asked what the result of all this swearing was, the answer must be that it produced continual perjury and a habit of bad faith. Plato in the *Laws*¹ praises Rhadamanthys for having introduced in law-suits a speedy mode of settlement by making the parties concerned take oaths; but he adds that such a proceeding, though suited to an age of honour and simplicity, was in his own day unsuitable, since some people denied the existence of the gods, others thought that they existed indeed but cared nought for human affairs; but the baser sort, who were also the majority, thought that the gods could be easily persuaded by sacrifices and flatteries to forgive them for any perjuries they might commit. Plato would therefore do away with oaths. And it is easy to see that the Athenian custom of making oaths compulsory at every turn must have thoroughly familiarised the people with the sight and the habit of perjury. And if this was the case in the time of Plato, and among the Athenians who were of better faith than most of the Greeks, we may easily imagine that among the dissolute Greeks of Asia and Italy perjury was quite a usual habit. To Dionysius of Syracuse is attributed the saying that boys were to be cheated with knuckle-bones, and men with oaths. Even the Spartans were more lax in this respect, if we may trust Attic writers, than in other parts of morality. Only in the age after Alexander oaths almost ceased to deceive, because everybody had ceased to believe in their being kept; and *Græca fides* was to the Romans, at that time of sterner morality, equivalent to faithlessness.

Those who find the origin of sacrifice in the desire of a clan to renew its common life with its deity or totem, find a parallel explanation of the origin of purification. As Robertson Smith writes,² "Primarily purification means the application to the

¹ P. 948.

² *Religion of the Semites*, i. p. 405.

person of some medium which removes a taboo, and enables the person purified to mingle freely in the ordinary life of his fellows." There are many ways in which man or woman can come in contact with what is forbidden, and so acquire ceremonial uncleanness, by childbirth, contact with the dead or the like, or by the commission of some marked offence against the community. In such case the impurity has to be removed before the unclean person can mix with the life of the clan, and still more before he can venture to approach the sacred beings who are the protectors and source of the common life.

Purifications are a marked feature of the Levitical code of the Hebrews, and sufficiently familiar to all readers of the Bible. In Greece they belong in a special degree to the cult of Apollo which had its centre at Delphi, and to the more mystic cult of Dionysus, in which lustrations were a prominent feature. In the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* this phase of religious cult is scarcely visible. As it is deeply rooted in all lands in the thought and feeling of barbarians, we must suppose that for some reason the Greek aristocracy of whom the Homeric poems treat had escaped from its influence. But in historic Greece, on the other hand, we have abundant evidence of its power.

Purifications may be divided into two kinds, those which were merely ceremonial and formal, and those which partook rather of the nature of expiation and implied a sense of guilt. The former kind is easily explicable, whether the account above given of its origin be correct or not. It was quite in accord with the Greek nature to consider any uncleanness as unfitting a worshipper to enter into the presence of the gods. This dictated the custom already mentioned of placing water at the doors of temples, that all who passed in might sprinkle themselves and so be ceremonially purged. The water used for this purpose should be either running or else salt. Salt water was considered as especially cleansing; and for ceremonial sprinkling, water was fetched from the sea, or salt was mingled with fresh water. In the same way, as the contact of a corpse made a person unclean, a bowl of water was placed at the door of the house where a dead man lay, in order that all who passed out might sprinkle themselves and do away with the impurity. Women on bringing forth children were at once formally impure, and had to absent themselves for forty days from the temples of the gods, after which they were purified, and brought an offering to Hestia or to Artemis, goddess of delivery; the new-born child was also submitted to a ceremony of purification by fire. At Delos means were taken to remove at once

to another island any person in a dangerous illness, or any woman about to bear a child, in order that the sacred island of Apollo should not be polluted by death or by childbirth. In later purifications there is a mixture of hygiene with religion; and corporeal cleansing accompanied that which was merely ceremonial; but this idea seems foreign to the barbarian.

In cases, however, in which the impurity to be removed was not merely ceremonial, but deeper and connected with the feelings of guilt and transgression, mere cleansing with water or fire did not suffice, and some expiatory sacrifice, involving the shedding of blood, was necessary. Of such expiatory sacrifices we will treat in the next chapter.

CHAPTER VI

SACRIFICE

IN all ancient cult, by far the most important place is occupied by sacrifice. This is at once the most primitive and the most usual means by which relations were established between worshipper and worshipped. Of late years the researches of anthropologists, and especially of Mr. Robertson Smith, have been largely devoted to the origin and history of sacrifice,¹ and although it must be allowed that these investigations leave much obscure and unintelligible, yet they are successful in laying down the main outlines of the subject, and in explaining many phenomena which had hitherto remained inexplicable.

It is impossible here to enter into the very obscure and difficult question of the origins of sacrifice, which lie beyond the domain of history. Mr. Robertson Smith seeks those origins in the idea of a common life belonging to all the members of a clan, and shared by them with their deity, or rather with their totem, which was commonly an animal held sacred by the clan, and regarded as closely akin to it. Such totem was not only propitiated by offerings, but its life was also held sacred; and only on rare and solemn occasions was a totem animal slain, in order that, by partaking of its blood or life, the members of the clan might renew their sacred kinship.

¹ See especially Tylor, *Primitive Culture*; W. R. Smith, *The Religion of the Semites*, and the article *Sacrifice* in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*; J. G. Frazer, *The Golden Bough*.

But the meaning and purpose of totemism is as yet unexplained ; and though it cannot be doubted that the ideas it embodies are a *vera causa* in relation to many customs of primitive religion, yet their influence may easily be exaggerated. For example, Mr. Robertson Smith observes ¹ that the custom of bringing food to the gods seems to have originated in the offering of food to sacred animals, "for in totemism the gifts laid before the sacred animals are actually eaten." This, however, is not borne out by the evidence. It is far more probable that the offering of food to the gods arose out of the cultus of the dead, the dead being supposed to require sustentation as well as the living.

Without, however, going deeper into these matters, we cannot do better than adopt the valuable and luminous division originated by Mr. Robertson Smith ² of sacrifices into three classes : (1) honorific or donatory ; (2) piacular ; (3) mystic.

No doubt a confusion between the kinds of sacrifice was usual in many times and places. Certainly in Greek ritual, as it has come down to us, such confusion prevails. Nevertheless it tends greatly to clearness and to a right apprehension of the facts, if we try, so far as possible, to regard donatory, piacular, and mystic offerings as distinct in kind.

(1) *Donatory Sacrifices*.—The Greeks, as far back as we can trace them in history, regarded their deities as in most respects like men, and like men, in particular, in their desire of food and drink, as well as garments, vessels, and other spoil. There is a well-known line perhaps of Hesiod : ³—

Δῶρα θεοῖς πείθει, δῶρ' αἰδοίους βασιλῆας.

Coupling this with the well-known fact that all sacrifices laid upon the altar were originally regarded as the immediate food of the gods, we have a ready explanation of many sacrifices. As the early Greeks built for the gods houses like those of their chiefs, so they thought it necessary to bring them food and drink, to lay fruits on their tables, and to please their nostrils with the sweet scent of incense. They thought the gods to have appetites like their own, and hoped by satisfying their desires to win favour and help to themselves. This idea, when fully worked out, will account for many facts regarding Greek sacrifice.

¹ *Religion of the Semites*, p. 212. The fact that the clan totems of savages are sometimes not animals tells strongly against the views of this book.

² *Encycl. Brit.*, art. *Sacrifice*.

³ In Plato, *Republ.* iii. p. 390.

At first the sacrifice was very literally rendered. Sometimes the victim was so slain that its blood ran on to the sacred stone or tree, which was in many places the visible embodiment of the divine presence, or the wine of the offering was poured into the ground whereon these fetishes stood. Sometimes the sacrificial offering was burned whole, as a holocaust. But usages arose whereby the burning was partial. Certain portions only were set aside for the gods, and the rest served for the maintenance of the officiating priests, who devoured it as the representatives of their deity. In later times this priestly share was often sold in the markets as ordinary food. The frugal Greeks would seldom slay an ox or sheep merely for eating, so that they partook of fresh meat mainly in connection with the numerous sacrifices. In time the pleasure of the gods in food and drink was taken less and less literally by the people. In Homer, great deities like Zeus and Poseidon are spoken of as revelling in the enjoyment of sacrifice. In the first book of the *Iliad* Chryses recalls to Apollo all the rich sacrifices which he has enjoyed at the hands of his priest, and claims in return the aid of the god against the sons of Atreus. Hesiod takes, if possible, a still lower view of the divine nature: the gods according to him are as open to bribery as the chiefs themselves. This view is not far removed from that of the Hindus, who suppose that sacrifices and prayers to the gods confer on the votary a distinct right to his aid when occasion arises. In later Greece, and among the more educated classes, we find a different feeling. "Not even a good man," says Plato in the *Laws*,¹ "will receive gifts from the wicked, still less the gods: all the pains which the wicked take to conciliate them are thrown away." There was then more of that feeling which Schömann² lays at the root of sacrifice, that the gods deserve the best we have to offer, the feeling which makes men anxious to give the earliest and best of the things which come to them to the gods, such gifts as first-fruits, and beautiful flowers, and unblemished animals.

We must distinguish between things dedicated to the gods and sacrifices proper. A thing dedicated remained in the house of the god as a continual possession; the thing sacrificed was used up for his immediate pleasure. We may find gifts of a character intermediate between the two. Such are the corn and fruits which were continually in many temples laid on the table before the deity, and which, not being consumed,

¹ iii. p. 716e.

² *Gr. Alterthümer*, ii. p. 212.

in time fell to the priests. Such we may consider coins thrown into a well for the benefit of some deity, or hair cut off in his honour, on some event of life. Hence the ancients speak of fireless offerings, *ἄπυρα*; and of things which were actually sacrificed, some were not consumed with fire. Wine and milk in libations were merely poured on the ground, and horses were driven alive into sea or river and so drowned. Still the great intermediary between gods and men was fire. All primitive people hold fire in the greatest reverence. It is the means of all the comfort of life, the greatest and most perfect of purifying powers, irresistible in its wrath, and of infinite service to man in warming his hut, cooking his food, moulding his weapons. In the Vedas, Agni is among the greatest of the gods, and the representative and messenger of the rest; receiving gifts from men and transporting them in vaporous form to the abode of the deities. Hestia, the household fire, was, as we have seen in a previous chapter, held in high honour among the early Greeks, and received a share in their food and drink. Thus it was by no chance, but in accord with a deep principle of human nature, that things presented to the gods were submitted to the action of fire. And it was supposed that as they passed away and disappeared from earth, they were received and enjoyed by the deities hovering about the altar, and invisibly present at the sacrifice.

Plato in the *Laws*,¹ and after him Porphyry, maintains that the earliest offerings in Greece were of the kind called bloodless. It is, however, probable that this was an ungrounded theory of rationalising philosophers. Of this class were fruits, and the first-fruits of the crops, which were sometimes consumed with fire. Bread and cakes were also sometimes offered on the altars, moulded into the form of victims and burned in their place, but in this instance it is evident that the bloodless sacrifice was a mere substitute for that in which blood was shed. The term bloodless, *ἀναιμος*, also applies to the various sorts of libation which were offered either at the time of sacrifice, or in the course of ordinary meals. As vegetable sacrifices were considered more primitive and pure than animal sacrifices,² so libations of honey and milk were reckoned purer than those of wine. And though wine was the common matter of libations, and even unmixed wine, which was poured to the deities by those who

¹ vi. p. 782 c.

² The opposite idea seems to have been current among the Jews: Genesis iv. 3, 4.

themselves drank only wine mixed with water, yet there were certain deities to whom wine was not offered. The Eleans¹ offered wine to all deities save the Arcadian Despœna and the Nymphs. And generally virgin deities, like the Hours, Muses, and the daughters of Erechtheus, were regaled with no wine, but with honey, oil, and milk. There were here and there in Greece altars on which only bloodless offerings, fruits and bread, and incense and the like could be offered: such altars as that of the "Pious" at Delos, and that of Zeus Hypatus at Athens. And at certain feasts animal sacrifices were not in vogue, in the Diasia, for instance, at Athens, when animals of breadstuffs were offered to the reconciling Zeus, Ζεὺς Μειλίχιος.

In donatory sacrifice, men naturally gave to the gods the animals which they themselves used as food—the ox, which was of course the noblest of victims, the sheep, goat, pig, or fowl most commonly. Two or three of these were often combined in a single sacrifice, as in the Roman suovetaurilia, or the annual sacrifices to Herakles at Thebes and elsewhere, consisting of bull, ram, and goat. In Homer we do not read of the sacrifice of any but domestic animals, and this would seem a natural custom, men giving to the gods the flesh which they themselves preferred. Swine were the chief food of the Greeks themselves in early times, and so they remained usual in more primitive cults.

(2) *Piacular Sacrifices*.—These are offerings made to the gods, especially the gods of the nether world, when in any way the normal relations of man to the spiritual powers of the world are disturbed.

Of the mere ceremonial purifications which preceded any approach to the gods I have already spoken, but the purification which involved sacrifice was reserved for this place. The animal offered on such occasion was a pig, perhaps because of the normal dedication of that animal to the nether deities. The Hellanodicæ and the women chosen to weave the annual peplos for Hera at Olympia, cleansed themselves before entering on their office in water from the spring Piera,² and sacrificed a pig. Before the beginning of business in the Athenian assembly a pair of pigs was sacrificed, and the seats sprinkled with their blood, in order to remove any hidden impurity in any of the citizens. On one occasion as the Athenians were assembled, news was brought to them of the terrible massacre by the democratic party at Argos, in which twelve hundred

¹ Paus. v. 15, 10.

² Paus. v. 16, 8.

of their opponents had fallen ; and the assembly, struck with horror, ordered the purificatory ceremonies with which the sitting had begun to be repeated, considering that the mere hearing of such horrors brought a kind of pollution. A ceremony of the same nature took place at the beginning of dramatic displays, and of the various religious ceremonies. In some places a dog, the favourite of Hecate, was put instead of the pig in such sacrifices : in Bœotia, for instance, dogs were slain and cut in pieces, and the people walked between their scattered limbs. Purification by bathing and the sacrifice of a pig was necessary before one partook of the Mysteries of Eleusis.

We must distinguish from such customary purifications those intended really to appease the wrath of the gods. When a Greek had the consciousness of having committed a crime he sought means to propitiate the deities he had offended and to recover divine favour. If he fell into any misfortune he would scarcely fail to suppose that it came upon him as a punishment for misdoing, and be eager to remove the cause. Even an evil dream or an omen which he considered unfortunate would make him feel that he was out of favour with heaven and needed to be reconciled. So a state which was visited with any calamity in war or an epidemic sickness would apply to priest or sooth-sayer or oracle to discover by what means it could regain the lost favour of heaven. And if this feeling arose in the breasts of those who had no special consciousness of wrong-doing, far more did it harass and oppress those, whether individuals or communities, who were aware that they had committed some crime and incurred the just wrath of heaven.

It is remarked by several writers that the idea of divine anger being kindled by the shedding of blood and needing to be propitiated is absent from the Homeric poems. The Homeric heroes think that they have sufficiently atoned for a crime when they compensate the sufferers and acknowledge that they were in the wrong. It was probably the Apolline religion which first made usual in Greece those ideas of the necessity of purification after bloodshed which were so usual in later Greece. These ideas were indeed somewhat undeveloped. The Greeks seem to have made but small distinction, as regards need of expiation, between intentional and unintentional homicide : they regarded both alike as incurring the displeasure of heaven, and as requiring the intervention of Apollo. If the man who slew without malice was less to be blamed than the intentional slayer, yet his misfortune would not be possible unless he had by some means forfeited divine good-will.

In phenomena such as these we see the survival of notions with which the student of primitive man is sufficiently familiar. Among savage clans the slaying of any one outside the clan is no crime, though of course it is the source of a blood feud between the slayer and the clan of his victim. But when clansman is slain by clansman, even unintentionally, an act of impiety is committed, and a barrier raised up between the clan and its divinities, which has to be removed by further shedding of blood in sacrifice, or else by the total expulsion and outlawry of the offender.

One of the earliest mentions of purification from bloodshed is that in the *Æthiopis* of Arctinus,¹ where it was narrated how Odysseus in Lesbos purified Achilles when he had slain Thersites. In the time of Cræsus the custom seems to have been spread through Greece and Lydia, for Herodotus tells how Adrastus arrived at the court of that king demanding purification from blood-shedding, and how Cræsus first purified him, and then asked whom he had slain; and this instance brings under our notice one of the chief features of purification from bloodshed, that it could not take place in the same neighbourhood wherein was committed the deed requiring expiation. Perhaps the original idea was that the spirit of the dead man remained on the spot where he was slain, implacable in anger, and that the only way to escape his wrath was to flee to other lands. What is certain is that expatriation was in these cases necessary, and that it lasted a year at least, whence it was called ἀπειναντισμός. Indeed, what prudence dictated to a shedder of blood was an immediate flight either beyond seas or to one of those asylums which were sufficiently sacred to stay all attempts at pursuit.

Greece was full of the stories of the purification of gods, heroes, and men after they had committed homicide. Apollo himself required to be purified after he had slain the Python, and Herakles, when he had shot down the drunken Centaurs. At Trœzen² they showed the place where the townsmen of that city purified Orestes after he had slain his mother. Before he was purified, says Pausanias, no one would admit him under his roof; but afterwards, he was easily admitted. The means of purification was water from the fountain Hippocrene, and a sacrifice, which being buried near by, a laurel-tree grew up rooted in the decay of the victim.

¹ See the *Chrestomathia* of Proclus.

² Paus. ii. 31, 8.

We possess in the *Argonautica*¹ of Apollonius Rhodius a full description of a ceremony of purification supposed to be performed by Circe over the persons of Jason and Medeia after they had slain Absyrtus. Circe slays a young pig, and pours blood from the wound over the hands of the polluted pair. She then washes them, no doubt with living water, which is carried away by an attendant and poured on the earth. She then burns cakes and other purifying *μείλικτρα* and pours out wineless libations, and calls upon Zeus to restrain the Erinnyes and to forgive the offenders. After all the ceremony she proceeds, as did Cræsus in similar case, to ask what kind of a crime her suppliants have committed. Of course, in time, the courts of law superseded proceedings of this kind, which had a theocratic rather than a democratic air; and though the custom of banishment and even that of purification did not go entirely out of use in the days of Thucydides and Xenophon, yet these formed no bar to regular legal proceedings.

Not individuals only required purification from bloodshed, but also states. After the slaughter of the partisans of Cylon,² the city of Athens was regarded by its own inhabitants as so polluted as to require extraordinary means of purification. Epimenides, the Cretan, who had a great reputation for piety and his knowledge of divine affairs, was sent for, and he purged the city with a variety of ceremonies. Among other proceedings we learn that he dispersed from the Areiopagus as a centre a flock of black and white sheep in every direction, and bade the people sacrifice each on the spot on which he lay down to the deity to whom that spot was sacred. The Argives,³ after they had accomplished the slaughter of a thousand men, whom they had enrolled as a sort of standing army, but who had begun to oppress them, felt their city polluted, and among other means of expiation erected a statue of Zeus Meilichius made by the younger Polycleitus, and established a cultus in his honour. Some of the Cynæthians⁴ who had in civil strife imbrued their hands with the blood of their fellow-citizens fled to Mantinea; but the Mantineans not only would not receive them, but considered their territory polluted by their visit, and caused it to be formally purified. Such events as these are of common occurrence in Greek history, and show that if the Hellenes were swift to shed blood, especially in political strife, they felt that it was a

¹ iv. l. 702.

³ Paus. ii. 20, 2

² Plutarch, *Solon*, c. 12.

⁴ Polyb. iv. 21, 8.

crime, and were not satisfied until they had shown in sight of gods and men that they regarded themselves as rendered unclean by such sanguinary excesses.

A noteworthy feature of the piacular sacrifice was that the victim was not consumed, either by priest or votary, but made away with, burned, or buried, or cast into the sea. As the notion of substitution prevails in regard to this kind of sacrifice, it would be natural to suppose that the body was destroyed as having taken on it the guilt of those who made the sacrifice, and so become polluted. But Robertson Smith doubts whether this was the case: he thinks that the offering was not eaten rather because it was sacred than because it was polluted.

As Robertson Smith observes, in honorific sacrifice the deity accepts a gift; in piacular sacrifice he demands a life. Thus piacular sacrifices belong primarily to times of depression and calamity; and those who offer them give usually that which they hold most dear to appease the wrath of a god to whom their lives are forfeit. As the Greeks were not at any time of which we have knowledge cannibals, a human victim could not appropriately be offered as food to the gods; but human sacrifices were not unknown in piacular sacrifice down to even the Christian era. In the presence of great danger or calamity, men tended to try to purchase divine favour by human sacrifice, as Codrus offered himself on behalf of Athens, and as Iphigeneia was given to Artemis to buy off her displeasure. Piacular sacrifices, thus starting, might easily become embodied in ritual, and have a place in regular civic cultus; and then, of course, there would be a strong tendency to soften the asperity of the rite by putting enemies, criminals, or animals in the place of a child of the clan.

At the same time, as a modification of this view, it must be pointed out that though a human victim would not be brought as food to the gods, he might be brought as a slave, and sent to them by fire, instead of being retained in the temple service. The well-known sacrifice of Trojan youths at the tomb of Patroclus, as narrated in the *Iliad*, suggests that human victims were by no means an inappropriate offering to a dead hero, and so to the gods, who in many ways inherited the customs of the cultus of the dead.

In later Greece human sacrifices were rare, but in many places we may find indications of their previous existence. Thus at Rhodes¹ there was in early times an annual custom of sacrificing

¹ Porphyry, *Abst.* ii. 54.

a man to Cronus, who is here clearly but a translation of the Phœnician Moloch, a well-known lover of human victims. In later times the Rhodians, not venturing entirely to abandon the custom, still put to death a man at the festival; but he was a criminal who had merited death, and he was allowed an unlimited quantity of wine beforehand to act as an anæsthetic. At Leucas¹ there had been an ancient custom of annually hurling a man from a projecting rock into the sea in honour of Apollo: in this instance not only was a criminal chosen, but he was allowed some chance of escape, feathers and even living birds being tied to him to lighten his fall, and boats waiting below to rescue him if not killed before he reached the sea. In other cases the human character of the sacrifices was indeed retained, but bleeding was substituted for slaying. The most notable instances of this occur in the cult at various places of the Tauric Artemis.² The altars of this goddess at Sparta ran with the blood of Spartan youths who were scourged in her honour. In the cult of Zeus Laphystius in later times the victim was selected, but was allowed to escape at the altar.

Still commoner was the substitution for the human victim of some animal or some inanimate object. The tale of Iphigeneia at Aulis, and the substitution for her of a deer, is well known, and dates from early times. Pausanias³ narrates a story of a similar kind from Potniæ in Bœotia. A man having in a drunken fit slain the priest of Dionysus Ægobalus, it was ordered by a response of the Delphic oracle that a youth at the age of puberty should be yearly sacrificed; but soon afterwards, as the story goes, the god himself substituted a goat for the human victim. Ælian⁴ recounts a curious instance of a similar kind from Tenedos. Here a cow about to bring forth was treated, as a human mother, with care and tenderness; when the calf was born, cothurni were put on its feet, and it was sacrificed to Dionysus; but the priest who slew it had to fly the spot and run as far as the sea. We even hear of clay images being substituted for human victims in certain sacrifices by the Greeks, just as they buried with their dead loaves of terra-cotta, and as they burned in honour of the deities cakes in the form of animals, in the place of the animals themselves.

Certain well-known events in Greek history may be here

¹ Strabo, x. p. 694.

² Eurip. *Iph. in Tauris*, l. 1425.

³ ix. 8, 2.

⁴ Ælian, *Nat. Anim.* xii. 34. This instance might be taken in another sense. The calf may have been treated as human, to make clear its kinship with the tribe, of which it represented the totem.

cited as illustrating the statements above made. Before the battle of Salamis, as Plutarch¹ tells us, on the authority of Phanias, when Themistocles was sacrificing, according to the custom of Greek generals, three noble Persian prisoners were brought in; and at the sight of them the seer Euphrantides at once cried out that they should be sacrificed to Dionysus Omestes. Themistocles hesitated; but the bystanders urged him not to neglect the words of the seer, and the sacrifice actually took place. To slay a few enemies captured in war could not seem very harsh to any Greek: it was the idea of the deities delighting in human blood which shocked Themistocles. In the time of Pelopidas² the Theban this feeling had grown. Before the battle of Leuctra, his army encamped near the graves of the Leuctran virgins who were said to have been in old time murdered by Spartans. These heroines appeared to the general, and their father promised victory on condition of his sacrificing on the morrow a yellow-haired virgin. Pelopidas was wholly disinclined to accept the omen, however favourable; but the appearance next day of a yellow foal enabled him to fulfil the injunction of the hero without violating humanity or insulting the gods.

(3) *Mystic Sacrifices*.—Of all sacrifices these are nearest to the original type, if the views of Robertson Smith be founded. Their essence lies in the participation by the worshippers and the worshipped in a solemn bond of blood-fellowship. Robertson Smith sketches in clear lines the nature of this rite among primitive peoples who are in the stage of totemism.³ The slaughter of an animal of the kind regarded as sacred by the tribe "is permitted or required on solemn occasions; and all the tribesmen partake of its flesh, that they may thereby cement and seal their mystic unity with one another and with their god." "The solemn mystery of its death is justified by the consideration that only in this way can the sacred cement be procured which creates or keeps alive a living bond of union between the worshippers and their god. This cement is nothing else than the actual life of the sacred and kindred animal, which is conceived as residing in its flesh, but especially in its blood, and so, in the sacred meal, is actually distributed among all the participants, each of whom incorporates a particle of it with his own individual life."

The same mystic drawing together of the bond of unity in

¹ *Themist.* 13; *Aristid.* 9.

² Plutarch, *Pelop.* 20-22.

³ *Religion of the Semites*, p. 295.

a tribe is a feature of the feasts or sacrifices which families celebrated at the tombs of their ancestors, and clans at the heroon of their eponymous hero. In each case the dead was regarded as the host, and as taking a share, though it might be an invisible share, in the feast. But in historic Greece the deep-seated beliefs which made the sanctity of sacrifice were embodied less in the rites of ordinary, civic, or family worship than in the ordinances of those more secret cults which were termed by the Greeks mysteries, and more especially in those attached to Dionysus. At the fierce carnival of the Agrionia, the wild women who rioted in the service of Dionysus tore to pieces with hands and teeth a victim chosen for the purpose and devoured its palpitating flesh. This victim was in some cases a bull, in some cases a fawn or kid, but we read of instances in which a human life was thus taken; and in any case the victim was regarded as a substitute for the god, so that those who devoured its flesh and drank its hot blood were united to the god in a terrible sacrament. Robertson Smith¹ cites a parallel in Arabia, where the members of a tribe, placing a live camel in their midst, would, in honour of the morning star, which they specially venerated, at a given signal tear it in pieces and devour it raw.

It was natural that in Greece and Italy rites so foul were strongly opposed by the authorities, and their persistency shows that they rested on a primeval basis of profound belief.

In considering the reasons which dictated the choice of a victim for various deities, we must distinguish between the causes which researches into the early history of mankind render plausible, and those which the Greeks themselves regarded as operative. On the whole, anthropological reasonings, though by no means infallible, are more to be trusted than the inferences of the Greeks themselves, since, in a mythopœic age, a custom at once gives rise to legends invented merely to explain it. The rule laid down by Robertson Smith is that for ordinary and donative sacrifices in antiquity, such animals were used as constituted the food of the worshippers; but that in the case of the rarer and more solemn sacrifices of a peculiar or mystic character, the animal was chosen which was supposed most nearly to represent the god, possibly the animal which, as a totem, had preceded the advent of the god. Of course this rule does not hold in all cases, for when principles were forgotten, customs were apt to be improperly transferred from

¹ *Religion of the Semites*, p. 264.

one rite to another ; and in Greek cult a custom once established seldom long lacked a basis in legend.

The Greeks themselves, as is natural, justified the sacrifices which they offered less on general principles than on local grounds ; but a few rules were recognised in practice, whatever may have been their origin.

Sometimes the animal chosen for sacrifice to a god was one regarded as especially grateful to him. The Rhodians annually drove into the sea as a sacrifice to Helios a four-horse chariot, and the Argives drowned horses in honour of Poseidon. Stags and other wild creatures were offered on the altar of their protectress Artemis. For many deities, victims were chosen from the sacred herds which fed on their special domain. The dog was at Sparta sacrificed to Ares ; and it was supposed that his quarrelsome nature rendered him a favourite of that deity ; and when the same animal was offered to Hecate, a justification was found in the fact that dogs are in the habit of baying the moon. The fish called *τρίγλη*,¹ the mullet, was sacrificed to the triple Hecate, probably in accordance with some legend arising out of its name.

Other instances could be cited in which the favourite animal of a deity was also the favourite sacrifice to that deity. But this was not in Greek opinion the only rule. The goat was sacrificed to Dionysus, and a reason was found in his destruction of the young shoots of the vine ; and the slaying of swine in honour of Demeter was justified on the ground of the injury done by swine to crops. In these cases the ancient explanation is almost certainly wrong. The goat frequently in ancient art accompanies Dionysus, and the swine was closely connected with Demeter at Eleusis. A good instance of the change of view in regard to a sacrifice may be found in the cultus of Apollo Lyceus at Sicyon.² Pausanias tells us that near the temple on occasions food had been set out for wolves and poisoned under the direction of the god. We have here an almost certain instance of perversion, for it is more than likely that originally food was laid out for the wolves as the sacred beasts of the wolf-god Apollo, and that the poisoning was a later notion.

The most general rule applying to all animals brought for sacrifice was that they should be sound and free from blemish. Plato, however, says³ that the Lacedæmonians neglected this maxim and offered even crippled animals, which he considers a

¹ Athen. vii. p. 325b.

² Paus. ii. 9, 7.

³ *Alcib.* ii. p. 149a.

sign of their want of reverence, but which probably rather shows their want of refinement. Victims must also be unused by man: everywhere oxen which had been used for the plough were exempt. In other respects there was the greatest local variation. An inscription from Ceos¹ ordains that at some local feast oxen and sheep which have cast their milk-teeth shall be slain, and swine which are not more than a year and three months old. To the greater gods adult victims were a fitting sacrifice, such as the ox and the swine of five years old, of which Homer speaks. There was a law at Athens that lambs should not be sacrificed before they were shorn, nor sheep before they had lambed. Generally the sex of the victim followed that of the deity to whom it was devoted, and its age corresponded to that assigned to such deity: a young heifer to Artemis, and an adult bull to Zeus were obviously fitting offerings. As to colour, there was a fairly constant rule that white animals were most suitable for offering to an Olympian deity, and black to a chthonic deity or a hero.

A certain cleanliness and purity were required in those who conducted sacrifice. Not only was the priest expected to be clean and clad in clean, usually white, garments, but he was also, as Porphyry² says, to keep apart from tombs and not look on objects of mournful or obscene character. A purity of heart to correspond to this ceremonial purity was certainly not required in earlier times: such an idea could only arise as religion became more subjective. The use of flowers to decorate the altar was in Greece universal, and priests and votaries wore garlands not only on their heads but often over arms and breast. *Tæniæ*, too, long scarfs tied in a bow, were, as we know from the testimony of vases, wound round the heads and arms of those who took any part in a religious service. There is hardly a trace in purely Greek religion of the ideas which have always prevailed among Semitic races and those influenced by them, that low prostrations, self-defilement with sackcloth and ashes, and meagreness and filth of body are things acceptable in the eyes of heaven. The Hellenes supposed their deities to look more favourably on an erect carriage, careful dress, and a self-confidence not mingled with boasting.

The larger temples of Greece were daily the scene of private religious services. A family wished to bespeak the favour of a deity for one of their number who was about to undertake some serious task—to sail for a distant shore, to marry, to

¹ *C. I.* 2360; Rangabe, No. 821.

² *De Abst.* ii. 50.

enter for the games, or the like. They would approach the temple in a group, like those represented on many of the



FIG. 16.—A SACRIFICE.¹ *Mon. d. Inst.* ix. 53.

¹ The representation is of a sacrifice to Apollo, who stands on the right, by a certain Diomedes. An attendant holds some flesh in the fire on a long spit: Victory herself provides wine for the libation. Cf. Schreiber, pl. xiii.

votive tablets of the temples of Asklepius, bringing with them some victim as an offering. The priest and his attendants, clad

in the festal attire of which we have spoken, would, on behalf of the deity, meet his votaries outside the door of the temple. The sacrifice was to be a meal, shared with the god on his table, the altar, whereby he became as it were a guest-friend, and well disposed to the votary. But he must not be thus approached against his will, and therefore it became important to observe any external sign whereby his pleasure might be conveyed. Chief among such indications was the port and behaviour of the sacrificial animal. If he seemed willingly to approach the altar, and above all if he bowed his head to the stroke which laid him low, it was the best of omens. Reluctance and restiveness were, on the other hand, a sign that the deity was unfriendly. There was much art displayed by the temple servants in procuring behaviour such as they wished in the victim: he was lured, not driven, to the place of slaughter, and made to lower his head by a sudden dashing of water in his ears.

After all present had been sprinkled with water, specially purified¹ by contact with embers from the altar, in sign of their participation in the ceremony, and the priest had uttered the warning, *εὐφημεῖτε* or *εὐφημία ἔστω*, the prayers appropriate to the occasion were recited. Of these I have already treated: they were in all cases but short, for the Greeks were not of those heathen who thought they would be heard for much speaking. Then, to the sound of the flute, proceeded the act of sacrifice. The victim was led, bedecked with garlands, to the altar. Barley, *οὐλοχύται*, was brought in baskets, and thrown over his head and body, as part of the divine banquet, just as in human banquets bread accompanies meat. A few hairs were cut from the head of the victim, and thrown into the sacrificial fire, an operation considered as a sort of offering of first-fruits. The beast was then struck down by the priest or his servant by a single blow of club or axe, and his throat cut with the sacred knife, so that his blood might freely flow. With the blood the altars were sprinkled. The fall of the victim was greeted with loud shouts or with shrill sounds of the flute, which drowned the groans of the dying animal. Instantly he was skinned by the temple-slaves, and his limbs divided. Part of the body was burned on the altar, usually the fat and a part of each limb. The thigh-bones, wrapped in fat, were commonly assigned as the share of the deity; and a fable was told of Prometheus,² that he had outwitted Zeus

¹ Athen. ix. p. 409a. Cf. Isa. vi. 6.

² Hesiod, *Theog.* 541.

into choosing this portion. Homer speaks of giving to the gods the thighs wrapped in fat, *μηρούς τ' ἐξέταμον κατά τε κνίσῃ ἐκάλυψαν*; ¹ and it has been disputed whether this phrase can be applied only to bones and fat, or whether it necessarily includes the flesh of the thighs. If the latter, then the share taken by the gods in sacrifice grew less in the course of Greek history. The priest received as his perquisite the skin and a joint of meat. The rest was eaten joyously at a sort of banquet, held in common by all the sacrificial party; or portions were sent to the various friends who were unable to be present: thus every sacrifice involved a feast. The less wealthy Greeks seldom tasted meat except on the occasion of a sacrifice. The entrails of the victim were carefully examined by the priest or some soothsayer, to draw from their condition an augury as to whether the deity was likely to grant the prayer which went with the offering. Copious libations accompanied the sacrifice and the feast, that the deities should not lack wine as well as meat.

This was the course of the ordinary sacrifices to deities of the upper sphere; but when heroes or the chthonic deities were the powers to be appeased, the head of the victim was pressed down, so that his blood formed a pool on the ground. Such sacrifices were brought, not in the morning but in the evening, and their darker and more gloomy character, somewhat foreign to the natural bent of the Greek nature, testified to the fact that even in Greece religion had its dark and stern, as well as its attractive and cheerful side.

CHAPTER VII

DIVINATION AND ORACLES

PROBABLY no countries have been without some form of divination, and its existence in many forms is one of the most striking features of Greek religious observance. It is easy to see what motives drove the Greeks to searching for means of finding out the will of the deities and their intentions for the future. At all times they had a strong belief in destiny or fate; and it is easy to pass from the conviction that the future is fixed, to the belief that it can be foretold; and in the course

¹ *Il.* i. 460.

of life many occasions might arise when a man would hesitate between various courses of conduct, not knowing which was likely to bring the best results to him and his. In such cases to seek direction from the superior knowledge and wisdom of the gods was a natural instinct; and besides this we must remember that the Greeks believed more than moderns in the daily and hourly intervention of supernatural powers in human affairs and in the course of events in the material world. When we see an appearance or witness an event out of the common course, we at once set about searching for the unusual cause which produced the unusual phenomenon, and never hesitate in our belief that such a cause must exist, even if we cannot trace it. But when the Greeks saw anything to which they were unused, or considered the usual order of nature to be in any way violated, they did not greatly concern themselves to look for the cause, but considered it at once more modest and more pious to assume that it was due to the direct interference of some deity. If any philosopher questioned this mode of looking at things, they would set him down as one of those who believed that the gods did not exist, or that they were indifferent to all human affairs.

The superstitious man of Theophrastus is always on the look out for signs of the disposition towards him of the higher powers. "If a weasel¹ run across his path, he will not pursue his walk until some one else has traversed the road, or until he has thrown three stones across it. When he sees a serpent in his house, if it be the red snake he will invoke Sabazius, if the sacred snake, he will straightway place a shrine on the spot. . . . If a mouse gnaws through a meal-bag, he will go to the expounder of sacred things (ἐξηγητής) and ask what is to be done; and if the answer is, 'Give it to a cobbler to stitch up,' he will disregard this counsel, and go his way, and expiate the omen by sacrifice. . . . When he has seen a vision he will go to the interpreters of dreams, the seers, the augurs, to ask them to what god or goddess he ought to pray."

The man who seemed superstitious to an Athenian and a disciple of Aristotle might in a less sceptical age be an ordinary citizen. The sudden meeting with an animal, the overhearing of words of evil omen, a stumble over a threshold might make almost any Greek abandon an enterprise on which he was embarking. Every reader of Greek history will remember how the Laconian armies could not march and could not fight until

¹ *Characters*, 28. I quote Prof. Jebb's translation.

the omens were favourable. And so it was in all the events of life. A few men in our days dislike spilling salt, or walking under a ladder; and sailors notoriously dislike sailing on a Friday; and in most country districts some superstition of this class is widely spread; but we must greatly intensify these feelings, and spread them over the greater part of the occurrences of every-day life, if we would hope to understand the attitude of mind of the ordinary Greek citizen in regard to omens and portents.

Many of the omens which occurred could be understood by any one and needed no interpreter. Thus when in the eighth book of the *Iliad*¹ Zeus sends Agamemnon, in answer to his prayer for deliverance, an eagle bearing in his claws a fawn, which he drops by the altar of Zeus, every Achæan at once understands the portent, and gains fresh heart for the contest. Every Greek understood that thunder was the direct voice of Zeus, that any unwillingness in a destined victim to go to the altar showed that the gods would not accept the sacrifice, that a sneeze on the right was a good omen, and so forth. Yet, as most portents are of a more or less doubtful and ambiguous character, there arose in quite early times in Greece a class of men who made it their business to study and to interpret omens. It is supposed that the word *μάντις*² comes from the same root as *μανία*, and that the prophet was originally the man full of divine frenzy, who spoke in an ecstasy. But the strong, quiet sense of the Greeks was averse to any wild and uncontrolled frenzy, and their prophets, even as early as Homer, seem to have been quiet and business-like professional men. In the *Odyssey*³ the prophet is spoken of as a workman (*δημιουργός*), and there is nothing ecstatic about Calchas. He is merely the man who can see the divine and hidden meaning in events better than others; whose mind is stored with knowledge of the past, on the analogy of which he reads the future. He is familiar with the mind of the gods, and can read their will and intentions in every event that takes place, and every sight of daily life.

It is a mistake to suppose that the soothsayers were always or usually priests. In early time they are seldom of priestly rank. The priest was attached to a particular temple and a special deity; but the soothsayer wandered at will, attached himself to kings or to armies, and lived by means of his reputation for wisdom and foresight, as the bard lived by his verses; and these unattached prophets meet us throughout the course

¹ L. 249.² Cf. Plato's *Phædrus*, p. 244.³ xvii. 383.

of Greek history. The Spartan armies stirred not without a soothsayer to direct them. The Spartans adopted the Eleian Tisamenus, who was a soothsayer, and even made him a citizen because he was supposed to be lucky in his destinies ; and he went with them to five great victories. The figure of Teiresias, familiar to all readers of Greek tragedy, was by no means without its counterpart in historical times. In the retreat of the Ten Thousand, soothsayers were constantly consulted, and attempts made or abandoned according to their advice ;¹ and in private life the poorer and more ill-educated part of the community applied to them in difficulties, while the wealthier went to the oracles. There was in this matter a remarkable contrast between the Hebrew and the Hellenic race. Among the Hebrews the prophet was rated far above the priests, and excited an admiration and veneration which they never inspired. Among the Hellenes on the other hand all religious authority settled on the priests of well-known temples, and they alone commanded hearty respect. The prophet was sought after and feared by the lower classes, but was by thinking men despised as an impostor. His position and reputation gradually sinks from the time of Homer, and is lowest during the best age of Greek independence. At a later period he recovers some of his reputation by allying himself with the cults of new deities which then made their way into Greece from the East. The Greek priests, on the other hand, gained almost complete control of soothsaying by attaching its regular exercise to the various oracular temples, where it was practised, not indeed by themselves, but by subordinate ministers, under their control and direction. There were indeed certain soothsaying families who enjoyed a reputation second only to that of the oracles. Such were the Iamidæ at Elis, and a clan among the Acarnanians, who furnished prophets both to Athens and Sparta. Of their number was Amphilytus, soothsayer of Peisistratus, and Megistias, who met his death amid the other heroes at Thermopylæ. Such prophetic gentes existed also in semi-Greek places, such as Telmessus in Caria and Hybla in Sicily. The most reputable soothsayers belonged to such families : the rest were very little trusted. Euripides² makes Achilles say that prophets at best utter many falsehoods and little truth. Xenophon,³ in the person of the father of Cyrus, advises his readers to make themselves acquainted with the art of sooth-

¹ For instance, *Anab.* vii. 8, 11.

² *Iph. Aul.* 961.

³ *Cyrop.* i. 6, 2.

saying, that they may not be dependent on the lying prophets. It was a part of the duty of the magistrates called *ἱεροποιοὶ*, to look closely to the soothsayers, and see that they did not deceive people who came to them. Plato believed in soothsaying, and terms it a means of cementing friendship between gods and men.¹ But of the persons who practised the art he had a very low opinion, representing² them as "flocking to the rich man's doors, and trying to persuade him that they have a power at command, which they procure from heaven, and which enables them to make amends for any crime committed." The interpreters of dreams enjoyed, even among soothsayers, an evil reputation for cheating and imposture. Notwithstanding all this, the disrepute of soothsayers did not cause men to give up their belief in soothsaying. Even the Stoics defended the mantic art, on the ground that if there be gods, and if they care for men, they must needs let men know their will by some discoverable means.

Those soothsayers who had too little self-confidence to trust entirely to their own power of reading the future, or who wished to fortify themselves against attacks of scepticism, procured some of the prophetic books which went under the names of Orpheus, Bacis, and the Sibyls, and other seers of old time, and applied the prophecies contained in them to the events going on. An excellent instance is furnished by the soothsayer who makes his appearance in the *Birds* of Aristophanes, at the inauguration of Cloudecuckootown, and who is ignominiously beaten off the stage by Peithetærus.³ This fellow enters, bearing a scroll of the prophecies of Bacis, on the strength of which he wishes to stop the sacrifices. His roguery is admirably depicted: the greed with which he tries to get clothes for himself out of the superstition of Peithetærus, the crookedness with which he perverts the meaning of words, and the effrontery with which, when his word is doubted, he bids his auditor look in the book for himself. The picture is a caricature, but evidently from the life. Peithetærus, too, shows something of the skill possessed by most great captains and rulers in Greece, in turning prophecies the way they wished them to go. Of this faculty put to higher uses we may give a few instances. When Alexander the Great was at Delphi he wished the Pythia to give a response to him on an unusual day. She at first declined, but on his insisting, yielded with the

¹ Plato, *Sympos.* 188c: *φιλίας θεῶν καὶ ἀνθρώπων δημιουργός.*

² *Republ.* 364, b.

³ L. 957.

words, "Thou art irresistible," words which Alexander at once accepted as a prophecy of his future career. Timoleon, with his army in Sicily, met a train of asses laden with parsley. The soldiers were alarmed, thinking this an evil omen, because parsley was used at funerals; but the general turned it to his own end by remarking that to a Corinthian the parsley of which the Nemean crowns were made was a sign of victory. But it would be a mistake to infer from such instances that soothsaying was merely a tool employed by statesmen for their own purposes. Many leaders of armies were as sincere in their belief in auguries as their men. Nicias always carried about with him a soothsayer, without whose advice he would not undertake anything. Pausanias at Plataea refused to order a charge, though his men were falling fast under the Persian arrows, until at last, as he raised his eyes to the Heræum and besought the aid of Hera, the aspect of the victims changed and became favourable.

We have stated that soothsaying was a matter of profession rather than of inspiration; and this is the secret of Greek soothsaying. Omens were drawn from such a variety of occurrences, and the interpretation of these occurrences required such an exact knowledge of traditional rules, that no layman could master all the requisite details of knowledge. The Greeks expressly distinguished in divination the technical or *τεχνικὸν* from the *ἄτεχνον*; and it was the former which was by far the most usual and most important. And divination by art may again be divided accordingly as the omens which it explains are especially sought for, or present themselves unsought, accordingly as the gods are asked by some recognised channel for their advice, or, unasked, send to mortals a token of their wishes. Oracles and inspection of the entrails of victims belong to the former class: these we will reserve, and speak first of omens spontaneously offered to men.

Among such omens, the most important place belongs to those taken from birds. Indeed, in common language, any omen would be termed a bird. In Homer, we have Hector's noble saying,

εἰς οἰωνὸς ἀριστος ἀμύνεσθαι περὶ πατρὸς,

and Aristophanes rallies the Athenians for applying the word *ὄρνις* to a sneeze, a sound, a servant, or an ass. Many reasons may be suggested for this predominance of birds as givers of omens. They haunt the upper air and live near the gods; their motions are rapid and unexpected, and they seem, unlike

animals, to utter their voice, not merely to communicate with one another, but by some overflowing of life and energy. It has also been suggested that the weather-wisdom of birds and their appearance and departure as harbingers of the rise and fall of the year, may have encouraged the belief that they had a prophetic nature. Many kinds of birds were sacred to deities : the eagle to Zeus, the owl to Pallas, the raven to Apollo, and so forth. And in all countries it has been the mark of the divinely inspired man to understand what birds were saying.

As the Greeks regarded the East, the quarter of sunrise, as the source of good fortune, and as in taking auguries they looked to the north, they regarded the appearance of a bird on the right as a good omen. Thus when Diomedes and Odysseus started for the Trojan camp, Pallas Athena sent a heron which flew on their right as a token of success. This was the simplest rule : others were far more complicated. The sounds uttered by birds as they flew was no less regarded than their flight, the exact character of which had to be minutely observed ; and every bird had its own special symbolism. The eagle was most fateful of birds, and the raven was especially noted for its prophetic character. But not all birds were fateful (*ἐναύριοι*) ; in fact, it was a chief point in an augur's business to know when a bird brought an omen, and when it flew merely on its own affairs. According to the stories handed down, the omens given by birds were sometimes by no means obscure. The ancient writers record a number of instances in which an eagle settled on a standard, hovered over the head of a general, or carried off part of a victim laid on the altar of a deity. Of the method of interpretation of more obscure indications, we may judge from an Ephesian inscription,¹ or rather a fragment of one, which shows that account was made of the way the bird flew and which wing he showed uppermost.

Astrology was unknown to the Greeks, until they learned it in the time of Berosus from the Chaldeans. But though the complicated calculations of that pseudo-science were unknown, the Greeks had a high opinion of the value of sudden appearances in the heavens as forecasts of fate. A flash of lightning with its accompanying thunder was naturally regarded as a signal direct from the ruler of lightning, Zeus. Hesiod, in relating the battle of Heracles and Cynus,² says that Zeus sent a clap of thunder as an omen to his son.

¹ *C. I.* 2953.

² *Shield of Heracles*, l. 383.

The meteors which cross the nightly sky were looked on as full of meaning, especially portending war and pestilence; and *a fortiori* any unusual appearance in the heavens, or an earthquake or inundation on the land, were portents requiring immediate application to a seer or to an oracle, in order to learn how the displeasure of heaven, which they indicated, might be averted by prayer and sacrifice.

Any sudden or unusual noise was set down as an omen. To sneezing in particular prophetic meaning was attached. When a man was meditating an action or undertaking, any chance phrase heard by him was accepted as an omen of success or failure. Odysseus,¹ sleeping under the portico of his own house, listens to the women grinding at the mills; and when he hears one of them pray for the destruction of the wooers, gladly accepts the omen as foreshadowing the success of his plans. When the Samian envoys were requesting King Leotychides to sail against the Persian fleet at Mycale, he asked the speaker his name, and hearing that it was Hegesistratus, exclaimed at once, "I accept the omen," and insisted that the envoy should sail with his fleet as guide.² Thus the Greek, when his mind was on the alert and filled with any purpose, was listening to all sounds and voices around him to judge of the issue. And at such times, and even in the course of ordinary life, he would be ready to alter a plan or abandon a project if certain things happened: if he stumbled on stepping over a threshold, or if he met an animal of ill omen, such as a hare, which was in bad repute, or found a snake, the companion of the dead, in his house.

Dreams were also carefully remembered by those of a superstitious turn, and carried for explanation to the professional interpreters of dreams, *ὄνειροκρίται*, who, however, enjoyed a very bad reputation, and were notorious for their extortions from those who sought their aid. The opinion of the wise rather coincided with that of Homer, that deceitful dreams may come through the gate of ivory as often as trustworthy ones through the gate of horn. But when a dream bore obvious meaning, the wisest as well as the most pious of the Greeks considered that it should not without reason be despised or neglected. Aristotle³ observed that in sleep the mind returns on itself and resumes its natural powers of foresight. Socrates is said⁴ to have seen in a dream a beauteous woman, who told

¹ *Od.* xx. 112.

² Herod. ix. 90. The name means army-leader.

³ *Ap. S. Emp. adv. Math.* ix. 21.

⁴ *Crito*, p. 44a.

him that on the third day he should reach fertile Phthia, and to have unhesitatingly regarded the saying as an omen of his approaching death. Of dreams which appeared to public men and women and had their fulfilment, the history of Greece, like that of all other countries, is full; and the dreams which did not correspond to the course of events have been buried under the stream of time.

The number of ways in which a votary could deliberately, and of set purpose, consult the deities was very great. Setting aside the oracles, of which we shall speak presently, there were *mancies* without end: alphetomancy, which consisted in throwing meal into the fire, and examining the way in which it burned; alectoromancy, which consisted in forming letters of grains of corn and letting fowls loose on them to see what their various fates would be; all kinds of divination by water, and the like. In fact, any set of occurrences on which a man set his mind to observe them would be almost as fitting for revealing the future as any other to men who had but a rudimentary notion of law, and saw capricious acts of deities and dæmons in all things. One of the simplest methods was to cast lots, the disposition of the lots as they fell being regarded as the direct work of the deities.

The only important and systematic one among these mantic arts was that which concerned itself with sacrifices. Indeed, sacrifices were never offered without being carefully watched to see what they would reveal of the will of the gods. The way in which the smoke curled upwards was carefully regarded, as well as the form taken by the ashes lying on the altar. Prometheus in Æschylus¹ claims the invention of this as of other sorts of augury:—

φλογωπὰ σήματα
ἐξωμμάτωσα πρόσθεν ὄντ' ἐπάργεμα.

More important, however, was the internal examination of the victim, especially of the liver, which varies considerably in various individuals. In this case also Prometheus claimed the honour of discovery:—

σπλάγχνων τε λειότητα καὶ χροιάν τίνα
ἔχοντ' ἂν εἴη δαίμοσιν πρὸς ἡδονήν,
χολῆς λοβοῦ τε ποικίλην εὐμορφίαν.

This art is not Homeric. Whence it was derived we do not

¹ *Prom. Vinc.* l. 506.

know, but it was carried in Greece, if not quite so far as among the Romans, yet into all public and important sacrifices. When an army marched, or crossed a river or boundaries of territory, or was about to engage in battle, a regular sacrifice was made for the purpose of obtaining omens; and religious leaders such as the Spartan kings would at once halt if the omens were unfavourable. It would seem, however, that in many cases they merely continued the sacrifices until the appearance of the entrails was such as satisfied their advisers; a result which, it would seem, could only be a question of time.

We must distinguish, in speaking of Greek oracles, two strongly contrasted classes of them. The first class consists of those oracles in which there was merely a systematic taking of omens; the second class consists of the oracles, mostly Apolline, where a distinct answer was supposed to be given by some divine power to questions addressed to it. To these we may add, as a third class, oracles given in dreams.

The oracles of the first sort were probably older in origin, certainly more simple in their working. An oracle of this kind, which we may call an oracle by omen, though it does not conveniently come under the term "oraculum," which implies a voice, is quite well included under the Greek term *μαντείον*, since here also *μάντις* were employed, and directions obtained as to future conduct. An omen-oracle would at once arise as soon as any of the kinds of divination came to be practised at a particular temple or sacred spot under the direction of the priests who presided there. A code of interpretation would be fixed by tradition, and constantly grow in completeness and detail; and a few fortunate responses might spread the fame of the oracular shrine far and wide.

We hear of certain places where the inspection of entrails was carried on so systematically, and made to furnish so definite information, that these places ranked among Greek oracles. Pindar¹ speaks of the *βωμὸς μαντεῖος* of Olympia, and again of the place at Olympia where soothsayers inquire of the thunderer Zeus, taking omens from sacrifices. These soothsayers at Olympia were the sacred race of the Iamidæ, whose skill was so noted that Olympia became a sort of oracle at which they presided, giving their responses in the heroon of Iamus, their mythical ancestor. Naturally, most inquiries at this prophetic shrine came from competitors in the games or their friends, who asked as to the chances of success; but

¹ *Ol.* vi. 6; viii. 3.

we hear of formal requests of advice from states, especially the Lacedæmonians. Agesipolis is said by Xenophon¹ to have inquired of Zeus at Olympia whether he was at liberty to invade the Argive territory at a season held by the Argives to be sacred, and when he received a favourable answer, passed on the question to the higher authority of Delphi.

The oracle of the Palici in Sicily, which, however, does not seem to have been of Greek origin, was consulted in a peculiar manner. In their temple were two pools agitated by volcanic springs. If a person accused of some crime wished to purge himself, he wrote a vow declaring his innocence on a tablet, and threw it into one of the pools; if it swam he was considered to be justified, but if it sank he stood condemned. Volcanic fire was watched for omens at Apollonia, in Epirus, and elsewhere. In the agora of Pharæ in Achaia was a very peculiar oracle of Hermes.² The votary entered the shrine of the god, presented to him a coin and other offerings, and whispered his question into the ear of the statue. Then pressing his hands over his ears, he left the spot. Passing out of the agora, he unstopped his ears and took the first words which he heard as the answer to his inquiry. At Bura in Achaia was an oracle, where Heracles was consulted by means of lots which were cast by the votary: lots were also used in the temples of Athena Sciras. But oracles by lots were regarded as very untrustworthy, and not to be compared with the sacred responses of Apollo.

Of all omen-oracles, by far the most notable was that of Zeus at Dodona. Homer speaks of the Selli as priests at Dodona,³ and the word *χαμαιῶναι*, which he applies to them, has been supposed to imply that they gave responses by the aid of dreams; but this is very unlikely. Rather we should regard the word, and that which accompanies it, *ἀνιπτόποδες*, as indicating a rude and uncultivated life, almost resembling that of prophets or dervishes in the East. M. Carapanos, in his very fruitful excavations in Epirus, has succeeded in identifying the site of the temple of Zeus Naïus and Dione, and has even brought to light a number of tablets, inscribed with questions put to the deity, though he did not discover any certain specimen of an oracular response. The inquirers were obliged to put their questions in writing; and it appears that the leaden tablets on which they were written are intended by

¹ *Hell.* iv. 7, 2.

² Paus. vii. 22, 3.

³ Dodona, either in Epirus or Thessaly. See above, Bk. ii. ch. 5.

Cicero by the word *sortes*,¹ in a passage which has been misunderstood to assert the existence at Dodona of oracles by lottery. The votaries usually began with the formula, ἐπερωτᾷ τὸν Δία τὸν Νάϊον καὶ τὰν Διώναν or ἐπικοινῶται τῷ Διὶ τῷ Ναϊῷ καὶ τῇ Διώνῃ ("So and so consults Zeus Naïus and Dione"), and then proceeded to state their question. In the matter of inquiry, we find the widest variety. The Tarentines seek information, περὶ παντοχίας, with regard to general prosperity. A people of Epirus seek to be shown how security may be procured to them through alliance with the Molossi. The Coreyreans ask (it reads almost like a bitter jest) to what god or hero they shall sacrifice, in order to secure the blessings of internal harmony. Such are the public inquiries of cities and states. Those of individuals are more numerous and more definite. Certain persons ask which of three courses will be most profitable to them—to go to Elina or to Anactorium, or to effect a certain sale. Another consults the gods, whether he shall purchase a town-house and a farm. Agis asks as to certain mattresses and pillows which he has lost, and which he supposes to have been stolen by some stranger. One Lysanias asks whether he is really the father of a child of which Annyla expects to be delivered. A tradesman wishes to know whether he will be successful if he adopts a new trade, the nature of which he supposes the god to know intuitively, in addition to his present one. A capitalist asks whether sheep-farming will turn out a good investment. Heracleidas prays for good fortune, and asks whether he shall have any other child beside Ægle. One Eubander inquires to what god or hero he shall sacrifice, in order to ensure continued prosperity to himself and his house.

All these questions, couched in rough and uncouth dialectic forms, and full of false grammar, yet survive, and bring vividly before us the hopes and fears, the beliefs and the manners of a past age. The questions put to the gods are not merely those which we should put to a trusted priest, but those which we should put to a physician, a lawyer, or a stockbroker. The rude races who dwelt around stormy Dodona, Epirotes, Ætolians, and the like, evidently preserved an unshaken belief in the deities of their ancestors down to the end of Greek autonomy. It is, however, unfortunate that these tablets do not furnish

¹ *De Divin.* i. 34, 76. The oracle-inscriptions of Dodona are treated of, by Mr. Roberts, in the first volume of the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, in an article from which I here borrow considerably.

us with any information as to the method in which responses were given by the oracle at Dodona. Two or three of the tablets rescued by M. Carapanos may perhaps contain answers to questions, but none of them, unfortunately, is sufficiently well preserved to make us sure. One begins in a promising way, *τόδε τὸ μαντήιον ἐγὼ χρήω*, but it breaks off at that point. Some of the questions seem to require an exact and a detailed reply, such as could not be gained by ordinary omens, unless interpreted by skilled soothsayers. Indeed, we may feel sure that the actual responses handed to the applicants were drawn up by experienced officials of the temple. This function was probably assigned to the *πελειάδες*, aged priestesses, who succeeded the *Selli* of Homer's time, if, indeed, these last did not belong to a Thessalian Dodona.

The ancient writers are not very clear or consistent in their account of the Dodonæan oracle. But we can include the best part of their testimony, if we suppose that the oracle was really given by the oak or oaks of Zeus, through a murmuring sound and a waving of branches, but that this testimony was interpreted to mankind by the *πελειάδες*. This is the account given by Suidas,¹ and it is quite conformable to the lines of Sophocles—

ὥς τὴν παλαιὰν φηγὸν ἀνδῆσαι πότε
Δωδῶνι δισσῶν ἐκ πελειάδων ἔφη,

nor does it conflict with the expression of Æschylus, *αἱ προσήγοροι δρύες*.² Plato³ speaks of the priestesses of Dodona as speaking in a certain ecstasy like those of Delphi, but his words need not be pressed; or they may show that the Peleïades underwent some preparatory stimulus, before being considered fit to collect the responses of the prophetic tree. Servius⁴ has again another story, that the responses were really given by a stream which ran from the foot of the oak. This may be a perversion of the circumstance that the priestesses drank from a sacred and inspiring stream before they prophesied. It is, however, certain that there were other means of taking omens in use at Dodona. The Corcyreans dedicated a bronze vessel, over which was a male figure holding a whip, to which astragali were attached. In the wind these astragali struck the vessel; and omens were taken from the kind of noise thus made on particular occasions.

¹ i. p. 623.

³ *Phædrus*, p. 244b.

² *Prom.* V. l. 851.

⁴ *Ad Æn.* iii. 466.

The Greeks, though generally sceptical as regards the appearance of inspiration, tolerated it in connection with the great seats of Apolline oracles, where it was a recognised institution. But even at Delphi, Delos, and Didyma, means were taken to prevent the influence of the impassioned utterances of the priestesses from being too direct or too great; and the responses which have come down to us are marked by anything rather than fanaticism and insanity.

Strabo¹ describes accurately the seat of the oracle at Delphi. This was a deep cave within the adytum of the temple of Apollo, a thousand feet above the sea, with an opening of no great width, out of which rose a vapour which had a certain entrancing or intoxicating power. Over this entry was placed a tripod on which, on the set days for giving responses, the Pythia sat, and after inhaling the gas, became inspired, giving answers to all questions put to her. To the inhaling of gas mentioned by Strabo, Lucian² adds the drinking from the sacred spring, and the mastication of laurel-leaves. There can be no doubt that these preparations had a strong physical effect on the priestess, affecting her health and even her reason, for she gave responses but seldom; and we read of at least one instance in which a Pythia became mad during the performance of her duty.

In early times responses were given apparently but once a year, in the month Bysius; but as the demand increased, the supply also became greater, and in the flourishing times of Greece, responses were given frequently, though there were in every month certain days on which the oracle could not be consulted. At one time no less than three priestesses were employed. In the days of Plutarch only one day in the month was set apart for oracular responses. The priestess then was, as he tells us, a young woman, daughter of poor but respectable cottagers, and of unblemished reputation. The persons who came to consult the god were ranged in order, those being preferred who might have acquired the right of precedence. Sacrifices were offered by the Delphic priests, and if these gave unfavourable results, nothing was done. If on the other hand the bodies of the victims gave favourable omens, the priestess carefully purified herself, and took her seat on the tripod after the preparations already mentioned. The officials, *προφῆται*, received the questions of the votaries, conveyed either by word of mouth, or, as we rather judge by the Dodonæan analogy, in

¹ ix. p. 419.

² *Bis Accus.* c. 2.

writing, and put them to the god, who delivered an answer by the mouth of the Pythia, an answer sometimes put into words, but sometimes consisting as it would seem in mere exclamations and sounds without coherence. In either case the *προφήτης* had to judge of the sense of it, and to put it into hexameter verse, in which form it was delivered to the votary. This was the earlier custom; but Cicero¹ observes that after the time of Pyrrhus the god spoke in prose; and we possess the text of a Pythian oracle delivered to the people of Cyzicus and written in prose.²

It is evident that in speaking of the Delphic oracle we must carefully distinguish between the actual response delivered on behalf of the god by his ecstatic priestess and the formal answer handed by the priests to the votaries. That the transports of the Pythia were unfeigned is shown by many details of the tales which have come down to us, her unwillingness to ascend the prophetic tripod, and the injury suffered by her health in the process. But it is not so easy to decide what latitude the priests of Apollo allowed themselves in setting in order the disjointed cries of the raging priestess. Some modern writers represent them as a school of statesmen who understood better than any one beside the essence of Greek religion and the true policy of states, and made use, for the good of Greece, of the ravings of the Pythia, in order to attach a divine sanction to their wise recommendations. But there is little evidence of the existence at Delphi of a clique endowed with superhuman wisdom; nor is it in accordance with what we know of human nature to think that any clique or school could carry on for age after age a system of organised imposture from the best and most disinterested motives. It is more reasonable to think that the priests also were in most cases honest, delivering to the votaries what they held to be the real opinion of the deity, though of course expectations as to what the deity was likely to say would exercise some sway over their minds, and they too might suppose themselves the subjects of a not less real though a more measured inspiration than that of the Pythia herself. It is hard to believe that a system not really genuine could gain so much influence in Greece, and act so often for good; so that the greatest sons of Greece, Plato and Socrates, Aristotle, and even Diogenes the Cynic, recognised in the Pythian responses the very voice of God, and were willing to be guided by it in matters of life and death.

¹ *De Divin.* ii. 56.

² *Bull. Corr. Hell.* iv. 473.

There were several other oracles which, if less noted than that of Delphi, were of great reputation in their own districts. They were based, like the Delphic oracle, on the interpretation by priests of words uttered by a female servant of Apollo in a state of delirium. In details only we find variety. At Hysiaë in Bœotia,¹ there was a sacred well of Apollo, which gave those who drank of it power of prophecy; at Argos,² the priestess of the Pythian Apollo delivered responses once a month after tasting the blood of a lamb, which was sacrificed for the purpose; at Didyma near Miletus, the mere fumes of the sacred spring were said to be sufficient to cause the prophetic frenzy in the priestess. At the oracle of the Clarian Apollo, near Colophon, the responses were given directly by the priest, who belonged to a particular family. He heard only the numbers and names of those who came to consult the deity, then retired into a cave, drank the water of a sacred spring, and straightway gave utterance to the divine response, speaking, it was said, in hexameter verse, though usually too illiterate to compose verses in his sane condition. This answer was directed to the question in the mind of the votary; and we learn from Tacitus³ that Germanicus consulted this oracle, which truly foretold his speedy death. At Patara in Lycia the priestess of Apollo was shut up in the temple all night.

Oracles by dreams were more common as an institution of certain cults in the later days of Greece. Probably the custom was of chthonic origin, sleeping on the earth being a means of putting oneself in communication with those who dwelt beneath it, the spirits of the dead and their ruler Hades. But, in fact, it was most commonly practised in connection with the temples of Asklepius, more particularly the great temples of Epidaurus and Pergamon. The sick were not, however, allowed to approach the deity at once. They had first to stay at the temples and undergo such regimen of baths and food as the priests chose to prescribe. As the temples of Asklepius were in salubrious situations, and usually in possession of a good supply of fresh water, and as the priests were sometimes not unversed in the practice of medicine, we may conjecture that the health of the patients did not suffer by this delay. Then after appropriate sacrifices and prayers, they were admitted to sleep in the temple, and await the further commands of the god in a dream which seldom failed to visit

¹ Paus. ix. 2, 1.

² Paus. ii. 24, 1.

³ *Ann.* ii. 54.

them. They told the dream to the priests, who were able to interpret it for them. A full account of the process is given by Aristides. Dream-oracles belonged also, however, to other temples. In the heroon of Calchas and in that of Podaleirius son of Asklepius at Tricca in Thessaly, votaries slept on the skins of victims and received divine responses in their dreams. A celebrated dream-oracle was that of the temple of Amphiaraus in Bœotia, where the future was revealed, not only for cure of diseases, but in other matters also. The votaries¹ had to undergo purification, and sacrifice to a number of deities, including Achelous and Cephissus. They had to abstain from wine for three days and fast for one; then a ram was sacrificed to the hero, and on his skin the inquirer slept in the heroon. If by the advice of the seer he was freed from a disease, he cast a coin of gold or silver into the sacred well.

The prophetic power was attributed to many deceased worthies, and exercised at their graves in various ways, more especially by such as had in their lifetime been gifted with knowledge of the future. Teiresias at Orchomenus, Mopsus in Cilicia, Amphiloehus, and others were frequently consulted. The most celebrated oracle of this class was the noted cave of Trophonius, a visit to which is described in detail by Pausanias,² who had himself consulted the oracle. It appears that those who came to consult Trophonius lodged certain days in a temple of Agathos Dæmon and Agathe Tyche, daily sacrificing and regularly consulting the entrails of the victims, to judge whether the Hero was willing to receive them. After some stay, provided the omens were favourable, a day was set for the initiation. On that day a fresh and more solemn sacrifice was made, and unless every sign in it were propitious nothing was done. But if it clearly appeared that Trophonius was willing to receive the suppliant, he was taken to two springs, which rose by the cave and were called the waters respectively of Lethe and of Mnemosyne; of both he drank, that he might forget things past and remember the things he was about to see. He was then conducted to the abode of Trophonius, which was not properly a cave, but a pit some seven feet across and fourteen deep, not natural, Pausanias says, but made carefully by art. Into this pit the votary descended by means of a narrow ladder. In the side of it was an

¹ Philostr. *Vit. Apol.* ii. 37. This work may fairly be quoted in relation to a Greek shrine, where the truth was easily ascertainable.

² ix. 39.

opening some two spans wide and one high, into which, holding in either hand a cake kneaded with honey, he inserted himself feet foremost; and no sooner were his knees within the orifice than he was borne away with incredible swiftness, as if by a rushing river. Over what thereafter happened, Pausanias draws the veil of a discreet silence. "All," he says, "learn not the future in the same manner: to some it is revealed by sight and to some by sound." Then the votary returned again to the upper air, feet foremost, through the same hole through which he had entered. The priests received him, and made him recount all dazed and terrified what had happened to him. One man only, says Pausanias, lost his life in the cave: he was a soldier of Demetrius who entered without due sacrifice, and from motives of base cupidity, and whose dead body was found lying in another place outside the cave.

The whole account is remarkable, and witnesses to the clearness of Pausanias' observation and his accuracy in narration. A modern can scarcely avoid the suspicion that this oracle must have been an imposture contrived by a sacerdotal caste. We should suppose either that the votary remained in the pit all the while, dazed and stupefied by some fumes rising from the hole, and seeming in his vertigo to be carried to great distances; or else he was drawn by some subtle contrivance of the priests into subterranean chambers, and there made to hear and to see whatever they chose to arrange; and this last view derives support from the rule that he must carry a cake in each hand, and so be unable to feel about him as he was borne away. The murder of the guard of Demetrius would be a necessary measure of self-protection on the part of those in charge of the place. All that Pausanias tells as to the origin of the oracle, which was established by one man in historical times, seems to bear out the view that in this case we have to do with a sacrilegious imposture. But it is not fair to argue from the suspicious character of this late and comparatively obscure oracle that the same nature adhered to other oracles. Every true thing in the world has a false thing which follows it as night follows day. It no more follows from the fact of one oracle being an imposture that all were such, than it follows because there are false Gospels that all Gospels are false, or that because we have illusions of vision all sight is illusion.

CHAPTER VIII

THE PUBLIC GAMES

To our account of Greek gymnastics, we add here a brief account of the public games of Greece, for which gymnastic training was to a large extent a preparation.

In Greece proper, there were four greater festivals, protected by a sacred truce (*ἐκεχειρία*), and frequented by Greeks from all parts of the Mediterranean. These were the Olympia, Pythia, Isthmia, and Nemea, victors in all of which are commemorated in the verses of Pindar. But if we count the lesser games celebrated at the various cities of Greece, the number will be greatly increased. Indeed, if we include the various Agones introduced in the wealthy cities of Asia from the time of Alexander onward, we may reckon that there were several hundreds of them, and that a Greek athlete in later times might have spent his whole life in passing from one to another. At these less honourable games the prize was no longer a mere wreath, but as in the days of Homer, objects of value, vases and cups, which are frequently represented on later Greek monuments. The professional athlete or *pot-hunter* made his appearance, and succeeded in utterly ruining the reputation and perverting the purposes of the Greek games.

It will be convenient here to take the Olympic contest as the type of all others.¹ Indeed, on it most of the rest were modelled, with one important addition. At Olympia there was no musical contest; while at all three of the other great *ἀγῶνες στεφανίται*, music was one subject of competition. Contests between *αἰληταί* and between *κιθαρισταί* were a feature of the Nemea and Isthmia, while at the Pythia musical competitions were the oldest and most important feature of the meeting. In the first Pythia, at which the Amphictyons presided, there was a contest in *κιθαροδία*, or singing to the accompaniment of the lyre, in *αὐλοδία*, or singing to the flute, and in flute-playing without singing. Strabo² speaks of a *Πυθικὸς νόμος*, wherein the performers on cithara and flute attempted to give a musical rendering of that victory

¹ A more complete account of Olympia and its festival may be found in my *New Chapters in Greek History*, chap. ix.

² ix. p. 421.

of Apollo over the Python which the games were supposed to commemorate ; and it would appear that the competitors were confined to that subject.

The importance to Greek religion of the Olympic contest has been already discussed. At first the contest is said to have been in running only, and the festival can have lasted but a few hours. But by degrees other competitions were added, one by one, until it occupied five complete days. Pausanias says that one day was found sufficient until the 77th Olympiad ; after which the time was extended, it being found that darkness came on before the contests were at an end.

The sacred truce, *ἐκεχειρία*, lasted one month, and the contests lasted from the 11th to the 15th of that month, in order to allow the spectators full time to go to and return from Olympia in peace and safety, as they flocked from all parts of Greece. The roads which led from Olympia into Arcadia, and thence into the rest of Greece, as well as the sacred road to Pyrgus, the haven of Elis, were thronged with a motley crowd. The remarkable feature of this crowd would certainly be the absence of women ; but it would include men of the most diverse kinds. The merchant with his goods, the poet with his works, the juggler with his apparatus all looked to find an audience among the crowd at Olympia. Here would ride a wealthy father from Syracuse or Croton, whose son was already on the spot in training for some contest ; and beside him would walk a sick man who had vowed a pilgrimage to the shrine of the greatest of Greek gods, or an anxious youth hoping to learn amid the throng tidings of a brother who had left his home for a voyage many months before, and had not since been heard of. At intervals might be discerned groups of delegates, *θεωροί*, for many of the Greek cities despatched a group of envoys to represent them officially on the occasion. These would travel in chariots or on horseback with a train of slaves, and, amid their baggage would be not only whatever might tend to make their own appearance more splendid, but also handsome vessels or statues to be set up in the treasuries at Olympia, and dedicated to Zeus, as well as copies, on tablets of stone or bronze, of treaties and decrees to which they wished to direct the eyes of all Greece.

Properly speaking there was no town at Olympia,¹ only the Altis or sacred enclosure, which contained the temples of Zeus and the allied deities, the altars, and the statues ; and beside

¹ See plan, p. 171.

the Altis the great Gymnasium, the Hippodrome, the Stadium, and various offices. At all events there was no town at all capable of accommodating the vast crowd of strangers. Tents were therefore erected all about the plain, giving it the appearance of a great fair or encampment. The days immediately preceding the 11th of the month were spent in sacrifices on the part of the delegates (*θεωποί*), the competitors, and the authorities of Elis. This time also, as well as that which followed the actual celebration of the games, was the great opportunity for merchants, poets, painters, and all who had wares to which they wished to attract public attention. During the five great days no one would have leisure to attend to them.

On the 11th, long before daybreak, every point commanding a good view of the stadium was occupied. The Olympian festival was celebrated in the hottest time of the year; the contests went on all through the heat of the day. The dust of Olympia was proverbial, and the honour of the god demanded that no spectator should wear a hat. Yet all day long the dense crowd stood about the places of trial, getting no rest from sunrise to sunset, and no food except such as each spectator could take with him in the morning. Nor were the spectators silent: with loud shouts each encouraged his friends or applauded skilful acts, or howled at any cowardice or cheating. It may be imagined that such a scene was unfitted for the secluded women of Greece. Nevertheless, though it is agreed on all hands that married women were not allowed as spectators at Olympia, yet some writers, on the authority of Pausanias,¹ have maintained that virgins were present. This is in itself most unlikely; and it is remarkable that no instance of the presence of a virgin can be adduced from Greek literature. The most that can be conceded is that possibly the young women of Elis or of some of the Dorian cities may have been assigned a place.

The competitors in any contest were obliged to establish their Hellenic parentage, and the fact that they had been in training for ten months with a view to the games. If the Hellanodicæ, who were the Elean magistrates intrusted with the control of the games, allowed their claims, the competitors were next obliged to be present at Elis for the thirty days immediately preceding the festival, and practise under the eyes and according to the direction of the Hellanodicæ, who thus had the means of learning the respective merits of the

¹ vi. 20, 9.

various athletes. At the end of that time the names of those entered for various contests were written on a white board, *λεύκωμα*, and suspended at Olympia. After this there was no retreat. Withdrawing was considered cowardly and not allowed; indeed, it was visited by penalties as severe as those directed against bribery, or the taking of an unfair advantage over an opponent. If the number of competitors were too great for a single heat, they were divided by lot into several groups, *τάξεις*. Boxers and wrestlers had to be drawn in pairs; and thus, if the number of combatants was uneven, one of them must necessarily draw a bye. This fortunate person was called *ἔφεδρος*, and he was naturally considered by the Greeks to have a far better chance of victory than the rest, because at the second stage of the contest he would be opposed fresh and unwounded to a wearied and battered adversary.

As to the order of the contests at Olympia there is much doubt; but it is fairly safe to consider that the order of succession was as a general rule the same as the order in which the competitions were introduced at Olympia, the contest of oldest standing coming first in order, and so on.

The various contests of strength and skill in which the youth of Greece engaged are described briefly in the chapter (Book IV. ii.) which deals with physical training, in which chapter will also be found copies of the representations of athletic sports on Greek vases.

The earliest of competitions was the *στάδιον*, the short-distance race; and at every return of the festival this was the opening contest, and he who was victorious in it gave his name to the whole celebration, just as in certain circles in England years are mentioned by the name of the winner of the Derby. The fourteenth Olympiad witnessed the introduction of a longer race, the *δίανλος*, in which the runners turned at the post at the end of the course and finished at the starting-point. Then followed the *δόλιχος*, in which they traversed the length of the course many times. Next were added wrestling, the *πένταθλον*, and boxing, as to which we speak in more detail in the chapter on physical training. Boxing was by no means in favour at Sparta: the magistrates set their faces against that and the pancratium, not allowing their citizens to partake in a contest which seemed to them degrading. Few or no Laconian winners, either in boxing or the pancratium, are recorded; while wrestling and the pentathlon were quite at home at Sparta.

In the 25th Olympiad, the character of the celebration was

entirely changed by the introduction of a race of quadrigæ of horses. Hitherto there had been complete democracy at Olympia, and only agility and strength had distinguished man from man. But with the introduction of chariots the rich at once obtained means of distinction at the games through wealth alone; and of course the next step was to think more of a victory with a chariot than of a personal success. We find all the wealthiest nobles of Greece—Anaxilaus, Alcibiades, Dionysius, Gelon—eagerly competing with their teams at Olympia; and the city, one of whose citizens was fortunate enough to win in the contest, not unfrequently records the triumph on its state issues of coins. The charioteer did not use a whip but a long pointed stake or goad, *κέντρον*, with which he spurred on the horses, pricking them from behind. From all accounts which reach us we may judge that the victory in the chariot-race was not always to the swift; in every race many or most of the chariots were wrecked either by rivals or in turning the goal; and indeed if we consider that all chariots had to turn round the meta, it seems a wonder that any escaped. Pausanias¹ gives us an elaborate description of the Hippodrome at Olympia, the *ἄφεις* of which was a careful contrivance, the invention of Cleætas. The 33rd Olympiad witnessed the introduction of the pancratium, *παγκράτιον*, and the race on horseback, *ἵππῳ κέλῃτι*, the arrangements in regard to which closely resembled those of the chariot race. As to horse-racing, that is the same thing in all ages; the Greeks, however, made a sharp turn requisite when the meta was reached, which would disconcert a modern jockey. Philip of Macedon won with the *κέλης*, and on his coins, in commemoration of the event, we find an enormous horse ridden by a diminutive jockey.

In the 37th Olympiad boys were first admitted to competition amongst themselves in running and wrestling; in the 38th Olympiad the pentathlon, and in the 41st boxing was extended to boys. In the 65th Olympiad the race for men in armour was introduced, *ὀπλίτων δρόμος*. This was a valuable preparation for actual war, training men to charge on the field. At first the competitors had to run encumbered with helmet, greaves, and shield; but before long the two former pieces of armour were abandoned, and the shield alone retained.

In the 70th Olympiad the *ἀπώνη*, or biga of mules, was admitted to a new competition; in the 71st the race called *κάλπη* was instituted, wherein the riders on horseback, who formed

¹ vi. 20.

the competitors, leapt in the last lap from their horses and ran to the goal, holding them by the rein. Both of these competitions were again given up in the 84th Olympiad.

In the 93rd celebration the race for bigæ of horses was instituted ; in the 96th the contest of heralds and trumpeters ; in the 99th the race for quadrigæ of colts ; in the 128th the race for bigæ of colts ; in the 131st the colt race ; in the 145th the pancratium for boys.

Of many of these contests we may find vivid and truthful representations on the vases which were bestowed on the victors in the Panathenæa and other contests.

At the conclusion of the contest, the name of each winner, and that of the city which claimed him as a citizen, was recited with loud voice by a herald ; and the Hellanodicæ placed on his head the crown of wild olive, which was the greatest object of ambition of every Greek youth. Then all the victors were entertained at a banquet by the magistrates of Elis ; and amid hecatombs and sacrifices of thanksgiving the festival came to an end.

On approaching his own city the young victor was received in a manner well fitted to turn his head. Sometimes a part of the wall was thrown down that he might enter by a new and unused door. All the town kept festival ; and as his cortège approached, singing some strain which a lyric poet had composed for the occasion, it was pelted with flowers and overwhelmed with plaudits, and solid rewards were added to the fame. At Athens the Olympic victor had a right to live at the public expense in the Prytaneium ; at Sparta he had the no less valued right of fighting near the person of the king. The statues of victorious men, victorious horses, and successful chariots were set up at Olympia, and in the cities to which they belonged.

CHAPTER IX

THE MYSTERIES

WE have already spoken of mystic sacrifices, the object of which was to establish a relation between worshipper and worshipped through the death or blood of a sacrifice. There is, however, another means of attaining the same end, which is familiar to barbarous races, in the practice of certain hidden and sacred rites, combining purification with the partaking of a sacred meal, and with dances or dramatic representations.

Mysteries of this kind, retaining much of barbarous rite, yet capable of being filled with higher meaning and becoming a worthy part of religion, existed in many parts of Greece. By far the most important of them were the Mysteries of Eleusis,¹ originating, probably in pre-Hellenic times, in an agricultural festival, but gradually developed, under the influence of Athens, into one of the most important features of Greek religion, and the great stronghold in Hellas of the doctrine of a life beyond the grave.

At Athens there were greater and lesser Mysteries; the lesser conducted at the temple of the Great Goddesses at Agræ, a suburb of Athens, in the time of spring; the greater celebrated at Eleusis, in the month Boedromion, near to the time for sowing seed. The lesser Mysteries were regarded as a necessary preliminary for those who wished to be initiated at Eleusis; but of their course we know scarcely anything. As to the greater, we are better informed. Their details were entirely under the control of a body of magistrates who must belong to certain patrician houses. The highest officer was the *ἱεροφάντης*, who is frequently mentioned by ancient writers as having supreme control. There were certain parts of the Eleusinian precinct, into which he alone had the right to penetrate; and he was supposed to know more than any one else of the secret wisdom of the Mysteries, some part of which he communicated to the initiated in a series of short and obscure sentences uttered from time to time during the ceremonies. He also in the sacred dramas which were, as we shall see, among the principal features of the ceremonies, sustained the most important part. He was taken necessarily from among the descendants of Eumolpus, and was accorded, even in civil life, peculiar honours, such as the right of wearing a purple diadema. It is evident that on his character depended in a great degree that of the whole Mysteries. True there were certain sacred books, religiously preserved, which gave directions which even the Hierophant was not at liberty to neglect, as to the ritual to be followed. But it is likely that these books dealt only with outward form: such at least is certainly the character of the inscription found at Andania, and regulating the procedure at the Mysteries held at that city. But the whole tone of the celebration and the meaning of the ceremonies rested with him to determine; so when we learn that in late

¹ An account of the sanctuary of Eleusis and the Mysteries there celebrated will be found in *New Chapters in Greek History*, chap. xiv.

days the Hierophant was on more than one occasion a Neo-Platonist, we can easily imagine that he would turn the celebration to quite other purposes than those for which it was instituted. As his colleague he had the Hierophantis chosen from the families of the Eumolpidæ or Philleidæ, who must be of chaste reputation and advanced age, and who in the dramas probably represented Demeter or her daughter. Next in dignity to this pair came the Torch-bearers, *δαδοῦχοι*, male and female, who were in early times taken from the family of Triptolemus, but afterwards, that race having become extinct, from that of Lycomedes. These officials conducted the crowds of votaries, and instructed them in many matters. Other important officers were the herald, *κῆρυξ*, the *ἐπιβώμιος* or sacrificer, and the eponymous priestess of Demeter; and there were a number of minor officials. In addition each intending celebrant had to join himself to the company of a mystagogus, that is, a person of standing who had been himself initiated, and who both prepared his clients for the ceremony, and in person conducted them through it. The police was maintained by the *ἱεροποιοί* and other sacred officers of the Republic, under the supreme control of the Archon-Basileus; and all persons committing any act of sacrilege during the celebration was punished with extreme severity, sometimes even being put to death on the spot if captured *flagrante delicto*. The memorable instance of Alcibiades shows how deeply the Athenian people resented any attempt to desecrate their much-loved Mysteries.

Initiation was originally confined as a privilege to Athenians, or even to a narrower circle. But this exclusiveness was afterwards relaxed, and persons of good Hellenic parentage found no difficulty in procuring admission. Persians were pointedly excluded, as well as slaves, and all persons branded with infamy or stained with crime. Women, however, were admitted as freely as men; indeed, a well-born Athenian of either sex would scarcely fail to undergo the rite. Socrates was reproached for being almost the only Athenian who had not applied. Candidates for initiation, *μύσται*, were required to observe certain dietetic rules. These were, however, based less on ethical principle than on ceremonial grounds. They had to abstain from chickens, fish of some sorts, beans, pomegranates, and apples. The priests had carefully to avoid the contamination arising from a corpse, or from certain animals reputed unclean. It was required of the Hierophant that during the festival he should live apart from his wife. But the most rigorous provisions were those which exacted from

priests and mystæ alike absolute secrecy as to all the details of the festival. The penalty of death was provided against any one who failed to preserve the secret; but it was seldom inflicted, for it was seldom merited. The works of art of the Greeks are as reserved on the subject as their writings; and Demosthenes could declare that it was not possible for those who had not been initiated at Eleusis to learn by hearsay anything which went on there.

The¹ local tradition at Eleusis assigned the origin of the mysteries there to Eumolpus, one of the traditional Thracian seers and poets who were supposed to have so largely influenced Greek religious thought. And this may suggest the question whether they were not influenced from Phrygia, where dwelt a people kindred to the Thracian, and distinguished among the races of antiquity by their devotion to great chthonic goddesses. This view is advocated by Mr. Ramsay in the *Encyclopædia Britannica* (Mysteries). In that case they would exhibit a fragment of the religion of Asia Minor adopted and purified by the Athenians. To trace fully the growth of this cultus from stage to stage, until from an obscure local worship it became one celebrated throughout the civilised world, would not be possible in the absence of ancient testimony. The cause of that growth was without doubt the close connection of Eleusis with Athens, and the adoption by the latter city of Eleusinian beliefs and legends. M. Lenormant² considers that we can trace three successive periods in the history of the Eleusinian Mysteries. The first is represented by the Homeric hymn to Demeter, and during its continuance the ceremonies were altogether of a commemorative kind. The abduction of Cora, the wanderings and grief of her mother, the interference of the higher powers, and finally the partial restoration of the lost one were all brought before the eyes of the initiated; and at the same time it is likely that these scenes were explained as relating to the hiding of seed in the earth and its rising in spring, phenomena the explanation of which occupies much of the religious thought of many primitive peoples. The name of Iacchus does not occur in the hymn, and its omission has been variously explained. But it is only in the second period of

¹ A considerable part of the following pages is taken from my *New Chapters in Greek History*, with the permission of the publisher, Mr. John Murray.

² *Contemporary Review*, 1880. The writer speaks with especial authority on this subject, having been engaged in excavations at Eleusis, and being versed in the obscurer elements of Greek cult.

Eleusinian history that Iacchus takes an important place. This period begins early indeed, but subsequently to the Homeric hymn. In it we trace the gradual intrusion of orgiastic and Dionysiac rites, Iacchus being identified with Bacchus, and that deity taking his place at Eleusis as husband or as son of Persephone. The third period may begin about the time of Alexander the Great, and is marked by the adoption at Eleusis, under the influence of the school of religion called by the name of Orpheus, of the strange Cretan legend of Zagreus, and the Oriental rites which belong to that deity, the chthonic Dionysus. These are the rites which caused so much scandal in Greece, and which, when they spread into Campania, were put down by the strong hand of the Roman Republic. Not that the Eleusinian rites ever became really licentious or indecent: their close connection with all that was respectable at Athens saved them from that. But the cultus of Zagreus found a home at Eleusis, and his legend was closely connected with that of the Great Goddesses. Only it was explained away in spiritual and non-natural fashion, and was even made edifying by having put into it the promise of future life beyond the grave. We might perhaps distinguish a fourth period, when neo-Platonic philosophers were hierophantæ, and the doctrines of Eleusis were developed by the pagans as a parallel and counterpoise to those of the Christian Church.

In the Mysteries of Eleusis four acts were distinguished: (1) *κάθαρσις*, the preliminary purification; (2) *σύστασις*, the rites and sacrifices which preceded and prepared the way for the actual celebration; (3) *τελετή* or *μύησις*, the initiation properly so called; and (4) *ἐποπτεία*, the last and highest grade of initiation. The last two of these stages alone were of private and mysterious nature; at the first two the whole populace assisted freely. The whole festival was protected by a sacred truce,¹ proclaimed, like that in connection with the Olympian festival, by public heralds. During the earlier part of the Peloponnesian war, the Spartans respected this truce; but after the renewal of hostilities and the occupation of Deceleia, they stopped for many years the procession of mystæ to Eleusis.

We learn from an inscription² of the age of Hadrian, that on the 13th of Boedromion, the Ephebi of Athens were marshalled, and went in procession to Eleusis in order to escort

¹ Dittenberger, *Syll.* No. 384. *Br. Mus. Inscr.* No. 2. The duration of the truce was from the middle of Metageitnion, including all Boedromion, until the 10th of Pyanepsion.

² Dittenberger, *Syll.* No. 387.

thence on the 14th in solemn procession certain sacred objects, τὰ ἱερὰ, which were required for the procession from Athens to Eleusis, which at that age took place on the 19th of Boedromion.

The first day of the Eleusinia fell on the 15th of Boedromion. It was called the assembling, ἀγνυμὸς, because on it the mystæ assembled in groups, each under the direction and guidance of a mystagogus. At the Stoa Pœcile they received a sort of address from the officials; the King-archon first ordering those to withdraw who were stained by crime or ignominy, or otherwise unworthy of admission, and the hierophant next proclaiming the conditions required of those who desired to be initiated, and enjoining purity, both inward and outward, on all. And the sacred herald impressed on the assembled votaries the duty of absolute secrecy as to all that they might witness, and bade them be silent throughout, and not even utter exclamations.

The second day of the mysteries, the 16th of Boedromion, was that called ἄλαδε μύσται, "Mystæ to the sea," because on it the candidates for initiation purified alike themselves and the young pig, which was the regular victim of the goddesses, in the salt waters of the sea, or perhaps, as M. Lenormant maintains, in the salt water of the two lakes called Rheiti on the Sacred Way.

These days were not at Athens holidays, except for the mystæ. But the 17th of Boedromion was kept as a holiday generally. On it there were solemn state sacrifices in the Eleusinium at Athens; and each of the mystæ offered the sacred pig required from him. On the 18th also there was a continuation of sacrifices and offerings to the two goddesses.

The grand procession of the mystæ from Athens to Eleusis is spoken of by the writers as happening on the 20th of the month. The inscription already cited assigns it to the 19th. Possibly by the time of Hadrian the day had been changed, or it may be, as Dittenberger suggests, that as the procession did not reach Eleusis until after sunset on the 19th it was reckoned as belonging to the 20th. It bore the name of Iacchus, because in it the statue of Iacchus was borne from Athens to Eleusis, escorted by the Ephebi, and followed by the crowd of the mystæ, each bearing a lighted torch. The march was ordered by the Iacchagogus; the statue was attended by two priestesses, and followed by bearers, who carried the cradle and the playthings of the infant deity. The procession kept up a constant singing of hymns, of which we may form some idea from the

imitations of them in the *Frogs*. At each of the shrines on the Sacred Way it stopped to make sacrifices and libations, to sing hymns and perform sacred dances. Naturally it moved but slowly and, though starting at daybreak, did not reach Eleusis till late at night. Reaching the spot the mystæ found some shelter or encampment to protect them from the weather during their stay at Eleusis.

The site of Eleusis has now been fully excavated by the Greek Archæological Society.¹ The centre of the sacred enclosure was occupied by the great Hall of Initiation. This was in no sense a temple, but merely a vast hall, whereof the roof was supported by a forest of pillars, while round the four sides were stone seats eight steps high, capable of holding some 3000 people. Practically it was only a shelter, adapted to protect from storms and rain the whole body of the mystæ, together with the hierophant and other officials, who had to instruct them by sight and sound in the sacred lore of Eleusis.

During the daytime the mystæ fasted, breaking their fast, as the Mohammedans do in our time, at sunset; and as most of the sacred ceremonies went on at night, we must suppose that the day was mostly spent in sleep, or in prostration resulting from the excitements of the night. Amid the nightly celebrations we can distinguish certain interesting ceremonies.

First the initiated had to rouse in themselves a feeling of sympathy with Demeter in her passion. They imitated the sad wanderings of the goddess who roamed, torch in hand, along the shore of Eleusis; and we are told that the lights which they bore looked from a distance like a swarm of fire-flies on the shore of the bay. They sat like their sorrowing goddess on the "joyless rock," and tried to imagine that from them also the sweet Persephone had been snatched away. Amid so many mystæ some must have suffered the loss of their own children, and perhaps to them the feeling that such loss was not unknown, even to the immortal gods, and perhaps might be, like the absence of Persephone, only temporary, must have sometimes come as a strong consolation.

Secondly, there was certainly a sacrament of eating and drinking. After a nine days' fast Demeter had been persuaded by the drolleries of Iambe or Baubo to partake of food and drink, and to change the harshness of despair for less passionate grief. The votaries of Demeter also broke their fast by eating

¹ A plan will be found in my *New Chapters*, and in the new edition of Smith's *Classical Dictionary*, under "Eleusis."

from a sacred vessel and drinking a draught called the *κυκεών*, made of meal and water. They also handled certain sacred objects, transferring them from basket to box, or from box to basket, according to a fixed ritual. Of course such ceremonies are no surprise to the anthropologist, who knows that in all religions some of the most solemn ceremonies are connected with eating and drinking in common.

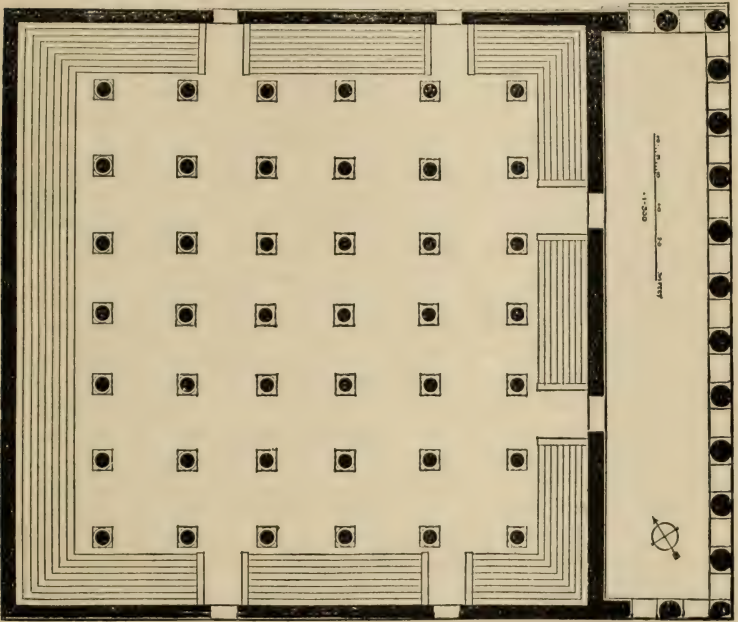


FIG. 17.—HALL OF THE MYSTÆ. (DÖRPFELD.)

Thirdly, it may be regarded as certain that the crowning and consummation of the whole celebration at Eleusis consisted in certain representations of a dramatic character, mysteries or miracle plays, which were acted in the sacred meeting-hall, and which contained the revelations to be made to the initiated.

But we must begin by dismissing as fanciful and unfounded a great deal of modern conjecture on this subject. Some

modern writers have taxed their ingenuity to imagine such noble revelations as should correspond to what they think the Eleusinia ought to be. They have pictured to themselves elaborate ceremonies and carefully planned stage-effects; and it must be confessed that they are not without the support of some ancient authorities, who, however, belong to the last periods of Greek literature. For example, the orator Themistius, who lived in the fourth century, writes of the *mystæ*: "They wander about at first; they enter on wearisome deviations; they walk about full of suspicion and uncertainty in the darkness; and the nearer they approach to the goal, the more terrible everything becomes: there is nothing but trembling, shuddering, sweating, and stupor. Then a marvellous light falls on them, and they enter pure places and meadows, and hear voices, and see dances, and witness majestic utterances and sacred forms." It is perhaps not strange that some writers should have supposed, on the strength of such passages as this, that the *mystæ*, on their way to the hall of assembly, passed through long underground passages, and wandered far in the darkness. And the opinion has been widely diffused, though based on slight authority, that in these wanderings there were displayed before them the terrors of Tartarus, dreadful sights and sounds, in sharp contrast to the delights of Elysium supposed to be revealed in the hall itself. This view must be considered as finally disposed of by the evidence of excavation, which has proved that the underground passages which the Dilettanti supposed themselves to have discovered never existed. The darkling walk, which was said to be so full of terrors and uncertainties, could only be the walk from the propylæa to the gates of the hall. But we must remember that after their daily fast the votaries would be worked up to a pitch of excitement; their expectation would be raised to the highest point; and the nights were planned by the Attic calendar so as to fall when there was no moon. The *mystæ* might therefore be very ready to imagine more than they saw.

But what happened when at last the door of the hall was opened, and the torch-bearer appeared with his torch to lead the *mystæ* into the sacred place? Then, at all events, it may be thought, strange sights and sounds would be met. The simple answer is that at Eleusis there was no provision for the production of strange stage-effects. Never at any time was there in the shallow stage of a Greek theatre any room for those elaborate effects in which modern stage managers delight. All was simplicity and convention. But at Eleusis

there was not even a stage. The people sat tier above tier all round the building, and whatever went on had to go on in their midst. If they were dazzled by strange sights, these sights must have been very simply contrived. If they saw gods descending from the sky or rising from the ground, they must have been willing to spread round the very primitive machinery, by which such ascents and descents would be accomplished, an imaginative halo of their own.

In the midst of the crowd the hierophant and his colleagues displayed certain sights and uttered certain sounds which the people received with trembling veneration, and filled with a meaning perhaps out of proportion to the actual phenomena. It is the opinion of Lenormant that on successive nights there were acted two separate miracle plays, in which the parts were taken by the officers of the Eleusinia; but as to the details of these plays, we are altogether left to conjecture. They dwelt perhaps on the wanderings and grief of Demeter, the return of Cora from the under-world, and perhaps the extraordinary history of Zagreus, who was slain by the Titans.

The last formal act of the mysteries seems to us simple enough, though it was certainly regarded as no unimportant part of the whole. The mystæ filled with water two vessels which bore the special name of *plemochoæ*, and emptied them in libation, turning to east and west, and repeating the mystic words, ὕε, κῦε. The first prayer was directed to the sky, and was a petition for rain; the second to the earth, as a prayer for fertility. These simple words are probably part of the oldest Eleusinian ritual, and show the original character of the whole festival to have been a religious service of prayer, that the corn-sowing just going on might lead to a fair harvest.

By the 24th of Boedromion the secret parts of the mysteries were over; the festival again became of a public nature, and all Athens again kept holiday. Then they celebrated the games called Eleusinia, one of the most important of Athenian agones, the prize wherein consisted of a measure of barley, reaped probably in the sacred Rharian plain. The games grew in duration as time went on: at first only occupying one day, they at last absorbed quite four. An important part of them was the representation of tragedies in the theatre of Eleusis. We learn that at one time the plays of Æschylus were, by preference, selected on account of their religious character; in the Macedonian age the Dionysiac artists resorted to Eleusis, and for two or three days furnished amusement to the mystæ and their visitors.

The return to Athens, like the setting out thence, took place in solemn procession, the priests joining the cortège. At one part at least of its progress the pomp must have relapsed into disorder and clamour ; for the people of Athens went out with masks on their faces to meet the returning mystæ, and received them at the bridge over the Cephissus with jests and banter. The mystæ replied, and a contest ensued of wit or of scurrility, in which each tried to surpass the other. Such mixtures of jest and religion do not shock the feelings of natives of southern Europe.

There is no good ground for the supposition that the Eleusinian priests communicated to the people some theology above the common, some mystic doctrine preserved in the archives of Eleusis and handed down from age to age. There were rites and representations of a symbolic character, well adapted, no doubt, to act upon the nerves and imaginations of those present. These scenes brought men nearer to the gods, and caused a thrill of sympathy with the feelings of the deities to pass through human bosoms ; but they did not instruct the intellect, still less impart any cosmologic or theogonic system. Even the sentences which, as we learn, the actors in the divine dramas threw out from time to time, were full of fancy and mysticism rather than of sober meaning. "Aristotle," says Synesius, "is of opinion that the initiated learned nothing precisely, but that they received impressions, that they were put into a certain frame of mind !" We can scarcely do better in such a matter than adhere to this opinion.

A ceremony affects people by its symbolism, and each man interprets the symbols according to the state of his heart and his belief. To the vulgar-minded they are vulgar and trivial, to critical and uninterested spectators they are tedious and foolish ; but to those to whom they have a meaning they are of real value ; and the more vague the ceremony, the greater is the variety of meaning which can be put into it. Of dogmatic teaching, as we have already remarked, there was none at Eleusis : only pleasing sights to remain in the imagination, and short enigmatical sentences to be stored in the memory, all likely to recur to the mind at the critical moments of life, and whenever that state of nervous exaltation recurred which had existed when they were first received at Eleusis.

The Eleusinia, though the most sacred of the Mysteries, by no means stood alone. Copies of them were introduced into many Greek cities ; and there were also celebrations of an independent origin and embodying other early traditions. For

instance, there were in Arcadia mysteries connected with the deity whom the Arcadians called Despœna, and regarded as the daughter of Demeter and Poseidon, which seem to have been based on other legends than those of Eleusis. At Trœzen in Argolis and the island of Ægina there were mysteries attached to the cult of two deities called Damia and Auxesia, which enjoyed considerable renown in the days of Herodotus. But the only mysteries which in antiquity and dignity could vie with those of Eleusis were those belonging to the Pelasgic Cabiri in the island of Samothrace. The whole cultus of these deities seems like a fossil fragment of a very primitive phase of Greek religion. There were, indeed, Phœnician Cabiri, but Lenormant¹ maintains that these were entirely distinct from the Samothracian deities, who were elemental spirits of fire, and teachers of mankind in the arts of metallurgy. They were in number four—two male, one female, and one of doubtful gender; their names were Axieros, Axiokersus, Axiokersa, and Cadmilus. Removing the prefix *axi*, which seems to be the Greek *ἄξιος*, venerable or honourable, we may easily explain the first three names. Eros is the principle of union, Kersus the male, and Kersa the female procreative element; from the union of the two latter Cadmilus is born.

Of the Samothracian Mysteries we know very little; but we may safely conjecture that the ideas of sex and of procreation dominated them even more than those of Eleusis. This fact may seem repulsive; but we must remember that all the nations of the Levant in early times closely connected the idea of generation with that of life after death, and that of a spirit dwelling in the universe. The more reserved manners of modern times make symbolism borrowed from the relations of the sexes seem out of place in religious expositions; but more primitive and demonstrative races did not feel the incongruity as we do. The worship of the Cabiri and their mysteries were adopted in several states of Greece, brought over no doubt by sailors and merchants who touched at Samothrace, or who ascribed their safety in storm to the interference of the Samothracian deities. An inscription has been found at Andania in Messenia,² giving full instructions for the celebration at that place of the mysteries of the Cabiri, who must there surely have been identified with the Dioscuri.

¹ In Daremberg and Saglio's Dictionary, *s.v.* Cabiri.

² Sauppe, *Mysterieninschrift von Andania*; Dittenberger, No. 388. In Newton's *Essays*, p. 177, is a very full summary.

It deals, however, entirely with external ceremonies, such as processions and banquets, and does not give directions for those secret rites which were the essential part of the cult. One notable fact is, however, the mention in the inscription of certain sacred books, which we must suppose to have contained the ritual in use on these occasions.

CHAPTER X

THE ATTIC CALENDAR

THE subject of Religious Festivals in Greece is one of far too great extent to be adequately treated of in a handbook like the present. Every important cult had attached to it some festival, which had to be duly celebrated at some fixed time of year; every important city had a calendar, in which the days set apart for the festivals of the various civic deities were set forth in order; and it was generally believed that neglect of the sacred usages thus established would bring down the wrath of offended deities.

The character of some of the more important of the Greek festivals is set forth in the latter half of Hermann's *Gottesdienstliche Alterthümer*. In the present work all that is attempted is, in other chapters, a sketch of the Eleusinia (chap. ix.) and the great agonistic festivals, which had an important national significance (chap. viii.), and in the present place, a brief account of the calendar and festivals of one city, Athens, which is not only the most important of Greek cities, but also that as to which we are in all things most fully informed.

In place of tracing historically the origin of the various festivals of the Athenians, an interesting but somewhat speculative inquiry, we here rapidly follow the course of the Attic calendar, as established in historic times, using principally the authority of A. Mommsen, whose *Heortologie* (1864) is the most satisfactory work on the subject.

The ordinary Attic year consisted of the following twelve months—Hecatombæon (roughly our July), Metageitnion (August), Boedromion (September), Pyanepsion (October), Mæmacterion (November), Poseidéon (December), Gamelion (January), Anthesterion (February), Elaphebolion (March), Munychion (April), Thargelion (May), Sciophorion (June). These months, some of which were 29 and some 30 days

long, made up a year of 354 days; and in order that the months should not in successive years fall in different seasons, it was necessary frequently to interpolate an intercalary month, a second Poseideon of 30 days.

It should be remembered, in reading accounts of Greek festivals, that to the Greeks the festal day began at sunset, as the Sabbath still does among the Jews. Thus when a celebration belongs to the 10th of a month, its ceremonies might occupy any time between the sunset of the 9th and the sunset of the 10th. A torch-race, for example, would be held in the evening preceding the sacrifices and processions.

It is impossible, in following the Attic Calendar, either to give references, which would take too much space, or to go into any details. Those who wish to examine the matter in detail must consult larger works. I shall endeavour only to impress upon the reader the great variety and interest of the religious festivals of Attica during the great time of Athens.

Hecatombæon, the first and hottest month of the year, was dedicated to Apollo as sun-god. On the 12th of the month the Cronia were celebrated, and on the 16th the Synœcia, a feast connected in legend with the *συννοικισμός*, by which Theseus introduced unity into Attica. But the great event of the month was the Panathenæa, the most distinctively Attic of religious festivals, and one which has left us an unrivalled record in art.

The festival was held on the 28th of the month, the supposed day of the birth of Athena, on which she sprang full-armed from the head of her father in the midst of the assembly of the gods. With the story of its origin the names of greatest importance in early Athenian history were intertwined. Erichthonius is said first to have established a festival in honour of the goddess; Theseus made the Athenæa into Panathenæa; and Peisistratus ordained that on every fourth year the festival should be one of exceptional brilliancy. But the Greater and the Lesser Panathenæa differed rather in scale than in character: alike they bore testimony to the glory of the goddess and the splendour of the Athenian city, of which she was as it were the mythological embodiment. Primarily the Great Panathenaic festival was agonistic. There were musical contests in singing, with the lyre and the flute, and in rhapsodic recitation of epic poems; and there were gymnastic contests on a scarcely smaller scale than those held at Olympia and Nemea. The victors were rewarded with amphoræ of oil from the sacred trees of Athena, from six to sixty of which were assigned to

the various winners. Painted vases were also presented to the successful competitors, bearing a representation of the contest in which each had been successful ; in later days also the name of the archon to fix the date.¹ With the purely gymnastic exercises were mingled others of a more decidedly warlike character—riding on horseback in full armour, throwing the javelin from horseback, and leaping out of and returning to chariots in full course.

Parties of dancers vied one with the other in the Pyrrhic dance, and the tribes sent up groups of adult men to contend for the prize of *εὐανδρία*, or manly beauty. At night torch-races were run, and the youths of Athens contended, like modern university men, in boat-races, though of course the sea-going boats were of a far more solid build than the light racing craft of modern days.

On the principal day of the festival there took place that solemn procession up to the Acropolis of which a reflection still remains to us in the frieze of the Parthenon. The object of the procession was partly to convey to the presence of the goddess those who had been victorious in the games held in her honour, partly to conduct to the altar of sacrifice the cows presented by the Athenians, and the oxen and sheep sent for sacrifice by the various colonies of Athens in foreign lands. But the chief purpose was to carry up to the temple, perhaps for decking the wooden statue of Athena, which was her oldest and most sacred effigy, a robe woven by the Arrhephoric maidens, and brodered by them with scenes from the battle of the gods and giants, wherein Athena had herself won imperishable renown. The sacred peplos was attached as a sail to the mast of a ship when carried through the streets, and then carried up to the presence of Athena and deposited in her treasury.

The month Metageitnion contained but unimportant festivals ; that which succeeded, Boedromion, was more important in the calendar. The second of the month was the anniversary of the contest between Athena and Poseidon for the Attic territory, a contest represented in one of the pediments of the Parthenon. It was a day of ill-fortune and depression. But the third was the anniversary of a far more auspicious event, the victory of Plataea.² We are, however, left in uncertainty how far this

¹ Many of these vases survive. They reach us mostly from Italy and Cyrene. See *Monumenti dell' Istituto*, x. pl. 47, 48. It seems clear that these painted vessels cannot have contained oil, a purpose for which they are entirely unfitted. Cf. Rayet et Collignon, *Céramique Grecque*, p. 129.

² Mommsen, *Heortologie*, p. 208.

day was kept as a festival at Athens. On the 5th of the month was held the important festival of the Genesia, the feast of the dead. Originally it seems to have been the occasion on which families united to deplore the members who had passed from them during the year, and to renew by sacrifice their relation to them and the nether-gods. But this dolorous festival was redeemed to some degree of brightness by being connected with the memorial of the battle of Marathon, which was celebrated on the 6th. It was said that before that great victory the Athenian Polemarch Callimachus had vowed to Artemis Agrotera a goat for every Persian enemy who fell. But the great slaughter which took place, far exceeding his expectation, compelled the Athenians to commute the sacrifice promised for 500 goats, which were annually offered to the goddess. The glorious memories of Marathon were mingled with offerings at the Marathonian mound¹ where the slain Athenians were buried, with rejoicings and with military displays.

On the 15th of Boedromion began the assembling and sacrifices preliminary to the Mysteries of Eleusis. As we have devoted to these Mysteries a special chapter, it is not necessary here to say more in regard to them.

With the next month, Pyanepsion, the great heat of summer is past, and autumn comes on. On the 7th the Pyanepsia were held, a festival connected in legend with the Cretan expedition of Theseus, but mainly devoted to the honour of Apollo. It had something of the character of a harvest festival. Beans were cooked; and the Eiresione, a sacred branch of olive, hung with figs, cakes, and pots of honey and milk, was carried in procession in honour of the sun-god.

At about the same time the Oschophoria were celebrated. There was a procession which started from the temple of Dionysus at Limnæ and passed through the town. It consisted of boys chosen for the occasion, who bore grapes and chanted songs. There was a race of youths from the temple of Dionysus to that of Athena Sciras at Phaleron, and the branches of vine which they bore were regarded as a gift from the god of wine to the goddess of oil. The mothers of the competitors met them with food; and the day ended with a sort of picnic by the sea.

On the evening of the 7th Epitaphia were celebrated, and sacrifices offered to the ancestral heroes of Athens. Probably

¹ This mound has recently been excavated, when remains of abundant sacrifices came to light.

on this day the annual oration in honour of the Athenian citizens who during the year had died on foreign service was delivered.

The 8th was a great festival of Theseus, Theseia, in connection with which there were not only sacrifices, but all sorts of contests. The inscriptions record prizes awarded for running, wrestling, and boxing, for casting the javelin and the like. We hear also of torch-races and competitions of trumpeters and heralds. On the next day there was a sort of military tournament, in which the youth of Athens displayed their skill in the use of their weapons. The feast of Theseus owed, if not its origin, at least its development to Cimon, when he fetched from Scyros the bones of the national hero of Attica.

The days from the 9th to the 13th of Pyanepsion were occupied by the important festival of the Thesmophoria, which the play of Aristophanes has made in some aspects familiar to scholars. Pyanepsion was the month of sowing; and Demeter Thesmophoros was goddess alike of the fruitfulness of the earth and of marriage and the procreation of children. In the festival only honourable burgher matrons could take part; and for such part they had to prepare themselves by nine days of complete chastity. On the first day of the festival, called *Στήνια*, they betook themselves to Halimus, a suburban deme of Athens, and there mid jest and laughter celebrated certain mysteries of the goddess. On the 11th they returned to Athens, and occupied a building called the Eleusinion, close to the Acropolis. On the next day they sat on the ground, and with fasting and lamentation besought the favour of the nether powers, perhaps taking their theme from the carrying away of Persephone, who at this season was supposed to return to her grim lord, Hades. On the final day of the festival rejoicings took the place of weeping: Demeter, it was supposed, was now reconciled, and would give fair offspring to the women of the Athenians, as well as a plenteous harvest in their fields.

Towards the end of the same month came the Apaturia, a three days' festival of great importance, but rather from the social and political than from the religious side. It probably centred in the old Prytaneium, the common hearth of the people of Athens. Every citizen to whom a child had been born presented him before Zeus Phratrius and Athena, declared his legitimacy, and brought to the deities a thank-offering, a victim on whose flesh the members of the phratria feasted. Hence gatherings of clans and families, at which children showed their acquirements in various branches of learning, and

found their level among their kindred. Later, on the *ἔνῃ καὶ νείᾳ*, or last of the month, was a festival of Hephæstus, in which those took part who made their living by the arts which were under his patronage, the working of metal and fashioning of implements. It was termed *Χαλκεία*.

After the numerous festivals which we have mentioned there is a pause. The month Mæmacterion was the beginning of winter, and the only festivals held in it were sacrifices to the winter deities Zeus *μαιμάκτης* and Zeus *γεωργός*.

Poseideon was sometimes a single and sometimes a double month, especially devoted to Dionysiac festival and observance, particularly by the rustic population, to whom it was a time of idleness. The Haloa were a festival of harvest and vintage, held in honour of Demeter Persephone and Dionysus at Eleusis; it belonged especially to women, and seems to have been in some degree a reflection of the great Mysteries of Eleusis. The Dionysia of winter, which belonged to an uncertain time in Poseideon, were celebrated *κατ' ἀγρούς*, that is, in the villages of Attica. The festival, though held long after the gathering of grapes, which took place about the equinox, was doubtless connected with it. To us it is of great interest; since out of the rustic buffooneries and dances which accompanied it the drama arose. The staining of the faces of the jesters with lees of wine was the origin of the dramatic mask, out of the hymns sung at the altar in honour of the young Dionysus came the cyclic chorus with its furthur developments. The birth of the wine-god inspired all the peasants with jollity and mirth, such as has down even to our own days in all European countries gathered about the winter solstice. In the *Acharnians* of Aristophanes we have a picture of a family celebrating the Dionysia: the daughter bears on her head the basket of offerings, a servant carries the phallic symbol of the god; all join in the procession, except the mother, who watches it from the roof.

The next month, Gamelion, was marked by another Dionysiac festival, the Lenæa, held at the Lenæum at Athens. This feast appears to have lasted four or five days, and was the occasion of dramatic performances and contests, which superseded earlier recitation of dithyrambs. Another celebration of the month was the Gamelia, which had reference to that marriage of heaven and earth with which many mythologies begin. The Athenians would naturally connect it with the *ἱερός γάμος* of Zeus and Hera. A. Mommsen regards this marriage celebration as connected with the birth of the ancestral Attic deity

Hephæstus, whose birthday came nine months later in the sacred year.

In the following month, Anthesterion, fell a third important Dionysiac festival, the Anthesteria, celebrated from the 11th to the 13th. On the 11th came the *πιθουγία*, or opening of the casks, in preparation for the coming feast. It throws a pleasing light on the relations of the Athenians to their slaves, when we find that this opening of casks, which was the business of slaves, brought with it not only permission for them to drink the new wine, but also liberty generally and a holiday from their ordinary tasks. Dionysus brought even to them rest and enjoyment. On this day also the oldest of the statues of Dionysus made a journey from the Lenæum to a temple of the Outer Cerameicus, thence to return in solemn procession. On the 12th came the *χόες*. The day, as usual in the Greek calendar, began at sunset of the 11th. At once a procession was formed with torches and lamps to bring back the sacred image to the Lenæum. The cortège was full of masks, and of women who represented Nymphs and Bacchæ, and rode in waggons: the Basilinna, the wife of the King Archon, rode with the god himself as his bride, and passed the night alone in his cella. Meantime all the people betook themselves to feasting, hospitality, and merriment, which lasted far into the night and the next day. The 13th, called *χύτροι*, was devoted to the worship of the Chthonic Dionysus, and of the dead. The offerings consisted of a compound of corn and fruits, offered in pots. Fourteen altars were set up to receive the sacrifices, in such wise that those seated in the theatre could clearly see them, when assembled to witness the cyclic choruses. It appears that into the details of the Anthesteria there penetrated, as we should have anticipated, much of the higher or esoteric Dionysiac doctrine which was taught by the Orphists.

In Anthesterion also were celebrated the lesser Mysteries of Demeter and Persephone, which took place at Agræ, on the other side of the Ilissus. On the 23rd the Diasia were held, probably at the temple of Zeus Olympius by the Ilissus. The character of this festival is indicated by the fact that the sacrificial animals were offered whole, and were sometimes pigs, a creature belonging especially to the ceremonies of expiation and purification. This then was a festival of atonement, and the Zeus to whom it belonged was *Μερίχιος* the propitious. It probably was intended to secure a favourable season for the ensuing spring. The poor who could not afford a victim, substituted for it, we are told, a cake moulded in animal form.

The next month, Elaphebolion, brought a festival of world-wide renown, the city Dionysia, *Διονύσια τὰ ἐν ἄστει*. This lasted for several days, beginning on the 9th of the month with a celebration in honour of Aesclepius. After the sacrifice to the healing deity, the people thronged to the Lenæum, and thence conveyed to the theatre a statue of Dionysus; scarcely, as A. Mommsen thinks, the gold and ivory figure by Alcamenes. In some noble embodiment, the god had to preside at the celebration in his honour. At this festival the tribute of the Athenian allies was paid over, the deputies who brought it taking a share in the splendid shows and sacrifices. The sons also of fathers who had fallen in arms for Athens were invested with arms in the theatre in presence of all the people. On the 10th of the month took place a lyric contest between bards. We still possess a fragment of an ode written by Pindar for the occasion. Then followed the three celebrated days of dramatic representation, on each of which was performed a trilogy of tragedies in the morning and a comedy in the afternoon. In these competitions the masterpieces of Attic tragedy and comedy first saw the light; and the prizes, oxen and tripods, were eagerly sought by the greatest dramatists. The whole was concluded on the 14th of the month by the Pandia, a celebration in honour of Zeus, which seems in later days of Athens to have been somewhat overshadowed by other festivals.

The tenth month, Munychion, brings us to early summer. On the 6th were held the Delphinia in honour of Apollo and Artemis as deities of navigation. The purport of the festival was to hallow the opening of navigation; and as was often the case at Athens, a legend arose to connect it with Theseus, who had on that day set out for Crete, after prayers and dedications to Apollo. In after years, on the same day, started the sacred Athenian embassy to Delos.

On the 16th came the Munychia, also sacred to Artemis, to whom were brought on this day cakes girt round with lighted candles (*ἀμφιφῶντες*). Mommsen regards as contemporary with this celebration that held at Athens and at Brauron, in honour of the Brauronian Artemis. The Brauronia are interesting from the point of view of comparative mythology. Young girls, termed *ἄρκτοι*, danced in honour of the goddess a bear-dance, and figures of bears in various materials were dedicated to her. Such customs probably were survivals of a time when some Attic tribe looked on the bear as its sacred head, afterwards preserving in the service of Artemis the customs which had their origin before her arrival. The Munychia in

the fifth century attained a higher development from the mingling with them of the annual thanksgiving for the glorious victory of Salamis. At Salamis on this day was the celebration in honour of the hero Ajax ; and the youth of Athens thronged over to the island, and there competed with the Salaminians in a rowing contest and torch-races. Later in the month came the Olympieia, annually held in honour of the Zeus of Olympus, after Pisistratus had laid the foundations of his great temple by the Ilissus.

The next month, Thargelion, took its name from the Thargelia, dedicated to Apollo and Artemis. According to the people of Delos, Apollo had been born on the 6th, and Artemis on the 7th of the month ; from the Delians, probably, the people of Athens took the festival. On it they brought to the deities of summer heat, to Helios and the Horæ, the first-fruits of the summer crops ; and a procession and musical competition took place. But there was a darker side to the Thargelia, showing that originally there was in them something of the sin-offering. After a sacrifice of an ewe to Demeter Chloe, two human victims were led in procession with figs bound round their necks, and as we are told, sacrificed to Apollo, the source and the averter of pestilence and famine, on behalf of the men and women of Athens. Whether they were actually put to death may be doubted ; in historic times human sacrifices were almost everywhere in Greece modified and commuted ; and though not wholly extinct, were reserved for rare and solemn occasions.

On the 19th took place the festival of the Thracian goddess Bendis, one of the last importations into the official Pantheon of Athens, into which she was not admitted until the time of Pericles, though she had settled earlier in Piræus. A feature of it was a torch-race on horseback, probably borrowed, like the goddess herself, from the rude peoples of northern Greece. Contemporary with the Bendideia were the Plynteria and Calynteria, closely connected festivals. Their principal feature was a solemn cleansing or bath of the ancient image of Athena preserved in the Erechtheum. In elaborate ceremonial the statue was stripped of its arms and garments, then swathed in wrappings and carried forth, probably to the sea, though this is not certain, and washed. Her temple was closed, being bound round with cords ; and the day of her bath was reckoned an inauspicious one for any business, as her oversight could not be relied on. In the evening she was brought back by torchlight to her sacred home.

The last month of the calendar, Scirophorion, contained the Scirophoria, a festival belonging wholly to women, like the Thesmophoria. Its chief feature was a procession led by the priest of Erechtheus, who bore a large parasol (σκῆπον) in his hand, to a place called Σκῆπον, near Athens. Its meaning is somewhat obscure. Perhaps connected with it were the Arrhephoria, also sacred to Athena, and marked by an interesting ceremonial of a puzzling character. Pausanias¹ tells us that on the evening of the festival the two Arrhephoric maidens who had their abode on the Acropolis, "place on their heads objects which the priestess of Athena gives them to carry, the nature of which is known neither to the giver nor to the bearers. The maidens go down by a secret underground passage leading to a precinct near the temple of Aphrodite of the Gardens. Below they leave their burdens; and take up in exchange something covered up."

On the 14th of Scirophorion came the remarkable festival of the Diasia or Buphonia, held on the Acropolis. On the altar of Zeus Polieus were spread various kinds of corn and cakes. An ox prepared for sacrifice was driven to the altar, and as soon as he began to feed on the corn, was struck down by the priest with an axe. Immediately the priest fled, but was seized, and with all the attendants haled to the Prytaneium as a murderer. All excused themselves, and finally the guilt was fixed upon the sacrificial axe, which was condemned and cast into the sea. The skin of the dead ox was stuffed, and the appearance of life was given to it by yoking it in a plough. The flesh was prepared as a solemn meal, of which some officials partook. It is impossible here to enter into the meaning of this curious ceremonial, which can only be understood by a comparison of the customs of various primitive peoples. We may, however, observe that in other peoples who have recently exchanged the nomadic for the agricultural condition the slaying of a ploughing ox is regarded as an offence of as deep a die as the murder of a clansman.

This slight sketch may suffice to give some notion of the degree to which the religion of the state and its observances entered into the life of Athenian citizens. Something was almost always going on, in the way of procession or sacrifice or feast, in which every Athenian had a right to take part. That all this religious ceremonial would tend directly to ethical im-

¹ I. 27, 3. Compare Miss Harrison's *Cults and Monuments of Ancient Athens*, p. xxxiii.

provement may be very doubtful ; but certainly it would promote sociability and good taste, and the love of public shows. Every citizen would have it brought home to him several times in the month that he was a member of a society, having definite relations to his ancestors, his fellow-citizens, and the civic deities. In this fashion the religion of the state became a binding force in cities, and we can understand alike the jealousy felt by the Greeks towards new and unauthorised cults, and the resisting power of Greek religion. Long after men ceased really to believe in Athena and Apollo and Artemis as existing and ever-present beings, they clung to the ceremonial of their worship as a thing without which life would lose much of its meaning, and patriotism its best sanction.

When we compare the bright and varied interest of life in a Greek city, its struggling political activities and its successive religious festivals, with the dull level of the existence of the poor in modern cities, we feel how far advancing civilisation may sometimes be from promoting the greatest happiness of the greatest number.

Another observation which is forced on us by a review of the Attic Calendar is the importance in Greece of the Dionysiac cultus. In the practical life of religion Dionysus was of more importance at Athens than Zeus, Apollo, or even Athena. And there was attached to his cultus more of religious doctrine also, if perhaps less of mythologic tale. Many writers have failed to appreciate the importance of the Dionysiac element in Greek religion ; but those who study the Athenian sacred year can scarcely overlook it.

BOOK IV

THE COURSE OF LIFE

CHAPTER I

CHILDHOOD AND EDUCATION

THE modern custom, according to which a male doctor attends women in childbirth, differs from that of the Greeks. Their usual attendant in such cases was a midwife, whose only skill was derived from practice, or even any elderly slave of the house.

Immediately on the birth of a child came the bathing in χύτρα, that is, either water or water mixed with oil (at Sparta with wine), to confirm its flickering life. In front of the house were suspended, if the child were male, olive-boughs, if it were female, woollen fillets. The birth of a female child was much dreaded, alike by the ancient Greeks and their modern representatives. On the fifth day, or the seventh according to some writers, took place the first birth-ceremony, when the nurse and other attendants, putting off their clothes, bore the newborn child round the blazing hearth, and then ceremonially cleansed themselves and the mother from supposed impurity. This was called the ἀμφιδρόμια. Still more important was the tenth day, the δεκάτη, when friends and relations were invited to a solemn feast and sacrifice, and the infant was openly acknowledged as legitimate by the father, and received the name it was to bear, as well as presents from friends and relations.¹ Whether the birthday was kept as an annual celebration we do not know. Censorinus informs us that a feast was usual on the fortieth day after birth, when the mother might

¹ Aristoph. *Birds*, 922 :—

οὐκ ἄρτι θύω τὴν δεκάτην ταύτης ἐγώ,
καὶ τοῦνομ' ὥσπερ παιδίῳ νῦν δὴ 'θέμην ;

be expected to be convalescent, and also the worst danger to the infant life past. This period of forty days is still observed in Greece.

So things were ordered when the father intended to rear the child. But he often, and more frequently if it was a girl, declined this duty, and caused it to be exposed in the streets, in a *χύτρα*, a large earthen vessel, to be taken up by any one who pleased, or even ordered it to be put to death. In case of exposure, *ἐκθεσις*, some trinkets or amulets, *γνωρίσματα*, would be fastened to it, which might sometimes be preserved, and lead to recognition later by the parents. No doubt the origin of the custom of exposure lay less in aversion to the trouble of education than in fear of having to subdivide an inheritance perhaps already too small. In fact, it was the Greek remedy for over-population, a revolting solution of a hitherto insoluble problem. In some states, such as Sparta, this extreme prudence produced a continual decay in the free population, and the state found it necessary to encourage the bringing up of sons; making the man who had four free from all taxes. At Thebes only was exposure of children forbidden.

As the Greeks had no family- or sur-name, it was usual in naming a child to keep up in some way the hereditary sequence. The most usual thing was to name a boy after his paternal grandfather, so that we commonly find names recurring in families in alternate generations.¹ This custom still survives among Greeks. Sometimes father and son for two or three generations would have the same name; but more often the initial or concluding syllables would be changed; thus Nausiphilus is son of Nausinicus, and Phocion of Phocus. If the mother of a boy were of more honourable family than the father, he might take the name of a maternal grandfather or uncle. Names compounded with -hippus were supposed to have an aristocratic sound. Again, a father would very often name a son after a deity or hero on whose day the birth fell, or whose worship he especially affected; such names often commemorated a vow; thus we get Diophantus and Apollodotus. Or he would form a name from some circumstance of his life, from his intentions with regard to the child or some peculiarity of the latter. Or he might adopt the name of a friend or even a friendly people, whence Thessalus, Lacedæmonius, &c. Finally, it often happened that a nickname given to a lad superseded his true

¹ Instance; the later (Antigonid) Kings of Macedon, or the Kings of Syria.

name; a well-known instance is the name Plato, given to the philosopher on account of his sturdy figure. The names of girls seem to have been bestowed more at random; but we find certain female names common in certain families, as Laodice in that of the Kings of Syria, Berenice and Cleopatra in that of the Ptolemies.

On its birth a child was handed over to a nurse, frequently to a wet-nurse, *τιτθή*, who suckled it, feeding it in addition with honey. When a child was of sufficient age to require more solid food, the nurse would place in its mouth pap which she had prepared by chewing it herself. It is proved by the inscriptions on many tombstones erected in memory of nurses by young men who had been their charge, how tender was the relation between nurse and child, and how long it persisted into the life of adults.

It was the custom in all parts of Greece except Sparta to wrap up young infants in *σπάργανα*, or swaddling bands. A long strip of wool, three fingers wide, was wound round and round the little body, beginning with the arms, then confining the chest and the legs, and even the head. Ancient monuments fully illustrate this custom, and show how the child became a sort of package, whereof only the face was visible, and which was handed about or carried like a parcel. Whatever modern authorities may say as to the evils of such a system, it cannot be denied that under it were produced bodily forms like those of the discobolus of Myron and the Aphrodite of Melos. Sometimes, however, well-to-do parents preferred to import a Laconian helot woman as nurse, and to give the limbs of their infants free play.

No small part of a nurse's duties consisted in preserving her charge from the evil influences of supernatural powers. There was a whole class of evil spirits who lived on the lives and health of children, such as *Μορμώ*, *Ἀκκώ* and *Ἀλφειτώ*, and the *Σπρίγγες* in whom the Greek peasant believes to this day. The Nymphs frequently cut short the life of children as they did that of young Hylas. Then there was the evil eye, *ὄφθαλμος βάσκανος*, to guard against as a peril always at hand. Against these evil influences children were fortified by a host of amulets, *προβασκανία*, hung round their necks, *δέραια*, or fastened to their persons, as well as by the singing of songs and charms. Sometimes the place of the *τιτθή* was taken by a *τροφός*, who was merely an elderly female slave detached to take charge of a child, to carry him when the mother took him abroad, and to wash and dress him.

Until their seventh year boys and girls remained together in the gynæconitis, watched and tended by mother and nurse. The girls, whose childhood lasted longer than that of the boys, amused themselves with dolls, *κόραι*, of which many survive, made of clay and painted, with the arms and legs so fastened on with string as to be easily movable. The boys had go-carts, *ἀμαξίδες*, and figures of soldiers and animals of the same material. Children of all times have rejoiced in the ball, the hoop, and the whipping top. And parents of all ages have played with them. It is said of Agesilaus¹ that he used to ride on a reed to please his boys. The swing was also a favourite plaything. The illustrious Archytas condescended to invent the child's rattle, *πλαταγή*. Strepsiades in the *Clouds*² relates with pride how his son Pheidippides when quite a little fellow had a mechanical turn; moulded houses and ships, made go-carts of leather, and frogs out of pomegranate rind. It was very easy for children to mould wax or clay, and if we might judge from the rudeness of many figures which have come down to us, we should find in them the work of childish hands.

There were also plenty of social games, which the girls practised in their room, and the lads in the streets. The general character of these was not one of vigorous competition or athletic exercise; but objects were very usually tossed, the thrower trying to bring them down with one or the other side up. The chief instrument of these games was the knuckle-bone, *ἀσπράγαλος*, which was used even by men and women for dice, but with children a piece of earthenware blackened on one side was often substituted. The game *ἀρτιασμός* was an usual one with children. It was played with pieces of money or other small objects, of which one player took up a handful, and the other guessed whether the number so taken was even or odd. Children also threw nuts, as marbles are thrown with us, to fall into a marked space.³ There was also a game resembling blind man's buff, with the addition that those whom the blind man was pursuing struck him with leathern straps. This was called *χαλκῇ μυία*. Often one lad was made king, and the rest were bound under penalties to execute his orders. There were a few more boyish games, such as that called by us French and English, where two parties of boys pulled at the two ends of a rope; but no contest of skill for children like the modern football and cricket.

If we may judge from the reliefs on tombs, Greek children

¹ Plutarch, *Ages.* 25.

² L. 878.

³ Pollux, ix. 122.

were very fond of animals, and commonly made pets of them. The dog is constantly in attendance ; not a gaunt, lean, savage creature like the modern Greek dog, but a little "Spitz" with pointed nose and long hair. The cat was not known to the Greeks in early times, but its place was taken up by the γαλή, or weasel, as regards mousing. Its social position was held by the dog or by the bird, which seems to have been one of the most universal playthings of young girls. If we add to these the snake and the tortoise, the list will be fairly complete.

Greek nurses were fond of frightening and amusing their charges with tales. Certain hobgoblins, as Μορμώ and Έμπονσα, were specially kept for nursery use. The extraordinary richness of Greek legend and mythology must have supplied story-tellers with an endless stock of material. Even in modern Greece a good many classical legends still survive in a modified shape among nurses—that of Eros and Psyche, for instance. Both Plato and Aristotle would gladly have seen society take in hand the subject of nurses' tales, and work them to a more moral end ; and it is easy to understand that there was very much in Greek mythology unfit for children to hear. Beast tales like those of Æsop were much in vogue.¹

Finally, as to punishments. The usual resource was the ready one of castigation, which was administered by the mother with her slipper, or by the father or pedagogue with a cane.

In regard to education in Greece, it must be first observed that it was a thing entirely of Greek invention. Almost all other peoples have been largely influenced in education by the example of foreign nations, but in Greece we reach the very origin of all that can in the modern sense of the word be called bringing up ; and the greatest philosophers and artists had in some cases an undeniable influence on its character. It was also directed to a consciously chosen end, the production of citizens worthy of the state, who would carry on in the future the best life of past ages. Hence the notion now in some places prevalent, that the object of education is only the acquirement of knowledge, is diametrically opposed to the Greek idea of education. They regarded it as a training for right living rather than for correct thinking. And if conduct be, as we are told, three-fourths of human life, their view has some obvious justification.

The Greeks, as we might naturally have expected, attached

¹ Aristoph. *Vesp.* 1182.

the greatest possible value to education. In Sparta and the Dorian states the training of boys was carried on by the state, with the purpose of making them manly and worthy citizens. From their seventh year the Spartan boys were enrolled in companies, over which the most active of them were made captains. All were subjected to a most rigorous discipline at the hands of their elders. This iron discipline naturally had a great attraction for Plato, and originated the notion which he works out in the *Republic* and the *Laws* of an organised and compulsory system of state education. But so far as intellectual education went, the Spartan teaching was rather less developed than different from that of the rest of Greece. At present I propose to confine myself in the main to Athens, and to consider what kind of education was there provided, and how it was regarded by the wiser among the Greeks themselves.

It is not very easy to determine how far any education was compulsory at Athens. On the one hand, the laws of Solon seem to have enjoined upon every father the duty of educating his sons. Plato¹ speaks of the laws as commanding instruction in music and gymnastics. But on the other hand, the only sanction to these laws of which we hear is the provision that a child whom his parents had neglected to educate was not bound to maintain them in old age. There were at Athens magistrates, the *παιδονόμοι*, who were appointed to inspect schools; but it is very improbable that they looked beyond mere outward order and propriety, or in any way controlled the course of study. In matters of outward decency, no doubt the regulations were strict. Æschines² speaks of laws regulating the hours of attendance at school, and fixing a limit to the number of pupils. He also declares that it was illegal to open schools before sunrise, or keep them open after sunset, no doubt in order that the boys might go to and fro by daylight. And we are even told that it was forbidden under pain of death for grown men to visit the schools; but a law of this kind can hardly have been kept. So long as sanitary and other regulations were observed, any one seems to have been at liberty to open a school, and his intellectual qualifications were regarded as the concern only of himself and the parents of his pupils.

We must imagine the boys of Athens, from their seventh to

¹ *Crito*, p. 50. παραγγέλλοντες τῷ πατρὶ τῷ σῶ, σὲ ἐν μουσικῇ καὶ γυμναστικῇ παιδεύειν.

² In *Timarch.* 9. μετὰ πόσων παίδων εἰσείναι.

their sixteenth year, flocking in crowds in the early morning to the schools. Each would be accompanied by a pedagogue, *παιδαγωγός*, an old and trusty slave, who was bound never to lose sight of him, to carry his lyre and tablets, and to keep him out of mischief. The pedagogue of course had nothing to do with teaching, he had only to take his charge to school or to the palaestra, and to wait to bring him back. But as we know how careful the educated Greeks were of their boys, we can easily understand that the character of a pedagogue was of the utmost importance, and even his deportment, as the moulding of the manners of his young charge would be in great part his work. To these manners the Greeks attached, as is well known, the greatest importance. They loved to see extreme modesty (*αἰδώς*) in boys, who were expected to walk in the streets soberly, with eyes fixed on the ground, to rise, if seated, on the approach of an elder, and never to speak except when spoken to.¹ In minor matters also they were carefully trained, such as in what way to wrap their *himation* about them, the correct method being to proceed from left to right (*ἐπὶ δεξιὰ*), and how many fingers to use to the different kinds of food. In the vase paintings we see lads when in the presence of their elders standing, and so much wrapped up that only their head is visible. If allowed, as a special treat, to be present at a banquet, boys sat while the feasters reclined, and were sent off early to bed. It is evident that rules so rigorous would only be kept up by a pedagogue of principle, and we can understand what blame Pericles incurred for giving to Alcibiades a pedagogue too old and feeble to be efficient. In the period succeeding the Peloponnesian war the boys gradually revolted, and at length were even sometimes encouraged by their parents to beat their attendants.

The ideas of the Greeks as regards the purpose of education, both in physical training and in learning, differed greatly from ours. As to physical training I will speak in the next chapter. As regards learning, the moral aspect of education was kept far more in the foreground than it is by us, though of course in our schools there are in this respect great differences. But we feel far more than did the Greeks the necessity of intellectual training; and no one in England subordinates knowledge to moral training to such an extent as the Greeks did. One can imagine the astonishment which an educated Greek would feel at the notion of electing men by examination

¹ Plutarch, *Virt. doceri posse*, 2.

to fill offices in the state. Even the custom of election by lot would seem less absurd than that.

Perhaps nothing will put this in a clearer light than quoting part of the speech of Protagoras as to education which Plato puts into his mouth. Protagoras no doubt was a sophist, and one may take a handsome discount from his words on the ground of their rhetorical character ; nevertheless they are very instructive.

“Beginning from early childhood, they teach and admonish their sons as long as they live. For as soon as any one understands what is said, nurse, mother, pedagogue, and the father himself, vie with each other in this, to make the boy become as good as possible ; in every word and deed teaching and pointing out to him that this is just, and that unjust, this is honourable and that base, this is righteous and that unrighteous, and this you must do and that you must not do. And if the boy obeys willingly, it is well ; but if not, like a plank twisted and bent, they make him straight by threats and blows. After this they send him to school, and give the teachers much more strict injunctions to attend to the children’s morals than to their reading and music : and the masters do attend to this, and when the boys have learned their letters, and are likely to understand what is written, as before words spoken, they place before them on their benches to read, and compel them to learn by heart, the compositions of good poets, in which there are many admonitions, and many tales, and praises, and encomiums of good men of former times, in order that the boy may imitate them through emulation, and strive to become such himself. Again, the music-masters, in the same way, pay attention to sobriety of behaviour, and take care that the boys commit no evil : besides this, when they have learnt to play on the lyre, they teach them the compositions of other good poets, lyric poets, setting them to music, and they compel modes and harmony to become familiar to the boys’ souls, in order that they may become more gentle, and being themselves more rhythmical and harmonious, they may be serviceable in word and deed ; for the whole life of man requires rhythm and harmony. Moreover, besides this, they send them to a teacher of gymnastics, that having their bodies in a better state, these may be subservient to their well-regulated minds, and they may not be compelled to cowardice through bodily infirmity, either in war or other actions. And these things they do who are most able ; but the richest are the most able, and their sons, beginning to frequent masters at the earliest time of life,

leave them the latest. And when they are set free from masters, the state still further compels them to learn the laws, and to live by them as a pattern, that they may not act at random after their own inclinations, but exactly as writing-masters having ruled lines with an instrument for those boys who have not yet learnt to write well, then give them the writing-tablet, and compel them to write according to the leading of the lines, so the state having prescribed laws which were the inventions of good and ancient legislators, compels men both to govern and be governed according to these, but whoso transgresses them it punishes; and the name given to this chastisement, both among you, and in many other places, is correction, since punishment corrects."

One cannot read the writers of the good period without observing that what they expected and valued above all things in boys was *σωφρονεῖν*, modesty of demeanour and a respectful carriage. Forwardness in boys was as much disapproved as was forwardness in girls among ourselves a generation ago. Boys would not be taken to witness a comedy. If for a treat they went out to dinner, they would, like Autolycus in Xenophon's *Symposium*, not recline, but sit by their fathers, and be sent away before amusements of a doubtful character were introduced. Types of the boy of good family may be seen on Attic sepulchral reliefs, or in the Eros of the Parthenon frieze, or observed in the *Theætetus* of Plato. Even in Lucian's pages¹ we read of boys walking the streets with bent head, looking at no one. But perhaps the most complete picture of the well-bred Athenian boy is to be found in the speech² in which Δίκαιος Λόγος seeks to persuade Pheidippides into the ways of virtue:—

"I will describe the old-fashioned education, how it was ordered when I flourished speaking what was just, and temperance was in fashion. First of all, it was considered proper that no one should hear a boy uttering a syllable; next, that those of the same quarter should walk in a body in good order to the abode of the music-master, clad in tunic only, though snow fell thick as flour. Then the master taught them to repeat sitting, not cross-legged, a song, Παλλάδα περσέπολιν δεινὰν, or Τηλέπορόν τι βόαμα, raising high the harmony handed down to us by our fathers. But if any of them played the fool, or were to attempt any flourish like the difficult turns now in fashion, after the manner of Phrynis,

¹ *Amor.* 44.

² Aristoph. *Clouds*, l. 961.

he would be beaten with many blows for banishing the Muses.

Boldly, my boy, choose me the better method,
And learn to avoid the Agora and to abstain from the baths,
And to be ashamed at the vile, and if they ridicule you to be angry,
And to rise from your seat when your elders approach,
And never to injure your parents or do any other wrong,
For you are to form an image of modesty."

The tendencies against which Aristophanes raised a voice of indignant protest were destined to prevail in later Greece. And in the field of education these tendencies mainly worked in the direction of the substitution of intellectual for moral training. Geometry and arithmetic, which earlier systems of education had despised as not ethical, became a part of regular training, while in the teaching of literature the study of words and of the tricks of rhetoric took the place of the old-fashioned appreciation of noble sentiment. The natural result appeared in the spread of knowledge, the growth of science, and the wide diffusion of the art of carefully expressing thought in words, while the political decline and social corruption of the Greek race went on steadily, and inspiration died out of poetry and art. Whether this process was not a necessary condition of the evolution of ancient society may be doubted; but we cannot wonder that to the ethically-minded of the Greeks it seemed a process of decay and degeneration.

We must briefly treat of the status of teachers and their relations to their pupils, as well as of the subjects in which they gave instruction.

It must be confessed that there was in Greece little of that confidence and love between teacher and taught which has become in England, since Dr. Arnold's days, at least theoretically universal. Xenophon in the *Anabasis*¹ says of Clearchus, "He had no tact, but was severe and harsh: so that the relation of soldiers to him was like that of boys to a master; they did not follow him for love and good-will." And at a later age Lucian² gives no pleasanter impression: "Who ever came away from a feast weeping, as we see boys coming from school? or who was ever seen to go to a feast so sulkily as boys going to school?"

The status of the teacher naturally varied, as with us, according to circumstances; but the tendency of the Greeks was to

¹ ii. 6, 12.

² *Paras.* 13.

despise those who in any way taught for money, and to put them on a level with artisans. Naturally those who were most despised were the elementary teachers, οἱ τὰ πρῶτα διδάσκοντες γράμματα. Lucian¹ speaks in jest of those who in this life were kings or satraps as being reduced in the next to the condition of fish-sellers or elementary teachers. There was a proverb in Greece referring to those who had disappeared from the circle of their acquaintance: "He is either dead or turned teacher." Demosthenes throws it in the teeth of his opponent Æschines that both he and his father were in the service of a teacher of boys; and it fell² to the lot of young Æschines to sponge down the forms (βαθροί), make the ink, and perform other services unworthy of a freeman.

The pay of these elementary teachers (γραμματισταί) was no doubt very low, though we have no indication of its exact amount. That it was paid monthly is clear from the satire of Theophrastus,³ who makes it one of the traits of his miser to keep his son away from school in the month of Anthesterion, because of the number of holidays in it. In the third mime of Herondas we find that the 30th of the month was the day for school-fees to be paid. It is probable that large numbers of lads congregated in the better-known schools. Thus we hear of a school at Astypalæa where there were sixty pupils, and of one in Chios where there were a hundred and twenty. These were of course day-schools; boarding-schools were not known among the Greeks. The time of school probably comprised the hours of light, except such part as was occupied by the mid-day meal and the attendance at the palæstra.

Of course, the instructors in the higher branches of learning received a far higher rate of pay and more consideration, though even to them belonged the stigma, indelible to the Greek mind, of working for hire. It is well known that the sophists and rhetoricians of later Greece demanded and received large sums of money.

The ordinary course of preliminary instruction for boys consisted of three parts, γράμματα, μουσική, γυμναστική, to which was afterwards added in the fourth century B.C. drawing: γράμματα included reading and writing, and Plato in the *Laus*⁴ says that arithmetic should be learned at the same time; though it is certain, as will be seen below, that the Greeks were never very proficient in it. Of the course pursued in

¹ *Necyom.* 17.

³ *Char.* 30.

² *De Coron.* p. 313.

⁴ *Legg.* vii. p. 819.

teaching to read, Dionysius of Halicarnassus¹ gives us an exact idea. First, he says, we learn the names of the letters, then their shape and force. After that we join them into syllables and words. Then we learn about the component parts of sentences, nouns, verbs, and particles. Then we begin to read, slowly at first and by syllables. In the above-mentioned process of forming letters into syllables, we know from a terra-cotta tablet published by M. Dumont,² that the children were taught to repeat strings of similarly ending syllables, *αρ, βαρ, γαρ, δαρ*, &c., *ορ, βορ, γορ, δορ*, &c., probably chanting them in classes. As soon as the boys could read, they were put upon the poems of Homer and Hesiod, and the moral writings of Theognis, Solon, and the rest, which thus became familiar to them from earliest childhood. In writing, as we learn from Plato's *Protagoras*,³ they began by the imitation of a copy, but soon progressed as far as writing from dictation, for which purpose Homer was again brought into requisition.

It has been disputed whether the Greeks were accustomed to writing, but it is certain that before the time of Plato it was usually taught in the schools. The pupils at an early period used tablets, *πίνακες* or *δέλτοι*, covered with a coating of wax on which lines were drawn with a stylus of metal, but later paper, *βίβλος*, was used, and the writing performed with a reed and a black fluid, *μέλαν*. The latter method was already in use⁴ when Æschines went to school, that is, early in the fourth century.⁵

When boys had learned to read and write, they were encouraged or compelled to learn by heart great masses of poetry, of Homer or Simonides, or the gnomic poets. Many a Greek⁶ knew by heart the whole of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. What they had thus learned they had to recite before teacher and pupils, paying special attention to grace of action and correctness of expression. Indeed, this introduction to and familiarity with the great poets was the end and object of the training given by the *γραμματιστής*.⁷ Sometimes, in addition to poetry, the pupils learned and recited the laws of their country, with which they thus became early familiar.

¹ *De admir. vi dicendi in Demosth.* 52.

² *Inscr. Céramiques*, p. 405.

³ *Protag.* p. 326 D.

⁴ *Demosth. de Corona*, p. 313.

⁵ For representations of writing materials see Schreiber, pl. xci.

⁶ *Xenoph. Sympos.* iii. 5.

⁷ In teaching the Homeric poems, the schoolmasters of Alexandria used a curious aid to memory in the form of marble tablets engraved with scenes from the epic. Some of these *Tabulæ Iliacæ* are engraved in Schreiber, pl. xcii.-iii.

It seems doubtful whether arithmetic was taught at all at school, in earlier times not being supposed to have ethical value. If it was, the instruction must have been very elementary, as we find even adults reckoning on their fingers or by the help of counters. A reckoning board (abacus)¹ was often used, of which the rows contained counters, the value of which counters varied with their position, being at times greater, at times smaller; whence Solon² wittily compared to them the officers and favourites of tyrants.

The musical education, which began later than the grammatical, perhaps about the thirteenth year, differed entirely from ours, inasmuch as a technical knowledge of music and mastery of the instrument was neither required nor desired. The object was a moral one, namely, to acquaint the learners with the songs of the great lyrical poets,³ with a view to their ethical improvement. These songs it was the business of a gentleman to be able to sing, accompanying himself on the lyre. The flute was also taught in Athens in earlier times, but fell out of use there in the fifth century, being retained only in the less cultivated Bœotia. The young Alcibiades was, we are told, a leader in the revolt of the boys against it, since distended cheeks interfered with beauty. It was owing to the influence of Pamphilus,⁴ head of the Sicynian school of painting, that drawing was introduced into Greek schools in the fourth century as one of the recognised branches of education. Probably it was in most cases only carried far enough to help the learner to appreciate the works of art of which every Greek city began in those days to be full.

A charming artistic representation of the Greek school is furnished us by a vase of the painter Duris, dating from the middle of the fifth century, which is figured as our frontispiece.⁵ On one side of this vase we have an elementary class. To the right sits a pedagogue waiting for his young charges, who are receiving instruction from two beardless teachers: one of these teachers is correcting with a stylus an exercise written on wax tablets; the other performs on the flute an accompaniment to the song of his pupil.

On the other side of the vase the pedagogue is seated as before, but both teachers and pupils are of maturer years. One of the boys is learning the fingering of the lyre, the other

¹ Such a reckoning board is figured in Baumeister's *Denkmäler*, p. 1431.

² Diog. Laert. i. 59.

³ Plato, *Protag.* p. 326 A.

⁴ Plin. 35. 36.

⁵ *Mon. dell' Inst.* ix. 54.

is reciting from memory a passage of epic poetry, whereof the first line may be seen on the scroll in his teacher's hands, Μοῦσά μοι ἀμφὶ Σκάμανδρον ἔῤροον ἄρχομ' αἰεῖδεν. Against the wall of the school hang a variety of scholastic necessities, lyre and flute, wax tablets and papyrus rolls, a drawing square and drinking cups. The modest dress and demeanour of the pupils is very noteworthy.

Intellectual training was supplemented by physical, and as the object of the former was to produce a sound mind imbued with good principles, so the object of the latter was to produce a well-proportioned and healthy body. This physical education was carried on by a class of men called παιδοτρίβαι at their palæstræ, which seem to have been private buildings, and must be distinguished from the public gymnasia where men and youths exercised. To these palæstræ boys were taken by their pedagogues at certain hours of the day, and exercised in running, leaping, and wrestling.

The severer exercises, such as boxing and the pancratium, were not encouraged in early times; the pancratium for boys was not introduced at Olympia until the second century B.C.¹ All Greeks thought highly of the value of physical training. Aristotle observes that it should begin as early as the seventh year, while Plato remarks that the mental training of boys should not be begun until their bodies have attained a certain strength and solidity by means of gymnastic. In addition to the above-mentioned exercises swimming was taught early and universally at Athens. Another most important branch of physical education was dancing, which was practised in connection with the festivals of the gods and the representation of tragedies. The training of a chorus was one of the most usual liturgies at Athens. At Sparta a special part of the Agora was marked off, where at the Gymnopædia the Spartan youths danced before the people. Athletic sports did not specially flourish at Sparta, the Bœotians surpassing in these exercises the Lacedæmonians, but special care was devoted to the training of boys in hardihood and the capacity to resist pain. For one whole year (the thirteenth) the boys of Sparta had to go barefoot and without an inner garment, and to abstain from washing.

After the Grammatistes and Pædotribes had brought to an end the introductory course of education, boys of the poorer class had at once to set about some occupation or trade. The children of wealthier parents would ordinarily continue their

¹ Pausan. v. 8, 11.

studies, either at the house of a γραμματικός, who taught rhetoric, poetry, and perhaps philosophy, or under teachers of special subjects. We know that in the time of Plato well-instructed young men usually knew something of geometry; and certainly attention was given to geography, the study of which was lightened by the use of maps (πίνακες), and to astronomy. On approaching manhood, a youth would often attach himself to some celebrated rhetorician or some eminent sophist, and attend his lectures, paying frequently large sums for the privilege. In the later ages, at Alexandria, there was a sort of ἐγκύκλιος παιδεία, or university course, consisting of seven branches, grammar, rhetoric, dialectic, arithmetic, music, geometry, astronomy; but of course such organisation of study belongs to a learned age and place, and could never have been enjoyed but by the few.

The inscriptions of later Greece reveal to us in various places the existence of a complete system of education, in which the teachers were functionaries of the state, receiving public pay. An inscription of Teos¹ records a system of unusual completeness. At the head of education were set a γυμνασίαρχος and a παιδονόμος, who must be not less than forty years old. Three teachers were yearly elected to instruct both boys and girls in γράμματα, who received respectively 600, 550, and 500 drachms, large salaries in antiquity. Two παιδοτρίβαι received each 500 drachms, and a musician, κιθαριστής ἢ ψάλτης, received 700 drachms for instructing Ephebi and boys in the arts of the palæstra and of music. Teachers were also provided in drilling, spear-throwing, and archery; and an annual examination or exhibition took place.

At Athens a system of education, probably still more complete, grew up in Hellenistic times. Boys who reached the age of sixteen became for two years πρόσηβοι, and attended lectures at the Διογενεῖον. And further, all the sons of citizens were compelled, on attaining their eighteenth year, to enter upon a two years' course of training under properly constituted officers. The history and nature of this training, which began to be in use as early as the time of Thucydides, and afterwards became more highly developed, are set forth in M. Dumont's essay, *L'Ephébie Attique*. It would appear that on entering on the course of discipline the Ephebi of the year appeared at the Temple of Aglaurus, and took an oath not to disgrace their arms, and not to suffer their mother-city to be diminished.

¹ Dittenberger, *Sylloge*, No. 349.

At the same time occurred their δοκιμασία or examination, at which no doubt the state of their health and the purity of their descent were investigated. Strangers were, however, enrolled in their ranks, at all events after the second century B.C., though it appears that they were not eligible for election to office.

The Epheby was originally a political and military institution. The youths in training were the last line of the Athenian reserves, and were specially retained, like our household guards, for purposes of police in the Athenian city and district, and to escort the Eleusinian procession, and assist in the other great city pomps. The Museum was by a decree of the people committed to them to guard.

But it naturally came about that when the autonomy of Athens ended, and the reputation of the city as the home of science and art went on rising, the system of Ephebi became a kind of university training. The Ephebi lived in cantonments in the neighbourhood of Athens, but to the city they had constantly to come, being required to be present in arms at the meetings of the Ecclesia, as well as to undergo at least three reviews (ἀποδείξεις) a year, one at the festival of the Theseia, one at that of the Epitaphia, and one of a more testing character. Their supreme officer, who was always a man high in station and family and character, was the κοσμήτης, who was elected by the people, and who gave account on the expiration of his office. Under him were the παιδοτρίβης, the ὅπλομάχος, together with the ἀκοντιστής, the τοξότης, and other masters in special branches. From this enumeration it may be judged that the physical training of the Ephebi was made of much account. Their exercises were primarily of a warlike character, archery and javelin-throwing, and boat-racing; but to these were added contests of a more peaceful character, torch-races both on foot and on horseback, running and wrestling.

But the physical exercises of the Ephebi did not supersede moral and mental training. The Cosmetes was bound to educate them in habits of virtue and modesty. They also attended courses of lectures at the Gymnasium called the Diogeneion, and in inscriptions it is frequently recorded to the praise of a Cosmetes that he gave great care to the studies of his charges in philosophy and science. Plutarch¹ says that the course of study of Ephebi consisted of γράμματα, geometry, rhetoric, and music. Philosophy was included under γράμματα.

¹ *Quæst. Conviv.* ix. 1.

Prizes were also given for ποίημα and ἐγκώμιον. The students sang in processions and made speeches at the Ἀλῶα.

Even from this slight sketch the reader may judge that Athens contained in her decline a university worthy of her fame, and one which combined the advantages of military training with those of intellectual education. We cannot wonder that many Greeks from outside Greece, Phœnicians, and even Romans, sent their sons to participate in so healthy a discipline. On the manners of the students themselves the inscriptions throw some light. Thus we find that both Gymnasiarch and Agonothetes of the Ephebi belonged usually themselves to that class, and not only served at their own cost, but even assisted to defray the general expenses of the college. Among themselves the students formed ties as close as those which unite German and American students. Two Ephebi would formally adopt one another as φίλοι or ἀδελφοί, or a set of students would form a group as συνέφηβοι; and one would sometimes make a dedication to another under the name of a god, whence we find such inscriptions as Ἡρακλεῖ Κωπωνίῳ or Νίγερι.

CHAPTER II

PHYSICAL TRAINING

GREEK social life tended more and more to centre in the palæstra and the gymnasium. In a specially appropriated set of these the physical training of boys was conducted, concurrently with their mental training at the school. But when they became Ephebi, that is, attained the age of eighteen, they began to frequent the great public institutions. It is doubtful what is the exact difference between the gymnasium and the palæstra, but it is probable that the latter was a more primitive and smaller building, serving specially for the training of wrestlers and boxers. The earliest gymnasia were merely open spaces near a river and surrounded by trees, but they came by degrees to contain rooms constructed for various kinds of exercises, as well as a course for running and shady walks and seats for recreation and refreshment. Socrates carried on his discussions in the market-place, but some of the successors of Socrates formed their schools in one or another of the great gymnasia, where they found shelter, plenty of space, and an audience quite at leisure.

In Homeric times we find the use of baths ordinary. A cold plunge in a river was not a luxury reserved for men, but practised by women also, even princesses like Helen and Nausicaä. Warm baths were to be had in the house of every chief, and when a guest arrived, one of the first things was to furnish him with a bath, which he sometimes took in the great hall or μέγαρον, but more usually in the special bath-room. He seated himself naked in a large vessel called ἀσάμινθος, and an attendant, sometimes the lady of the house or one of her slaves, poured water over his head and shoulders. This water was usually warm, and intended to refresh a hero after toil and fatigue. After washing, the attendant would anoint the bather with oil and put his clothes on. We must be careful to avoid the notion that the Greeks had, in earlier and simpler days, great bath-houses fitted with apparatus, and containing a number of rooms, like those of the Romans, or like the modern Turkish bath. Such luxuries were not known to them. To bathe in warm water at all, except after great fatigue, was regarded by simple and old-fashioned people as effeminate. Thus in the *Clouds* the Δίκαιος λόγος advises Pheidippides to abstain from the θερμὰ λουτρά, and the reason he gives is ὅτι κακιστόν ἐστι καὶ δειλὸν ποιεῖ τὸν ἄνδρα.¹ So the Spartans, according to Plutarch,² were λουτρῶν καὶ ἀλειμμάτων ἀπειροί. Elaborate systems of bathing in hot and cold water, like those of the Romans, belong only to Hellenistic times. The hot-air bath did not become usual until a late period. It would appear from the paintings on vases that even the public baths (called on the vases δημόσια) were very simple in their arrangements. A large vase or cauldron was placed in the middle of a room and filled with water. The bathers stood round it, and with their hands or vessels poured the water over themselves, or it might be poured over them by comrades or slaves, falling on the floor, which was no doubt of stone, and running away. The water thus used might be cold or warm; but the cold bath was generally enjoyed in the form of a plunge or a douche, the bather standing under a spout which discharged cold water. At the Thermæ or natural hot-springs the warm water was similarly conveyed in pipes and administered in the form of a douche. Sometimes prepared earth, κονία, σμήγματα, was used to assist the cleansing action of the water. After rubbing most of the moisture off with his hands, the bather would pass into another room or

¹ *Clouds*, 1045.

² *Lycurg.* 16.

the open air and anoint himself with olive-oil or more expensive unguents, and scrape his whole body with the strigil, *στλεγγίς*. He would then resume his clothes. The *βαλανεύς* or bathing-man would receive a small fee, *ἐπίλοντρον*.

When cities came to possess great gymnasia adapted for various exercises, parts of these were set apart for bathing, and large rooms assigned to the various operations. Thus we find mention in later writers of an *ἀποδυτήριον* or room for undressing, an *ἐλαιοθέσιον* or *ἀλειπτήριον*, a place for rubbing with oil, a



FIG. 18.—MEN BATHING.¹

πυριπτήριον or dry sweating-bath, warm and cold baths, &c., all of which were no doubt used in later and more sophisticated times in the training of athletes. But these baths were in subordination to the general purposes of the gymnasia, of which we must give a brief and general account.

The excavations at Pompeii have brought to light both baths and palæstræ. The former are Roman rather than Greek in character ; but the palæstra was essentially a Greek institution

¹ Gerhard, *Auserlesene Vasenb.* pl. 277.

and passed into Southern Italy in pre-Roman days. One of the Pompeian palæstræ in particular seems to have belonged to the old Oscan existence of the city,¹ for in its colonnade was found a sundial with an Oscan inscription, which recorded how it was made from fines incurred in the exercises of the palæstra. It consists of an open court with pillared walks and seats on three sides ; on the fourth side was a strip of pavement, on which lay, when the spot was excavated, two heavy stone balls, which had clearly been used to test the strength of the athletes. At the side of this court is a cold bath, on either side of which are rooms with earthen floors, conjectured to be the ἀποδυτήριον, ἐλαιοθήσιον, and κονιστήριον. Other rooms near by are supposed to have been the coryceum, exedræ, and so forth.

Still more valuable evidence as to the arrangements of the palæstra has been furnished by the excavations at Olympia. Outside the Altis were found the foundations of a building erected in Hellenistic times to serve as a training and practising place for athletes.² The arrangements are similar to those at Pompeii, but more elaborate. Round the court runs a portico, the entire length of which is a stadium, 600 Greek feet ; and from the portico open out a variety of rooms to be used for cold bathing and for various exercises. Within the court, as at Pompeii, was a strip paved with tiles. Out of this palæstra opened a great gymnasium, on one side of which was a covered stadium for use in wet weather (see *Plan of Altis*, p. 171). It is pointed out by Wernicke (*Arch. Jahrbuch*, 1894) that this whole construction resembles the later Greek gymnasium described by Vitruvius.

The gymnasium, he says, contains a great peristyle, the row of columns double towards the south, to keep off the wind. Adjoining this south corridor was a large room with seats, the Ephebeum or hall appropriated to the Ephebi. About it were grouped, in addition to the bath-rooms, the Coryceum, in which was suspended the κώρυκος, a sack filled with chaff for those who practised boxing to buffet to and fro ; the Conisterium, in which the athletes were probably sprinkled, according to custom, with fine sand (ξηραλοιφεῖν) ; the Sphæristerium, a long narrow hall appropriated to the games of ball ; and so forth. There were also halls (ἐξέδραι) appropriated by philosophers, rhetoricians, and others, who there gathered their pupils about them. All these rooms together formed the central edifice,

¹ For a plan of it see Overback, *Pompeii*, p. 193, Schreiber, pl. lix.

² *Ausgrabungen*, v. pl. 38.

which was surrounded on all sides by the broad corridor or peristyle already mentioned. From these colonnades in the larger gymnasia ξυστοί led off, covered spaces consisting of a raised platform all round for the spectators and a depressed central part for the athletes themselves. In these xysti and the peristyle took place the wrestling, leaping, boxing, javelin-throwing, and the like. This arrangement was very necessary, as spectators in carefully arranged clothes thronged the gymnasia, and it would not have done for them to be brought into contact with the oiled and sanded bodies of the struggling athletes. On the borders of the grounds of the gymnasium was usually a stadium or running-ground. The superfluous parts of the grounds not required for any exercise were laid out in pleasant walks, where in fine weather teachers of philosophy could walk with their pupils and friends enjoy each other's society.

Of the exercises carried on in the palæstra we must give a short account.

The oldest of all competitions was the δρόμος or στάδιον. The δρόμος consisted in running once the length of the stadium, 600 Greek feet, which are nearly equivalent to the English. It was a contest in which swiftness of foot and suppleness of limb carried the day. The Greeks regarded rubbing with oil as an important, indeed a necessary preparation for it. Their running was unlike ours in some respects, if we may judge from vase-pictures. They advanced by a succession of bounds, swinging the arms violently to urge themselves forward, and moving on the tips of the toes.

In the double race, δίαυλος, the runners turned at the post at the end of the course, and finished at the starting-post. In the δόλιχος the length of the course was traversed twelve, twenty, or twenty-four times. These races tested the endurance of the runners no less than their speed. In running a long distance, as the vases testify, Greek runners kept their arms stiff at their sides, as do modern athletes, and did not move them violently, as in the short δρόμος. In running, as in the other contests, the competitors were absolutely naked; and so far were the Greeks from being ashamed of this custom, that they even boasted of it, and ridiculed as barbarians those who thought any sort of clothing desirable. To prevent excessive perspiration under the burning sun they anointed their bodies with oil; and lest this should make them too slippery, those at least who were to contend in wrestling and the pancratium were sprinkled with fine sand.

The wrestling cannot have greatly differed from that of the

English, or that of the Turks, who seem to inherit their predilection for the sport in a direct line from the Greeks. The opposed athletes stood face to face, and would advance, retire, and feint for a long time with a view to getting a more favourable grip, which was of course the better part of the battle. He who threw his opponent three times, which was termed *τριαγμός*, was regarded as winner. There may, however, be a doubt as to what precisely was meant by *throwing*. We hear not only of *πάλη ὀρθή* (*ὀρθοπάλη*), or face-to-face wrestling, but of *ἀλίνδῃσις*, or continuing the contest on the ground. Certainly the Greeks allowed some very strange proceedings, such as disjointing an opponent's fingers. Wrestlers were noted for their bulk, even fleshiness not being considered a drawback in this kind of contest. The pentathlum has been perhaps more discussed and more often misunderstood than any other competition.¹ The contests included under the term were mentioned by Simonides in a well-known pentameter verse, *ἄλμα ποδωκείην δίσκον ἄκοντα πάλην*. Three of these were peculiar to the pentathlum, namely, leaping, throwing the discus, and hurling the javelin, exercises carried on, as the illustration shows, to the sound of the flute. The other two, wrestling and running, were apparently introduced to make the test more general. In the pentathlum, as Pollux² expressly states, he who won three events was regarded as victor, *ἐπὶ δὲ πένταθλον τὸ νικῆσαι ἀποτρίαξαι λέγουσι*; or as Plutarch³ puts it, *ταῖς τρισίν, ὥσπερ οἱ πένταθλοι περίεστι καὶ νικᾷ*. Thus the contest often stopped short in its earlier phases, and the test of wrestling, which came last in order, was seldom resorted to. The pentathlum was in great favour in Greece, and those who excelled in it were regarded as the princes of athletes, and no wonder, considering how admirably the exercises it involved must needs have developed the entire frame. The leap which belonged to the pentathlum was apparently a standing long jump. We are perplexed by the tales of the success of young athletes in this exercise: Phayllus of Rhegium, for instance, is said to have covered more than fifty feet, which is impossible; but the number may have been corrupted. A feature of the Greek leaping was the *ἀλτῆρες* or dumb-bells, of which the jumper held one in each hand. He first held them out straight in front of him, and then as he sprang brought them behind him, thus helping to propel the body forward. The discus

¹ I have written more in detail as to the pentathlum in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* vol. i.

² iii. 151.

³ *Symp.* ix. 2, 2.

was a flat round slab of stone, or more usually of bronze, of considerable weight. Some of these are still preserved in our museums. The manner of propelling them may be studied in the extant copies of Myron's celebrated statue representing a Discobolus. In this case, of course, the longest throw carried the day. But in the allied exercise of spear-throwing it seems likely that a mark had to be aimed at. The spear was propelled by the aid of a thong attached to it, which served also to impart to it a rotatory motion.

A great deal has been said against the brutality of Greek



FIG. 19.—THE DISCUS AND SPEAR. (Gerhard, *Auserl. Vasenb.* 272.

boxing, not without some reason. The hands of the boxers were enclosed in a framework of leather, but in early times this leather was only undressed ox-hide; it was a late period which saw the addition of a ridge of hard leather. In fact, the Greek *ἱμάντες* used in early times for protecting the hands of boxers perhaps tended rather to soften than to intensify a blow; and their very name, *μειλίχαι*, indicates that they were no cruel weapons. That they were long used in the great games is expressly stated by Pausanias.¹ But of course, in spite

¹ viii. 40, 3.

of precautions, the boxers suffered severely in nose and mouth and ears.

The pancratium was the least humane of Greek sports. In it two antagonists were put together to struggle with blows or wrestling, erect or on the ground, until one confessed himself vanquished. Even here not everything was allowed ; for instance, it was against the laws to strike with clenched fist or to use the teeth. But an ordinary means of winning the day was to



FIG. 20.—BOXERS. (Gerhard, *Auserl. Vasenb.* pl. 271.)

dislocate the limbs of an adversary, to suffocate him by throttling, or so injure him as to render him incapable of continuing the conflict. The pancratiasts were the most powerful class of athletes ; and to see them rolling together on the ground, twisting one another's arms or compressing one another's throats, must have been a brutal spectacle.

Certain other social exercises of the Greeks, which were not connected with the great games, demand notice, as some of them were connected with religious observance, and others

were undoubtedly practised as a training for war. First among these must be mentioned the armed race, which men ran carrying shields and wearing helmets. Next there is the torch-race, the object in which was to carry a lighted torch as rapidly as possible unextinguished to the goal. The torch was sometimes borne by detached runners, as in the Panathenæa at Athens, when torches were carried by racing Ephebi from the altar of Prometheus at the Academy to the city.¹ Sometimes long



FIG. 21.—ARMED RUNNERS PREPARING TO START. (Gerhard, *Auserl. Vasenb.* pl. 261.)

lines of youths were arranged so that each member of the line carried the torch but a short distance and then passed it on to his neighbour, a game to which Herodotus (viii. 98) compares the system of ἀγγαγήτων, by which royal messages were carried in Persia. In this case a squad was victorious, and the leader, λαμπάδαρχος, was crowned.

Dancing was also usual as a part of many religious festivals. Sometimes it was merely of a symbolical or imitative character, as in the case of the bear-dance, danced by girls in honour of the Artemis of Brauron. But often the dance constituted in

¹ Paus. i. 30, 2.

Greece, as it still does among barbarians, a valuable training for war. Xenophon¹ depicts the contrast between the Thracian war-dance, which consisted in feats of activity and fencing to the sound of the flute, and the Arcadian war-dance, in which a body of men advanced in line, while the flutes played a march, and sang a pæan.

There were also, especially in later Greece, many kinds of competition, with the bow, throwing the spear on horseback, discharging the catapult, and the like, which came very near to our military sports. Boat-races were also by no means unusual in Greece,² though the boats were of course sea-going craft, not the light racing boats of modern days. And of all exercises, that which was most approved among the military tribes was hunting, in all respects the best training for war. Highly organised competitions in sport, like our cricket and football, did not exist in antiquity, nor would they be likely to flourish among peoples to whom the experience of war was usual. They represent rather the lighter play among peaceful nations of the faculties which among military peoples find a sterner employment.

It is to be observed that a certain change came over the estimate of the games during the Peloponnesian war. Competition in them became more and more of a science, and the winners were rather professionals than gentlemen. In Homer's time only chiefs compete; in Pindar's time the noblest houses in Greece send their sons; but after that the social standing of the competitors decreased. The first Alexander of Macedon contended in the foot-race; the third declined unless he could have kings for his competitors. At the same time Plato and Euripides heap a great deal of abuse on athletes. They are described as sleepy, lazy, and brutal. It is probable that excessive training spoiled the competitors for anything but the contests for which they trained. No one spoke against athletics so long as they partook of the nature of education or relaxation; but when they became the main purpose of the lives of men who were willing to sacrifice everything to them, they lost honour and dignity.

¹ *Anabasis*, vi. 1.

² *Journ. Hell. Stud.* ii. 90, 315.

CHAPTER III

DAILY LIFE OF MEN

THE Greeks, that is, the Greek men, during all the best and brightest periods of their history, lived very much in public. Their private houses were, as we have seen, small and mean ; it was on their temples, their agoras, and their theatres that they bestowed their chief care, and in these they passed their time in social intercourse. Only women and children remained at home, except at the times of eating and sleeping.

With dawn the Greek would leave his sleeping-cell, and, after washing his face and swallowing a few mouthfuls of bread with unmixed wine, ἀκράτισμα, would adjust his dress and step out into the street. The early hours would be spent either in visits or in exercise at a gymnasium. Time was not, of course, closely measured, as with us, since the Greeks had no watches, but the gnomon or sundial and the water-clock were quite sufficient for rough division of the hours. The readier means of judging the hour by observing the height of the sun would be quite accurate enough for ordinary folk.

Visits were usually made very early, in order that the person visited should not have left the house. When Hippocrates¹ calls on Socrates to induce him to go and visit Protagoras, he comes so early that Socrates insists on waiting for daylight before starting, remarking that as Protagoras spends much of his time indoors, they will probably not miss him. So the two take a turn together in the ἀνλή and converse for a time. Yet, when they reach the house where Protagoras is staying, they find it full of visitors, and the porter already tired of letting them in.

Towards the third hour of the day,² which was the time of full market, πλήθουσα ἀγορά or ἀγορᾶς πληθώρα, the human tide began to set in that direction. The men flocked along the streets, not alone, but in pairs or groups, and as each met a friend, the frequent χαῖρε or ἀσπάζομαι or ὑγίαινε would be heard.³ This word of greeting sufficed between acquaintances, for giving the hand meant more than it does with us, and bowing was regarded as barbarian and slavish. The market

¹ Plato, *Prot.* p. 311.

² Herod. ii. 173, &c. Cf. Suidas, s. v.

³ Στρεψιάδην ἀσπάζομαι. *Clouds*, l. 1145.

soon became a crowded place of meeting. Some men would be purchasing their provisions for the day, for the Greeks of all times have loved bargaining, and with them men did all the shopping, though the wealthy kept special slaves, called *agorastæ*, to purchase for them. Porters, *προῦνέκοι*, were at hand to carry home the wares of those who had no slaves. Citizens would converse in groups, telling the news or entering on discussions. Others would throng the temples, the law-courts, or the *leschæ* (porticoes), which were always built close by the market. Near the Agora also were the shops of the barbers and unguent-sellers, which were usual and fashionable lounges. Other shopkeepers and artisans clustered in the same neighbourhood, and their houses and booths were full in the morning of those who wished to buy, as well as of those who only wished to see. In very hot weather, and in cold or rainy weather, in fact at all times when the open Agora was unpleasant, the crowd tended towards the covered corridors and the shops. We even learn from the oration of Lysias against Panceleon that the inhabitants of particular demes and districts of Attica were to be found usually together in well-known spots in the Athenian Agora or its neighbourhood.

People usually went home for the mid-day meal, *μεσημβρινόν*, and in order, not to sleep, but to rest a little in the heat of the day. The afternoon was the great time for the baths and gymnasia, which were among the most prominent features of Greek life. In all towns there were plenty of baths, both public and private. Their use was closely connected with physical training and preparation for the great agonistic contests. But most Greek gentlemen who were not incapacitated by age or infirmity would spend at least part of the afternoon in the exercises of the gymnasium and in bathing. As a special chapter is devoted to the details of this physical culture, we will pass on to other matters.

Of course there were other resorts for those of the Greeks who did not care to partake in or to witness athletic contests. The *κουρείον* or barber's shop furnished a common lounge for morning or afternoon. The Greek fops were very careful of their persons, and the barber was prepared not only to cut and dress their hair and to trim their beards, but also to trim their nails, cut their corns, and provide rough remedies for any small physical defect. And those who did not stand in need of the barber's art were often desirous of talking with his customers, whence Theophrastus applies to barbers' shops the phrase

ἄοινα συμπόσια.¹ Less innocent rivals of the *κουρέια* were the *κυβεία*, houses for gambling, which were also called *σκιραφεία*, because Athena Sciras was originally the patroness of dice-throwing, which, in fact, seems to have gone on in her temple. This fact need not in any way surprise us; in Greece many worse forms of self-indulgence than gambling were under the special patronage of a deity. A number of astragali and dice, some of the latter unfairly loaded, have come down to us from antiquity, and soldiers are sometimes represented on vases as tossing dice. But dice were not the only means of gambling possessed by the Greek fops. They were accustomed to bet heavily on the contests of quails and cocks, which were kept for the purpose of fighting at the *κυβεία*. The wealthiest class of citizens also devoted much attention to chariot-driving and horse-racing, both of which pursuits were carried on by no means with sole reference to the great festivals.

We must not fail to observe, also, how large a proportion of the time of the Greek citizen was taken up with the exercises of religion; the continually recurring festivals occupied him while they lasted from morning to night, and when they were not present, the preparation for them, the training of choruses, and the like, occupied a great deal of time. In democratic states also, such as Athens, the political duties of each burgher afforded him constant employment.

There were continual meetings at the Pnyx; besides which, if we consider the constitution of such bodies as the *βουλή* and the dicasteries, we shall see how large a proportion of the inhabitants of a democratically-governed city must have been constantly employed in keeping the wheels of the state revolving. But on these heads, as they are sufficiently treated of elsewhere, there is no need to enlarge.

In Xenophon's *Œconomicus*, Ischomachus, a wealthy Athenian, is made to declare that he spends every morning in walking to his farm, superintending the agricultural operations there, and practising riding and leaping on horseback. This is probably a rare type; but many of the gilded youth might pass the early hours of the day in chariot-driving or riding for pleasure. The charms of the country would always attract some men more than the more social pleasures of the city.

In the gymnasium, either as actor or spectator, the Greek citizen often spent those afternoons not claimed by the Pnyx, the Dicasteries, or the Agora, or by the observances proper

¹ Quoted by Plutarch, *Symp.* v. 5.

to one of the many sacred festivals. Afterwards he would usually have a bath. At the bath a slave would meet him with *σμήγματα*, oil-flask, a strigil, and perhaps a change of raiment. After carefully arranging or changing his dress he would set out to dine, usually in the company of friends; and with dinner and the subsequent drinking-bout the day would usually end, for those who did not care for study. But those who pursued any learned avocation, such as that of the author, the physician, and the advocate, had to avoid or curtail their midnight revels, and instead to devote their time to more serious pursuits. As the day was taken up by social claims and life lived in public, the evening hours were those of most use to a student, and his productions would necessarily smell of the midnight oil.

Like all the peoples of Southern Europe, the Greeks were on the whole very abstemious in eating and drinking. In Homeric times they were less so than afterwards. Odysseus¹ declares to Alcinoüs that the summit of human happiness consists in sitting at a table covered with bread and meat and wine and listening to the voice of a bard. In early times, also, tastes were far less refined. The suitors of Penelope devour great quantities of hog's flesh, and set before Irus and Odysseus as a prize for boxing a great black-pudding full of fat and blood. The heroes at Troy live mostly on oxen and sheep. Of vegetable food at that time we hear very little, and fish seems not to have been eaten by them at all.² The chiefs ate onions to flavour their wine, and the wine itself was doubtless of a character far too sour and rough for the more delicate tastes of their descendants.

Later there were great differences in the matter of eating between various Greek races. The Bœotians were noted for their great appetites and their coarse feeding, which procured them the name of swine; the Greeks of Sicily and South Italy were no less devoted to the pleasures of the table, but far more fastidious in their tastes. But perhaps the most abstemious of all Greeks were the people of Athens and Sparta, whose diet must be described. The comic poet Lynceus thus describes a dinner at Athens:³ "One brings in a great dish in which are five smaller ones; the first contains garlic, the second two sea-urchins, the third a sweet meal-cake, the fourth ten oysters, the fifth a little sturgeon. While I eat one, my

¹ *Odys.* ix. 5-10.

² Cf. however, *Od.* xix. 113.

³ *Athenæus*, iv. p. 132.

neighbour makes another disappear; while he eats one, I despatch another. Gladly, my friend, would I partake of both, but my wish is not attainable, as my mouth is not fivefold." Plato, in the *Republic*, allows for food, bread and barley-broth, together with olives, cheese, &c. The abstemiousness recommended by Plato was no doubt greater than that customary at Athens, and Lynceus may exaggerate; but notwithstanding there is no doubt that the Athenians lived with extreme frugality. The staple of their food was porridge made of barley (ἄλφιτα), and bread, for which their city was famous, together with their native figs, olives, and honey, cheese which they imported especially from Sicily, and a number of herbs, mallows (μαλάχη), cabbages (ράφανος), beans (κῦαμοι), lupines, and the like. In addition to these, every Athenian who could afford it had his ὄψον, which almost invariably consisted of oysters or fresh or salt fish. Fresh fish was caught in large quantities in the Phaleric roads; salt fish (ταρίχη) and oysters came mostly from the Propontis and the Euxine; all were excessively cheap at Athens. Sometimes, for a variety, sausages or black puddings (ἀλλᾶντες), or a haggis would be purchased, and the wealthier classes would get the eels of the Copaic lake, or hares and thrushes; even the flesh of lambs or goats. The daily ὄψον cost the frugal from an obol to half an obol; and even the extravagant supplied their wants for a few pence. The custom prevailed of using oil in cooking most dishes.

Cereal food could be taken, as Benndorf has pointed out,¹ in three forms: (1) as a sort of barley-broth or porridge; (2) as a sort of thin pancake, lightly baked over a charcoal fire and rolled up; (3) as regular loaves made with yeast. No doubt the luxurious in cities usually ate leavened bread; but in country places, and in early times, as to this day in Asia Minor, the soft pancake form was usual. The Spartans adhered to the still ruder custom of merely seething their barley in water.

At Sparta they lived very sparsely. Every citizen brought to the common table where they dined together, the σνσσίτια, a monthly contribution consisting of barley-meal, wine, cheese, and figs, together with ten obols (about fifteenpence) for the purchase of flesh, condiments, &c. The smallness of the sum allowed for extras shows that but little flesh or fish can have been eaten. The staple of the meal was barley-broth and black or blood pudding, μέλας ζωμός; but Mount Taygetus was

¹ *Altgriech. Brod*, in *Eranos Vindob.* 1893.

full of game, and the Spartans good huntsmen; so they may have supplied from this source a welcome supplement to their frugal fare. Butter was not used by the inhabitants of Greece proper, and though it was made by the Thracians, they seem to have employed it more especially for rubbing themselves with.

In Homeric times the Greeks had three meals a day. First came the *ἄριστον*, which was eaten at dawn, next the *δείπνον*, which was the mid-day meal, and last the *δόρπον* or supper. Such seems to have been the rule; but Homer uses the term *δείπνον* for meals taken at various times.

Later the term *ἄριστον* was used for the mid-day meal, and *δείπνον* for the evening meal. Early in the morning a little bread dipped in unmixed wine was taken, to which refreshment the name *ἀκράτισμα* was applied. The *ἄριστον* or *déjeuner* was a meal of which people partook each at his own house; it was not social, but seems to have been of a solid character. It was probably eaten between nine in the morning and noon, according to convenience. The *δείπνον* or dinner was the social meal of the day, and was deferred until the day's employments were over, often until after sunset. Thus the times and characters of the Greek meals correspond almost exactly with those of the French.

The Greek women dined at home, and the men would also sometimes dine at home with their families, in which case they would recline on a couch, and their wives sit beside them. More often they met together for a social repast. In the Prytaneum at Athens and elsewhere there were public tables, at which those who had the right daily sat down. At most cities there existed clubs or *ἔρανοι*, consisting of members who gave regular contributions, and had occasional banquets at the common expense. Sometimes a set of young men would club together to pay the cost of a dinner at the house of a hetæra, or of a picnic party in the country or by the seaside. If the latter place was chosen, they called their excursion *ἀκτάζειν*. But naturally the most usual plan was for an individual to invite his friends and give them a dinner at his own cost, hoping for a like return.

The number of guests at a Greek dinner-party was not so strictly regulated as at a Roman, and it was by no means unusual for persons to present themselves uninvited. Thus Lucian¹ says of Demonax that he went to dinner where he

¹ *Demon.* 63.

pleased and was welcome. Guests were expected before going to a banquet to take a bath and pay some attention to their toilet, though there was, of course, no special evening dress. As soon as they arrived the attendants removed their shoes and washed their feet, and they took their places on the



FIG. 22.—ACHILLES DINING.¹

couches (*κλίνοι*) in accordance with the directions of their host. In historic times the position at meals was a reclining one, though sitting had been usual in the heroic ages. It was customary to lie on the left side, and to support the left elbow with a cushion (*προσκεφάλαιον*): thus the right hand remained

¹ From a vase, *Mon. dell' Inst.* viii. 27. Achilles turns away his head at the approach of Priam: under his table is the corpse of Hector.

free to deal with the food. Two persons on each couch seems to have been the usual number; but the number of couches could be increased at pleasure. Before each couch was placed a table with three or with four legs, and on these tables the eatables were disposed when brought in. Hence the phrase *εἰσφέρειν τραπέζας*. The guests helped themselves from the dishes with their fingers, and usually ate, at all events solid food, without any other help, though spoons (*μυστίλαι*) could be used in case of need. Hence the necessity for washing the hands both before and after meat. Between the courses a piece of bread was used for cleansing the fingers (*ἀπομάττεσθαι*).

Of the *δεῖπνον* a most amusing description, in mock heroic verse, is given by the parodist Matron in Athenæus.¹ It consisted of two parts. In the first little or no wine was drunk, but the eatables were handed round one after another until the appetites of the guests were satisfied. This seems to have soon taken place; and we find in Greece no parallel to the elaborate courses and gastronomic surprises of a Roman cœna. Then the guests washed (*ἀπονίψασθαι*), the tables were removed (*ἀφαιρεῖν τραπέζας*), the floor swept of bones, shells, and the other debris of the feast. Then the tables were again brought in, *δευτέραι τραπέζαι*, and laden with dessert, *τραγήματα*. In earlier times this dessert consisted only of nuts, olives, and figs, and cheese, together with salt to stimulate the thirst.² In later times a quantity of sweetmeats were introduced, as well as cakes (*πλακοῦντες*) made with honey, and even so substantial food as game, thrushes, and hares.

But the food brought up at dessert was intended only as an accompaniment to the drink.³ When the libation (*σπονδαί*) to the good genius had been poured out, and the guests were all adorned with chaplets of flowers, which were handed round in due order (*ἐπὶ δεξιᾷ*), and worn not on the head only, but also round the body, the symposium began. It is a mistake to suppose that the Greeks usually drank to an immoderate extent. We read indeed of great achievements with the wine-cup among the officers of Alexander the Great. Thus we hear that the winner of one of his prizes for drinking swallowed about thirteen quarts of unmixed wine and died four days after from the effects. But the Macedonians owed to their colder climate, and probably their Thracian blood, their capacity for drinking;

¹ Athen. iv. 135-137.

² πρὸς ποτὸν ὄψον εἶσιν οἱ ἄλλες. Plutarch, *Symp.* iv. 4, 3.

³ Xenoph. *Symp.* ii. 1.

the people of Hellas were more delicately organised. The later Greeks found the Pramnian wine, which was a favourite with the Homeric heroes, far too rough for their taste, and ridiculed the old custom which had prevailed of eating onions with wine to give it a flavour. Yet the Greeks of heroic times seem not to have been immoderate. When Odysseus gets some strong



FIG. 23.—SYMPOSIUM, FROM A VASE. (*Wiener Vorlegebl.* vi. 10.)

wine from Maron in Thrace, he mixes it with twenty times its bulk of water.¹ Hesiod recommends that the proportion of one part of wine to three of water should not be exceeded. At their banquets all the Greeks, except noted sponges, mixed their wine with water, the proportion varying with the strength of the wine and the disposition of the drinkers, but the water

¹ *Od.* ix. 209.

was generally far more than half the mixture. Zaleucus, the legislator of Locri, forbade the drinking of unmixed wine under penalty of death, except in case of doctors' orders.¹ The Spartans attributed the madness of Cleomenes I. to his habit, acquired in Scythia, of drinking wine unmixed. So as Greek wine, though rougher, was probably not stronger than our Burgundy, it is quite easy to understand how the banqueters can have emptied their great κύλικες without much inconvenience. The luxurious in summer cooled the water for mixing with snow and ice, which were at Athens regular articles of import, and in winter warmed it.

With regard to kinds of wine, the Greeks were not such connoisseurs as the Romans, nor is it likely that their wine was so good. The ancient Greeks, like the modern, had a way of mixing resin with their wine, which made it more wholesome, and to those accustomed to the flavour not unpleasant. There was red wine (μέλας), which was the strongest, white wine (λευκός), which was considered weak and poor, and yellow wine (κιρρός), which was supposed to be wholesome and digestible. The most noted of all wines was the Chian, but Lesbos, Thasos, Cnidus, and Rhodes all had celebrated vintages, and every district of Greece produced a coarser sort. How plentiful the latter was may be judged from its price. Attic wine sold in the time of Demosthenes for four drachms the μετρήτης of about nine gallons, or at a penny a quart. We are told that in Spain the same quantity of wine would fetch but a sixth part of that price. Mendeian wine, which was considered choice, was sold for two drachms the large amphora, vessel included. Chian wine was dearer; in Socrates' time it fetched a mina the metreta; about two shillings a quart. Wine exported was previously mixed with salt water to preserve it, and stowed either in skins (άσκοί) or in earthen amphoras, which were tall thin vessels some four feet in height.

Greek women of the more respectable sort did not drink wine, and shunned excess even with more horror than Englishwomen. At Miletus they were forbidden by law to touch wine. Of course the *ἑταῖραι* and flute-players (*αὐληγτρίδες*) who attended drinking-parties indulged freely.

There were in all cities wine-shops at which the drink could be purchased and consumed in company, but they seem to have been frequented only by slaves and the lowest of the people. Athenæus says that a member of the Areopagus was expelled

¹ Athen. x. 33.

from that body because he was seen in a wine-shop. He states, too, that there was a law according to which any one who saw an archon drunk in public might with impunity kill him. But in these, as in other matters of public decency, the bad example of Alcibiades produced greater laxity.

We must, however, return to our drinking-party, which we need not describe in detail, since most readers are acquainted with the Symposia of Plato and Xenophon, and with the excellent description of a drinking-bout in Becker's *Charicles*. Nor is any subject more common on ancient vases than scenes of eating, drinking, and revelling.

The first care of the revellers was to elect a ruler of the drinking-bout, ἄρχων τῆς πόσεως, who was determined either by casting of lots or by general consent. His function was to determine the proportion in which water was to be mixed with the wine, to regulate the size of the cups, and see that all drank fairly. He also had to assign the penalty to the various guests who incurred forfeits in the games which usually accompanied drinking. The usual penalty was to drink the contents of a large vessel full of unmixed wine, though salt-water was sometimes substituted. The guests also challenged one another (προπίνειν) with large vessels of wine, and it was considered a defect both in courtesy and courage to decline to drink off a vessel of the same size as that in which one was pledged. They also drank round in turn, in the same order in which the garlands were served (ἐπὶ δεξιᾷ).

The wine was mixed all at once by the slaves in a great κρατήρ of earthenware or metal, and thence transferred with a ladle (κύαθος) to the cups. The usual vessels for drinking from were κύλικες, flat cups with a handle on each side. These were made either of earth or metal, and were more capacious than any of our wine-glasses. Specimens in painted earthenware are to be seen in any museum; one in bronze is preserved in the British Museum. A single finger was passed through one of the handles for drinking, and in the game cottabos. For cups there were sometimes substituted rhytons, which were formed in the shape of animal's heads, but in principle corresponded exactly with the old English drinking horn, pouring a continued narrow stream into the mouth when the finger which stopped the lower end was removed. Immoderate drinkers would sometimes call for craters or wine-coolers of prodigious dimensions to show their prowess.

The Greeks were no mere soakers: they usually varied their drinking with amusements, sometimes of a lighter, and some-

times of a more serious character. In turn the feasters, if the party were intellectual, would be called on to sing a song, σκόλιον, or to play on the lyre; or in certain circles each would be set to ask a riddle, γρίφος or αἵνιγμα, of his neighbour, or to make a speech on a given subject; or, as in the Symposium of Xenophon, to propound a paradox and to defend it against



FIG. 24.—COTTABOS, FROM A VASE. (*Ann. d. Inst.* 1876, pl. M.)

all comers. Such rhetorical exercises seem to have delighted the quick-witted Athenians, and must have been a far better amusement than the after-dinner speeches of modern days.

In less intellectual society the place of these amusements would be taken by the game of κότταβος. The details of cottabos are obscure, and it seems to have been played in many

ways, but in all cases the secret of the game was to be able to throw from a drinking-cup, in the handle of which one finger was inserted, a compact jet of wine at a given mark. For this the drinking-vessels of the Greeks were specially constructed ; but it is clear that so long as the drinkers were capable of a game which required steadiness and skill of hand they could not be intoxicated. Sometimes scenic shows, actors or jugglers or acrobats, were brought before the company to amuse them with feats of skill. But when drinking was deep, all these more staid or intellectual amusements were set aside, and the party became often a scene of the wildest excesses, which were the worse for the presence of the flute-girls.¹ And when one party had reached the stage of frenzy, they would roam about the city in the form of a κῶμος or roystering band, entering all doors which were not rigidly closed, and sometimes even forcing their way with axes into the houses of the Hetæraë. So the night would sometimes end in the wildest debauchery. But the more respectable citizens only gave way to these excesses on occasion of the festivals of Dionysus and other deities of his class.

All that was worst in the Greek banquets was encouraged by the presence of parasites (κόλακες) or professed jesters (γελωτοποιοί), a degraded class of men who became very plentiful in the later times. They would make their way into houses where feasting was going on, like Philippus in Xenophon's *Symposium*, partly in order that they might keep up the merriment of the party, and partly because they would not easily accept a rebuff. Their gluttony and wine-bibbing tended as much to corrupt the abstemious habits of the guests² as their low jests and obscenity did to lower their character. The classical writers of late times are full of abuse of these creatures, who sometimes became literally the lick-spittles of their patrons ; but strangely enough the latter, who were really most to blame for encouraging such proceedings, seem to have escaped censure.

¹ Thus Alcibiades and his κῶμος break into the symposium described by Plato, p. 212.

² A good specimen of the parasite is Artotrogus in Plautus' *Miles Gloriosus*.

CHAPTER IV

TRAVELLING

AFTER speaking of the city life of the Greeks, we are naturally led on to the question how far their experience of the world extended. Were they confined to the town of their birth, or did they visit neighbouring cities, or even travel in foreign countries?

The answer must depend on the period of Greek history which we are considering. We must speak separately of three ages, the heroic age, that of Greek independence, beginning with the era of the Olympiads, and the Macedonian period.

In the Homeric age the wealthy families, who held their seats on the Acropolis-hills of Greece, and thence ruled the surrounding plains, were, like all aristocracies, of a social disposition, and glad to welcome visitors who would relieve the monotony of life. In the heroic legends of Greece almost all the heroes, Theseus, Bellerophon, Perseus, Odysseus, and others, are of a wandering disposition, and are received hospitably everywhere.

It has been well remarked that the stranger who arrived at a town or mansion was, according to Homer, either a *ἰκέτης*, a *ξείνος*, or a *πτωχός*. In either case he was, as Nausicaä says, under the special protection of Zeus *Ξένιος*,¹ who would avenge any wrong or injury done to him. The *ἰκέτης* was one driven from house and home who came to seek shelter with a stranger, or one who had unintentionally committed homicide and needed expiation. Unbidden, he would make his way into the house, and take his seat at the altar of Zeus *Ἐρκεῖος* in the hall of the mansion; or he would approach the house bearing in his hand the emblems of a god. Thus Chryses holds in his hands, as he approaches the Greek camp,² the fillets of far-darting Apollo. If the stranger was not in dire distress, but merely voyaging for purposes of his own, he was received as a *ξείνος* with the most splendid hospitality. He was washed by the ladies of the house, and invited to a banquet in the hall of the *ἄναξ*, and only when he had well eaten and drunk was he asked his name and his business. The host bestowed on the guest the best of all he had, and when he left, loaded him with

¹ *Od.* vi. 207.

² *Il.* i. 14.

rich presents. In return, the guest bore an endless gratitude to the host, and even if they met in the battle-field would not injure him. Odysseus declines to contend even in sport with the son of his host Alcinoüs. The beggar (πτωχός) who led a wandering life was free to eat the broken meats in the hall of any noble, and to sleep in the αἶθουσα; but he was of course not treated as an equal.

Those who did not belong either to the great families or to the class of vagrants probably voyaged but little. Commerce was scarcely born: such import trade as existed was in Phœnician hands, and slaves were the chief article of export. But the skilled workman (δημοεργός), was accustomed to go from court to court to work for hire, and to leave behind him worthy memorials of his skill.

A great change took place at the time of the spreading of Greek colonies over the West and East. Greek settlers were planted on all the shores of the Mediterranean, and naturally their kinsmen who remained at home exchanged with them frequent visits. And it was by no accident that precisely at this time the great national festivals of the Greeks, Olympia, Nemea, Pythia, and Isthmia, acquired importance, and attracted at stated intervals to the mother-country crowds of such as could claim Hellenic birth. The great annual festivals also of the Greek mother-cities were attended by many from their colonies. Thus, for men at least, sea-voyages of great length must have been of considerable frequency. One is astonished to find the lowness of fares (ναῦλα) charged by shippers for the conveyance of passengers. From Athens to Ægina a man could sail in the fourth century B.C. for two obols, and even in the time of Lucian for four. In the time of Plato¹ a man with family and baggage could voyage from the Piræus to Egypt or to Pontus for two drachms, providing, of course, his own food.

Inland travelling was never so easy or so usual as going by water. The calm and protected seas and sounds of Greece naturally tempt the traveller, and in old days the fear of pirates was almost the only drawback to sea-journeys. But the Greek inlands are rugged and difficult at all times, and except in times of profound peace, or on the occasion of a national festival, when enmities were suspended, it must have been impossible to go far by land without running the risk of hostile encounters. Every ten miles one passed into the lands of a

¹ Plato, *Gorgias*, 511 d.

new city, and every city had its own politics and its own dialect.

The main purpose of the roads was to facilitate approach to the great temples and the scenes of the Greek festivals. The sacred way from Athens to Eleusis, and from Olympia to the sea-coast, are instances. Nevertheless, the Greeks were never road-builders, as the Romans were. They did not build lofty causeways through valleys. They contented themselves with smoothing away the chief obstructions in their rocky paths, and in many cases with making certain level artificial ruts two or three inches deep, adapted to receive the wheels of carriages. Considerable remains of these ruts still exist;¹ in some roads there seem to have been an up and a down line, in other cases only a single line, and when the latter is the case, there are still traceable at intervals grooves cut to enable a chariot or waggon to leave the road and allow another to pass. Curiously the part of the road lying between these grooves or ruts remains very rough and rocky. Professor Curtius² suggests that it must have been strewn with a layer of sand or other soil.

These remains explain how it was possible in Greece to travel in a carriage (*ἄμαξα*), as women and children usually did. But men, unless given to luxury, went far more expeditiously on horseback or on foot. The horse was of course the usual means of progression with the wealthy, but on the rocky paths over the hills he could go only at a walking-pace. A pedestrian, if hardy and active, could easily distance him; so when news was brought rapidly from one part of Greece to another, we invariably find that the conveyer was a runner on foot. The horses did not, it appears, wear shoes; but *ὑποδήματα*, socks or sandals, were commonly tied on the feet of beasts of burden. The ancient, like the modern traveller in Greece, if he went on horseback, formed part of a cavalcade, which must frequently ride single-file. First the masters rode, and then came the slaves, usually on foot, driving other horses which carried the baggage.³ This baggage had to include sleeping-apparatus (*στρώματα*), as well as clothes, and frequently provisions. If the amount of it were small,⁴ it might be carried by the horse of the traveller or by his slave. Sick men and women travelled in litters (*φορεῖα*) in which they reclined at full length, four bearers supporting the four corners. These were not, indeed, so usual

¹ Curtius, *Wegebau bei den Griechen*, Berl. Acad. 1854.

² *Loc. cit.*

³ Aristoph. *Birds*, 615.

⁴ Lucian, *Asin.* 1. ἵππος δὲ με καθῆγε καὶ τὰ σκεύη, καὶ θεράπων. ἡκολούθει εἰς.

in the early days of Greece, but in Macedonian times splendid litters became a regular part of the equipment of wealthy ladies and 'Ἑταίραι.

The public ways, like everything else in Greece, were under the protection of special deities, Apollo, Hermes, and Hecate. By the side of the road occasional chapels were erected, and in them the wayfarer might often find food gratis. Inns (πανδοκεία or καπηλεία), though in later Greece they existed everywhere, were never in high repute. The traveller was unfortunate who was obliged to betake himself to them rather than to the house of a friend or acquaintance. The proprietors were despised by the public for taking money in return for that hospitality which the Greek considered it his first duty to show. In some places public buildings like caravanserais took the place of inns, and offered to all at least gratuitous shelter. The long stoæ at places like Olympia would accommodate a large number of travellers, who would of course bring beds and provisions with them.

We do not know much about the custom-house arrangements of the various cities. Taxes on taxable goods would, however, be levied in port or at the gate of a city, not the frontier of its territory. When we read, as we constantly do in inscriptions, of the decree of a city conferring ἀτέλεια on a stranger, it was probably intended to save him from the inconveniences of search and the payment of duty on his entry into the town. If a traveller had to pass through the territory of a hostile state, he would provide himself with a pass, which was called συγγράφη or σφραγίς.

The relation of host and guest, as we have described it in Homeric times, persisted throughout Greek history. Wherever a Greek went, he was almost sure of a welcome from a relation, a friend, or a friend of a friend.¹ Letters of introduction were frequently given to those who travelled by those who remained behind. The simplest form of letter of introduction was the impression of the signet of the introducing person. A man's signet was known to all his friends, and the mere exhibition of it entitled the bearer among so hospitable a people as the Greeks to lodging and friendship. Any other token or σύμβολον which would be understood answered the same purpose.

If a traveller had no letters of introduction to any citizen of the town he visited, he would probably apply to the official πρόξενος, among whose duties that of lodging any prominent

¹ Lucian, *Asin.* i.

citizen of the city he represented was certainly included. As a last resource, he would look out an inn.

After the age of Alexander the limits of Greek travel eastward were vastly extended. The mercenary soldier and the merchant would voyage as far as Cabul and the frontiers of China, and find Greek cities and kinsfolk all the way. Troops of actors and caravans laden with goods crossed and recrossed Asia. India, the Caspian, Abyssinia became familiar to Greek travellers; and from the custom of travelling abroad the Greeks acquired that of travelling more at home. More commodious inns were erected in Attica, Bœotia, and other districts, and citizens passing from place to place soon enlarged their horizon, and lost that local colour which had hitherto marked them. They became citizens of the world instead of Thebans, Plataëans, or Athenians.

CHAPTER V

POSITION AND EMPLOYMENTS OF WOMEN

It has been frequently observed that in nothing is the contrast between the heroic and the historical ages of Greece more striking than in the position and treatment of women, which appear to have been better in the times of Homer than in those of Thucydides. In the period after Alexander, women seem again to have become more prominent and important; so we arrive at the curious result that women were of least account in the greatest ages of Greece, in those days when the public life was most vigorous and Greece outwardly most flourishing. And the reason, or at least one chief reason, is not far to seek, namely, that in the archaic times of Greece and the times of decay, the men cultivated and found their pleasure in private and domestic life; in the great age of Greece the life of politics had driven quite into the background that of the home. The seclusion of women, like slavery, was part of the price paid by Greece, and especially by Athens, for a magnificent burst of public splendour.

It is by some of the German authorities mentioned in this connection, as a reason for the greater honour of early days, that in Homeric times a husband paid a large sum (ἔδνα) for his wife; at a later period he received a dowry (προίξ) with her. But it is hard to think that a purchased wife, even if valued for what she had cost, would be held in great honour. Men

are only willing to pay for what becomes their property. The purchasing of wives is, in fact, an example of the survival of a very archaic custom, and the high position of women in Homeric Greece was maintained rather in spite of than in consequence of it.

Very dignified was the position, according to the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, of the wives of the heroes who fought at Troy. Each was mistress in her own house, the companion of her husband, the welcomer of his guests, and an object of veneration to the subject people. In the regions beyond the μέγαρον or men's hall she was supreme, ruling over an army of maid-servants, and appointing them their tasks of spinning, weaving, and household work, and superintending the bringing up of children. In the absence of her lord she seems to have managed all his affairs, and given orders to men as well as women. Even when he was present, the sphere of her activity was by no means bounded by the limits of the thalamus. When no guests were present, it appears that the master of the house dined in the hall¹ with his wife and children. In the far more usual case of guests being present, the mistress of the house graced the meal with her presence, though she does not seem to have partaken of the food. At a feast in the palace of Alcinoüs, a high seat² is reserved for Arêtê, his wife, who listens, and not in silence, to the story of Odysseus. Penelope, accompanied by two maids, makes her appearance in the hall where her suitors are feasting,³ and stands, only partly veiled, at the door leading from the men's hall to the women's. When only a smaller company of the friends of Telemachus is present,⁴ she comes and sits opposite to her son as he dines. In the palace of Menelaüs, Helen sits at the feast given to Telemachus, and not only mixes a bowl of wine for her guests,⁵ but also tells them a story while they drink it. Nor were these ladies by any means confined to the house.⁶ Arêtê is not only honoured by her husband and children, but by the people who look on her and address her as a deity when she appears in the streets; and she heals the strifes of men who quarrel.

No one can read the account of Nausicaä's reception of Odysseus without feeling that dignity and self-possession such as she displays could not exist in a maiden brought up in seclusion and trained only in the labours of the loom. A

¹ *Od.* viii. 242. ὅτε κεν σοῖς ἐν μεγάροισιν δαινύη παρὰ σῇ τ' ἀλόχῳ καὶ σοῖσι τέκεσσιν.

² *Od.* xi. 335.

³ *Od.* xviii. 206.

⁴ *Od.* xvii. 96.

⁵ *Od.* iv. 233.

⁶ *Od.* vii. 70.

similar nobleness and majesty is found in the portraits of the women of the heroic age like Antigone and Alcestis, as preserved in legend and presented to us by the Greek tragedians. The comedians, on the other hand, who paint contemporary women, draw a very different picture, and seem to labour for words to express their contempt of womankind.

There was indeed one custom among high-born women of the heroic age which has caused great scandal among the commentators. They were in the habit of washing in a bath, anointing, and clothing friends and strangers who visited them. Thus at Pylos, Polycasta,¹ youngest daughter of Nestor, bathes and dresses young Telemachus; Helen bathes Odysseus when he comes as a spy to Troy,² and recognises him in the bath by personal marks, as does old nurse Euryclea at a later period. Odysseus, in extreme modesty, declines to be bathed by the maidens of Nausicaä, but his scruples were clearly unusual. Commentators have tried in a score of ways to avoid the clear force of these statements. They have supposed that the Homeric heroes wore bathing-dresses, or sat up to their necks in water during the operation. These interpretations must be rejected. Perhaps the bather retained enough clothes to satisfy the demands of actual decency, but it is clear that the Greeks did not regard as we do the display of the naked body: indeed, they would have had difficulty in understanding modern delicacy in such a matter.

Homer gives us little material for constructing the life of women of the lower classes, except the slaves. Hesiod speaks of women of the poorer sort in language not complimentary, and more in the manner of later times. It is evident that the position of the wives of poor workmen and labourers can vary but little from age to age, being determined not by custom, but by pressing necessities of various kinds.

In the historical times of Greece the women of Athens were the most secluded, those of Sparta the freest, the other cities of Greece proper apparently occupying an intermediate position. We will begin with Athens. Here the unmarried girls of a house were scarcely allowed to leave the gynæconitis on any other occasion than that of a religious festival. If a wedding or funeral were passing, they might be allowed to go as far as the front door of the house, and, in the absence of strangers, might sometimes enter the court of the men; but such an event would be unusual. For days and weeks together the girls would

¹ *Od.* iii. 464.

² *Od.* iv. 252.

be confined to their court, where their chief employment was spinning and weaving. Education, in our sense of the word, they had none, beyond such a smattering of letters as their mother could impart. The best-bred girl was she who had heard and seen the least,¹ and had learned but one lesson, that of modesty, *σωφρονεῖν*. The doors of the gynæconitis were rigidly barred against all men except the master of the house and a few near relatives. The only breaks in this somewhat monotonous existence were afforded by the great religious festivals, when some high-born girls walked in procession, and even performed dances, the training for which must have sometimes agreeably interrupted the monotony of their existence; and the rest were allowed to look on. On such occasions only was there a chance that any falling in love on the part of young men or women should take place; but such indiscretions were rare at Athens where free women were concerned, and marriages matters of convenience merely.

Marriages in Greece were entered into from motives of prudence rather than of sentiment. Becker remarks that four motives might incline a man for marriage. The first is respect for the gods, and a desire to leave behind him sons to continue his religious duties. The second is a consideration for the welfare of the state. The third is a desire to perpetuate his race and lineage. The fourth is the need of a trusty and skilful housekeeper. It will be observed that, except the last of these motives, all have reference not to the wife herself, but to the children she is expected to bear. In fact, the desire to have a son who may represent his father before gods and men, and in particular keep up the sacrifices to ancestors, was one of the deepest-seated feelings in all branches of the Aryan race, and more prominent in India than in Greece.²

Notwithstanding, the young men of the later times of Greece, accustomed to pleasure and a life of freedom, generally looked on marriage with dislike, and only submitted to it out of deference to their elders. In the plays of Plautus, which reflect the age of Menander, marriage is commonly inflicted by cholerick fathers on gay sons to whose misdeeds they wish to put an end, though instances do occur in which the son is a consenting party. The selection of the bride was a matter in which only in rarest cases the bridegroom had a voice. This matter was arranged by the parents on both sides, assisted sometimes by a go-between or matchmaker (*προμνήστρια*), an old

¹ Xen. *Econ.* vii. 4.

² See Coulanges, *La Cité Antique*.

woman of a not over-respected class. The choice was dictated by motives different from those favoured in modern novels. The first requisite was that the bride should be the lawful daughter of a citizen of a respectable family. The second, that between bride and bridegroom there should not be great disparity in social position. A wealthy man might often gratify his friendship by marrying the daughter of a poor friend, but the poor man who married an heiress put himself in a very unpleasant, and even ridiculous position. It would seem that of the personal qualities of the lady, so long as she possessed *σωφροσύνη*, less account was made. The bridegroom had little or no opportunity of making acquaintance with her until the marriage-day.

The usual time for marriages in Greece was the winter, one month of which, Gamelion, received its name from the circumstance. In winter the health was supposed to be more vigorous and the spirits more elastic. Hesiod recommends the fourth day after new moon as the best for bringing a wife home. Other writers mention the full moon as the best time.

As is usually the case in countries where marriages are *affaires de convenance*, it was usual for the bridegroom to be much older than the bride. In this matter the philosophers probably adopted the ordinary opinion. Plato in the *Laws*¹ suggests that for a woman the marriageable age is eighteen to twenty years, for a man thirty to thirty-five. Aristotle² mentions the age of eighteen for women and that of about thirty-seven for men. In any case, care was usually taken in Greece that the husband should be a good deal older than the wife; a precaution doubly necessary considering the amount of authority which the man possessed, and the early bloom and rapid decay of female beauty and vigour in the South of Europe.

At Athens the state required as a preliminary to marriage an *ἐγγύσις* or betrothal, in which act the nearest male relative disposed of the bride. In the absence of this ceremony, or in case of the responsibility being assumed by a wrong person, the marriage was void and the children born of it illegitimate.³ It was also matter of universal custom, though not actually required by law, that a dowry, *προξ* or *φέρνη*, should be fixed for the wife. We have an instance in Demosthenes⁴ in which a dowerless wife is acknowledged to be legally married; but as a Greek had very little difficulty in getting rid of a wife on

¹ vi. p. 785.

³ Demosthenes, p. 1134.

² *Polit.* vii. 16.

⁴ P. 1016.

condition of returning her dowry, it is clear that in cases where there was none the wife was entirely at the husband's mercy, and practically almost in the position of a mistress, being liable to be turned out of the house on any quarrel.

The state being satisfied, the next duty was to conciliate the deities of the city and commend the marriage to their favour. It does not appear that the requisite religious ceremonies, *προγάμεια*, took place on a fixed day, nor do they seem to have been made in common by the two families. They were mostly performed by the future bride and her parents on her behalf. They may be divided into two groups or sets. The first group of observances consisted in prayers and sacrifices to those deities of the national Pantheon who most nearly controlled the affairs of marriage,¹ Zeus Teleios, Hera Teleia, Aphrodite, Peitho, and Artemis, the last as presiding over the birth of children. But in almost all Greek cities there was a second set of ceremonies of a more primitive and local character. We are specially told of the part due in marriage to the *θεοὶ ἐγχώριοι*. To a local nymph or a local river the girl about to be married sacrificed her hair, which was an archaic form of representing self-dedication. In the Troad girls bathed in the Scamander before marriage, with the phrase, *Λαβέ μοῦ Σκάμανδρε τὴν παρθενίαν*. Iphinoe at Megara, Opis at Delos, and other deities of a purely local type, participated in these honours.

Sometimes, in place of sacrifices to rivers and springs, there was substituted a bath (*λουτρὸν νυμφικόν*) in water specially fetched from them for the purpose. At Athens both bridegroom and bride washed on the wedding-day in water fetched from the fountain Callirrhœ by a girl appointed for the purpose, and nearly connected with one of them by blood, who was termed ἡ *λουτροφόρος*. The wedding-feast (*θοῖνη γαμικὴ*) took place at the house of the bride's father, and was preceded by sacrifices, which were probably mainly offered to the household deities. The notion that the feast, or a second feast, was held in the house of the bridegroom is now recognised as erroneous. It arose from a misunderstanding of the custom, according to which the father of the bridegroom or the bridegroom himself gave, on the occasion of the wedding, a feast to his friends or *φράτορες*. This feast was called *γαμήλια*. At the wedding-breakfast, our wedding-cake was represented by a sesame-cake (*πέμμα*), which the bridal pair had to eat together, sesame being a symbol of fertility. Women were present at the

¹ Plut. *Qu. Rom.* c. 2.

banquet in no small numbers, occupying separate tables, and having the bride in their midst.¹ This banquet gave the necessary publicity to the wedding. After it, a procession was formed to conduct the bride to her new abode. A chariot was brought, and in it was placed the bride, veiled, bearing in her hands, at least in Athens, a vessel for roasting barley, in sign that her future life was not to be idle. On one side of her sat the bridegroom, on the other the *παράνυμφος*, his friend, who held the reins. Behind followed her mother, bearing two torches lit at the paternal hearth, together with a crowd of



FIG. 25.—SETTING OUT OF BRIDE.² (FROM A VASE, *Wiener Vorlegebl.*, 1888, pl. 8.)

male and female companions, with flute-playing and songs and jests. At the door of her new abode she was received by the mother of the bridegroom, who also seems to have borne torches, and conducted by her into the house. To this day torches form an important part of a Greek bridal procession. In some places the axle of the chariot used for this purpose was taken out and burnt, to signify that for the young

¹ Lucian, *Conviv.* 8.

² The groom's friend in the chariot seems to await the pair: the mother has taken her place: Hermes or a herald leads the chariot: a female musician accompanies it.

wife there was no return. If the bridegroom had been married before, he had to intrust the conduct of the bride entirely to the *παράνυμφος*. That the bridal pair and the members of the festal procession wore bright clothing stands to reason, but as to colours there does not seem to have been any fixed rule.

As the bride entered her new abode, she was saluted by a shower of fruits and sweetmeats (*καταχύσματα*), an ancient custom, surviving even to modern days. As she entered the bridal chamber she partook of a quince, in accordance with a Solonic law, the object of which is said to have been to give



FIG. 26.—ARRIVAL OF BRIDE. (FROM THE SAME VASE.¹)

sweetness to her breath. Her companions, standing at the door, sang a hymeneal song, and returned next morning early to wake the sleeping pair.² These two songs were called respectively *ἐπιθαλάμιον* and *διεγερτικά*. Next day the bridegroom went to the abode of his parents-in-law and stayed for a while, until the bride sent a garment as a present to persuade him to return. This was termed *ἀπαύλια*, but there is much doubt whether the custom was general.³ After that came the *ἀνακαλυπτήρια*,

¹ The picture is flanked by the two mothers : the bridal pair are led by Apollo as musician to their new abode.

² Theocr. *Id.* xviii. 54.

³ Pollux, iii. 39.

when the bride appeared in her new home, unveiled, to receive the congratulations of near relations and intimate friends, as well as presents bestowed by them.

Such seem to have been the marriage ceremonies at Athens and in most parts of Greece, though it is likely that the grammarians, who are our chief authorities for them, may have put together usages prevailing in various parts of the Greek world. In modern Greece one of the most important ceremonies connected with marriage consists in a solemn conducting of the bride to the well whence she will in future have to draw water,¹ and in drinking from that well on her part. This takes place a day or two after the wedding, and considering how much was thought in antiquity of wells and springs, it can scarcely be doubted that the custom survives from remote antiquity. At Sparta a different set of usages prevailed, which were in fact survivals of the very primitive custom of marriage by capture. After obtaining the parents' consent, the bridegroom carried off his wife with an appearance of violence; but for a long time his visits to her were secret, and he lived publicly with his unmarried comrades as before.

When a woman married, the limits of her prison were widened. The street-door took the place of the door of the gynæconitis as the usual limit of her wanderings,² though at the same time she would doubtless retire into her apartments when strangers appeared. But her life, if secluded, became no longer idle. First she had to superintend the household and assign the tasks of the maid-servants, to despatch them on errands and to overlook their spinning in the great work-rooms at the back of the house. Next she kept the keys, and took charge of linen, plate, and all other valuables deposited in the house. In this the *ταμία* might assist her. The third duty of a woman was the nurture and rearing of her children, real or adopted, which was in her hands, in the case of boys, until they left the nursery; in the case of girls, until they were married. It was clearly not thought an improper though a rare thing for a married woman to go abroad, if accompanied by slaves, whether for the purpose of visiting friends, of being present at the acting of a tragedy (women were excluded from comedies), or to visit temples. But underhand or suspicious absences from

¹ Wachsmuth, *Das Alte Griechenland im Neuen*, p. 100.

² Menand. *Fragm.* πέρας γὰρ αἴλιος θύρα ἐλευθέρα γυναικὶ νενόμιστ' οἰκίας.

home gave opportunity for a divorce.¹ How little and seldom they went out is clear from the account which we have that after the battle of Chæroneia the women stood trembling in the door-ways, asking passers-by as to the fate of their husbands and fathers and sons. Even at such a crisis they did not venture out into the street; yet the orator Lycurgus² calls their conduct unworthy of the city and themselves. It would appear that the Homeric custom of wives being present at the meals of their husbands survived, though the wife merely sat by while the husband reclined; but this did not happen when guests were present. Only Hetærae were present at banquets.

In case of illness, it has been the privilege of women in all ages to interfere and break the bonds of custom. The mistress of a Greek household was also head-nurse, and considering the number of slaves and dependants, some of whom would frequently be ill, this function must have largely extended her sphere.

Of course there were relaxations which varied the monotony of the life of girls and women. With the former games of ball were a very frequent amusement. The swing (*αἰώρα*) which is also represented on several Greek vases, was not unknown to them. They had dolls in abundance and a host of pet animals, more particularly birds and dogs. The long stories of the nurse helped many an hour to pass, and the employments of the toilet still more. It was also a favourite amusement with girls to pluck the leaves of the *τηλέφιλον*, or throw apple-pips at the ceiling, and thence draw an augury for the success or disappointment of the passion which they might choose to entertain or fancy for some youth whom they can scarcely have seen except at a distance.

The question has been raised whether the wives of citizens had public baths of their own which they frequented. This must certainly be answered in the negative as far as Athens is concerned. But groups of women bathing in places resembling the public baths of men are frequently represented on vases of both early and late date. The custom may have obtained in some cities, especially those of Dorian origin. The Hetærae, also, even at Athens, frequented public baths, as is shown by the statement that Phryne never went there.

¹ Plant. *Merc.* iv. 6, 2.

“Uxor viro clam domo egressa est foras,
Viro fit causa, exigitur matrimonio.”

² In *Leocr.* p. 165.

In such employments as these women were supposed to find sufficient employment for their minds, and enough bodily exercise to keep them in health. Ischomachus, the model husband of Xenophon's *Economics*,¹ does light upon the notion that some stronger exercise for the muscles may be desirable, and recommends to his young wife that she should not lead the sedentary life of slave-girls, but employ herself with walking about the house after the servants, with moistening and kneading flour for bread, and in unfolding and refolding the household linen. These active duties will, he thinks, be sufficient to keep the colour of health in her cheeks and enable her to dispense with the artificial embellishments of paint and rouge.

The treatise of Xenophon just cited gives us a pleasing and a complete account of the recognised duties of wives at Athens. In a dialogue between himself and Socrates, Ischomachus relates with great self-satisfaction how he has trained his wife, until she has become a model of household management. She was married at fourteen, and brought to her new position only knowledge of the labours of the loom, together with temperateness in eating, modesty, and a teachable disposition. By a series of object lessons in the house, Ischomachus teaches her the need of diligence, of method, and of order. He points out to her that the gods have obviously destined man for life outside the house, that he may provide what is necessary for livelihood, and woman to dwell in the house, and to take charge of all that he provides. He compares, with more ethical than entomological exactness, the position of the wife in a house to that of a queen-bee in the hive; and represents the latter as going round the hive, keeping the working bees to their tasks, superintending the rearing of the young and tending the sick; winning so completely the confidence of the whole community, that when she issues forth all the hive follows her without hesitation.

As Aristophanes holds up to contempt in the *Clouds* the changes coming over Greek education, and the substitution of intellectual for ethical training, so in the *Ecclesiazusæ* he pours ridicule upon the movement, which appears to have taken place at the same time, in favour of greater freedom and more influence for women. He represents the women of Athens as meeting in solemn assembly to claim the government of the state, and to introduce all sorts of new and flighty

¹ C. 10.

ideas of communism and socialism. Whether there was any reality in the movement can scarcely be made out from the treatment of Aristophanes, which soon degenerates into jesting of a very broad kind. But in any case it may safely be said that at Athens the advocates of women's rights were never of much account in politics or in social life.



FIG. 27.—WOMEN AT MUSIC.¹ (Gerhard, *Auserl. Vasenb.* pl. 304.)

Such was the example set at Athens by the women of the more respectable classes, which was followed but very imperfectly by those of lower station. These being compelled to do much work which in wealthy households fell on the slaves, such as cooking and the fetching of water, could not

¹ These are doubtless flute-girls being trained ; a lyre hangs on the wall.

be so scrupulous. This Aristotle expressly states. Referring to the *gynæconomi*, a class of officers who at Syracuse regulated the going out of women, he avers that such an institution is aristocratic, not democratic, "for how," says he, "can you keep in the wives of the poor?" "The poor are obliged to send wife and children on errands, because they have no slaves."¹ The class of *ἑταῖραι* also had more liberty; but at Athens liberty for women was quite incompatible with delicacy and refinement.

Plutarch says that Solon made a series of sumptuary laws respecting women, forbidding them, among other things, to travel at night except in a carriage, with a torch before them, also to tear themselves at funerals; and he adds that in his own day such offences were punished at Athens by the *γυναικονόμοι*, who seem therefore to have been introduced into Athens at a later time. At Syracuse these officers had very great authority, so that it is even said that a woman could not go out by day without their permission,² which sounds incredible, especially if we consider that the seclusion of women was an Ionian rather than a Dorian institution.

At Sparta an entirely different set of manners prevailed. Elsewhere women were brought up with reference to the individual and the household. They were considered as essentially non-political, whence their neglect. At Sparta, on the other hand, they were brought up for nothing but the good of the State. There a woman had but two duties, to bring forth strong and healthy children, and to sustain and incite the valour of the men. From early youth her frame was strengthened with athletic exercises, more especially running and wrestling, which were practised at the female gymnasia. The Latin writers³ speak of Spartan virgins as exercising naked in the presence of men; but one would suppose that they were misled. At the public dances, races, and wrestling matches they probably wore the short Doric *chiton*, which reached but little below the hips. Yet it must be confessed that there are in the Greek writers passages which seem to imply complete nudity on these occasions. Athenæus speaks of τὸ γυμνοῦν τὰς παρθένους τοῖς ξένοις,⁴ and Plutarch in the Life of Lysurgus is very explicit. The subject is a difficult one, and we are inclined to fall back on the fact that a *chiton*

¹ Aristotle, *Politics*, iv. 15, vi. 8.

² Athenæus, p. 521.

³ Prop. iii. 12. "Inter luctantes nuda puella viros."

⁴ Athenæus, xiii. p. 566.

is worn in the case of the statue of the Vatican representing a girl who has won in the Heræa. So is clad the Dorian huntress Artemis, so the Dorian canephoroi; nor does earlier Greek sculpture often represent a woman as naked except when bathing. The result of this athletic training was that the Laconian women were universally acknowledged to be the most beautiful and healthy in Greece, and were eagerly sought by the wealthy as nurses for children. The chief object in allowing the virgins to be present, as was the custom at Sparta, at the exercises of the men, was that the latter might be encouraged to strong exertion by the praise of such spectators. Married women, on the other hand, were not allowed to be present.

It cannot be denied that, at all events in later times, in Sparta the women were more respected than elsewhere. They were termed *δεσποιναί*, and even sometimes interfered with great effect in politics. No other state in Greece produced women of so heroic mould as Gorgo, wife of Leonidas, and Agiatis, the wife of Agis and Cleomenes. The great reforms of Agis were mainly brought about by female influence. "The Lacedæmonians," says Plutarch,¹ "always hearken to their wives, and the women are permitted to intermeddle more with public business than the men are with the domestic." In later times a large proportion of the Lacedæmonian soil was in female hands.

Very different was the estimation in which the secluded women of the Athenians were held. The comedians thought no abuse of the sex too bitter or too coarse, and even in the tragedies, at which women were present, they were treated to such phrases as "one man is better than ten thousand women."² Aristotle speaks of the female sex as by nature worse than the male,³ and Plato speaks of virtue as far harder for women to attain. In many cases, no doubt, the virtues of a woman might endear her to her husband or father, and he might forget this natural inferiority. Or, again, if a poor man married a lady of fortune, or a low-born man a lady of high family, as in the *Clouds* of Aristophanes, the wife might attain a somewhat preponderant position within the house; outside it she could never be anything but a cypher. The Athenian married, not for affection nor to gain a companion, but to secure a trustworthy guardian of his house and goods, and that he might have legitimate children to carry on the family.

¹ *Life of Agis*.

² *Iphig. in Aul.* v. 1373.

³ Arist. *Politics*, p. 1254. τὸ ἄρρεν πρὸς τὸ θῆλυ φύσει τὸ μὲν κρεῖττον τὸ δὲ χεῖρον.

Some writers have spoken of the Hetærae as if they with accomplishments and education occupied the place held in modern times by the leaders of feminine society. This is quite misleading. Making exception of one or two remarkable women, such as the Aspasia of Pericles, the accomplishments of the Hetærae very seldom went beyond flute-playing, and witty but coarse repartee, while their houses were constant scenes of debauchery. They themselves were always treated with the utmost contumely when they appeared abroad, being made the butt of coarse jests, and their life ended in squalor and utter misery. They were sometimes, but not always, slaves.

In return for their secluded life, the Greek free women were at all events treated with some delicacy. A husband would carefully abstain from doing anything before the wife which would lower his dignity in her eyes; and Demosthenes¹ makes much of the fact that his opponent had on one occasion used bad language within the hearing of unmarried women. To force one's way into the gynæconitis uninvited was a still more grievous offence, and perhaps the worst violation of public decency which could be committed.² The seclusion of women did not put a stop to adultery; and we are not surprised if, by bribes or flatteries, corrupters found their way into the closely guarded gynæconitis. In such a case, the offending women were most harshly judged, and an adulterer, if detected in the act, was liable to be put to death by the injured husband.

It has already been stated that after the time of Alexander the Great the position of women improved in Greece. For this several reasons may be found. Domestic life occupied more of the attention and affection of men who had lost with autonomy their interest in politics. There were, again, at the courts of Pergamon, Antioch, and Alexandria queens and women of high standing, who did much to raise the estimation in which their sex was held. And it must be added that growing corruption of morals usually makes women, even if less trusted, yet of more account. Of the position of women at Alexandria we have a vivid picture in the celebrated fifteenth Idyll of Theocritus. Ladies at that city seem to have been allowed to go to the spectacle of the commemoration of Adonis attended only by maid-servants; they spoke freely to passers, and even accepted the friendly aid of a stranger in the crowd. These, however, are Dorian women, and it is doubtful if such liberty was ever enjoyed at Athens.

¹ *In Meid.* p. 540.

² *Lysias adv. Simon.* p. 540.

CHAPTER VI

TREATMENT OF DISEASE

IN earlier days in Greece, organized medicine was almost the exclusive possession of the clan of the Asklepiadæ, the supposed descendants of Asklepius. In the *Iliad*, every warrior knows something of the rough and ready remedies for wounds which a people given to fighting must meet in the life of every day. Sthenelus binds the wound of Diomedes: Pelagon draws forth the spear from the thigh of Sarpedon: and Patroclus cures the arrow-wound of Eurypylus. The method of proceeding is usually very simple; the offending weapon is cut out, and the wound bound up with healing and soothing herbs. Cheiron, the trainer of heroes, taught to Achilles the science of curing outward hurts, as part of the ordinary education of a chief. Yet Podaleirius and Machaon, sons of Asklepius, have, in the *Iliad*, greater reputation as leeches than any other of the Greek heroes, and are sent for, if possible, when a warrior is in need of surgical aid.¹ As to diseases which need the care of physicians rather than surgeons, they are seldom mentioned in the Epic poems, nor do we hear of attempts at their systematic cure.

In the historic ages of Greece, also, skill in healing arts centres in the clan of the Asklepiadæ and the temples of Asklepius. The hereditary priests of Asklepius ministered to and prescribed for the sick in the temple, and as baths, fresh air, and easy exercise were parts of their regime, they may have sometimes been of use without the particular interference of Asklepius.

But the priests of the healing god were yet not quite without rivals. As early as the Persian wars we find in Greece a custom arising for each city to have and pay a State-physician. Thus we find that in the sixth century B.C. Democedes of Croton, after practising on his own account for a year at Ægina, was appointed State-physician at a salary of a talent a year.² The Athenians next secured his services for a talent and two-thirds, and lastly the wealthy Polycrates of Samos attracted him from Athens by the offer of two talents. In the case of these State-doctors, the patients who applied to them

¹ *Il.* iv. 200.

² Herodot. iii. 131.

had perhaps no fees to pay ; but of course in the case of other physicians a fee was required. The amount of it was sometimes fixed beforehand by the doctors, who refused to undertake the case until it was agreed to ; sometimes it was left to the gratitude of the patient. Enormous sums were paid in the latter case by the wealthy. The State does not appear to have maintained any test or scrutiny of those who wished to practise.

Distinctions such as exist among us between chemists, surgeons, and physicians were not known to the Greeks. The doctor had an *ιατρείον* or surgery, full of medicines and instruments, such as cupping-glasses, and even bathing apparatus. His assistants, who were sometimes pupils, or more frequently slaves, carried out his directions and dispensed the drugs, or even prescribed themselves in the cases of less important and less wealthy patients. The knife and the cupping-glass were among the most frequent remedies ; but the Greeks believed in the medicinal virtues of a large number of herbs ; some of which, such as the silphium, have ceased to be used.

Of course in serious cases the patient could not go to the *ιατρείον*, and he then received visits from the doctor at his own house. Hippocrates lays great stress on the maintenance by a doctor of a becoming exterior and a quiet and reserved manner ; but it appears that there were some who disturbed their patients with noise or offended them by roughness, and others who sought to dazzle by the splendour of their apparatus.

It is to Hippocrates that the ancients ascribed the formulation of the oath taken in some cities by those who entered the profession of medicine, and though this attribution cannot be upheld, yet the oath is certainly early as well as interesting. I translate it in full : "I swear by Apollo the Physician, Asklepius, Hygieia and Panacea, and all gods and goddesses, calling them all to witness, that I will fulfil according to my power and judgment this oath and promise. I will reverence my teacher in this art as my own parents, give him of my living and fulfil his necessities : I will regard his issue as my own brothers, and will teach them this art, if they wish to learn it, without pay or obligation : I will admit to teaching, to lecture, and all other instruction my own sons and those of my teacher, and pupils who are articulated and have taken the oath pertaining to physicians, and none beside. I will use a regimen suited to the good of the sick according to my power and judgment, and preserve them from harm and injury : I will give no man

poison at his request, nor will give such advice : likewise will I administer no harmful drug to women. I will preserve my life and practise pure and sound. I will not cut for stone, but leave that to those who practise the matter. When I enter a house, I will go for the good of the sick, keeping myself from all wilful harm and injury, and all lust towards man and woman, free and slave. All that I hear and see in my practice or out of my practice in ordinary life, if it should not be told outside, I will keep in silence, regarding this experience as secret. If I keep this oath sacred, may I be successful in life and practice, and in repute with all men for all time ; but if I violate it and commit perjury, may it be otherwise with me."

Meantime, beside the growing schools of scientific medicine, there existed other sorts of treatment.

In all ages there have been many natures which have revolted against the hard materialism which is the dominant creed in the high medical schools. In all ages many have preferred to look for relief even from physical ailments to some kind of miracle ; have looked with more favour on faith than on mere prescriptions and drugs. And indeed, if there be any value in human testimony, faith has often been successful where drugs have failed. Among the Greeks, persons whose temper was such that they expected health from mere mental and spiritual influences would naturally apply to the temples of Asklepius, and enrol themselves among the votaries of the healing god. In so doing, they certainly fell in the way of a good deal of charlatanry, but they may nevertheless in some cases have attained their object. The effects of belief, even if that belief be based on insecure grounds, may often be solid enough.

The position of the temple of Asklepius at Athens was in winter pleasant and salubrious. It was placed on the southern side of the Acropolis rock, and by that rock was sheltered from the cold winds of the north, while exposed to the sun and to the breezes blowing fresh from the Ægean. It was above the level of the city, and looked over it to Ægina, "the eyesore of the Piræus," and Salamis and Acrocorinthus. The traces of walls which still remain within the precinct of the deity may be variously interpreted ; but it is clear from an inscription¹ discovered *in situ* that there were two temples

¹ The inscription (*C. I. A. ii. 1, Addenda 489 b* ; Girard, p. 6) records how one Dioeles repaired the propylæa of the precinct, and restored the old temple, being allowed as a return to place on each an inscription recording his liberality.

of the god, an older and a newer ; and besides we can trace the ground-plan of ranges of buildings of some extent, which must have served for the abode, or at least the temporary accommodation, of the crowds of votaries who came to the spot in search of health. In one chamber is a well, used no doubt for the ablutions which the god frequently prescribed, and which, together with gentle walks in the airy and warm galleries, go far to explain some of the cures which took place.

The temples were not more than small chapels, and filled with inscriptions and with reliefs set up by those who had been cured, and articles of value given by them as a fee to the healing god. Some of the reliefs and some of the inscriptions remain to our days. The reliefs are mostly of one class : they represent Asklepius and Hygieia, or sometimes Asklepius with other members of his family, standing or seated in dignity, and approached by a train of votaries, who bring with them sometimes an animal for sacrifice. Some of these reliefs belong to a good time of art, and are in composition and execution most pleasing. But though these larger *anathemata* alone survive, the inscriptions tell us of many others which have long since been stolen or destroyed. It was a common custom to dedicate to Asklepius a model in precious metal, in stone, or in wax of that part of the body which had been healed by his intervention. Some people have fancied that an accumulation of votive offerings of this kind might in time constitute a sort of museum of pathology and be very instructive to students. But those who entertain such a fancy can understand but little of the æsthetic and artistic side of the Greek nature. Such models would not represent the diseased member in its abnormal condition, but in that healthy condition to which it was restored by the god. It was health and beauty, not disease and deformity, which Greek artists depicted. This is no mere theoretical assertion ; we possess in our museums a large number of stone models of eyes, breasts, arms and feet, and other parts of the human body, dedicated in memory of cures in ancient times, and many of these belong to a later time, when the purity of Greek artistic taste was overlaid by the barbarism of Asia and the realism of Rome. Yet they represent health merely ; or, if there be an allusion to disease, it is no brutal transcript but a mere hint.

We read also, in the inscriptions, of votive cocks made in the cheapest of all materials, terra-cotta, and dedicated either by those who were very poor, or by such mean worshippers

as the *μικροφιλότιμος* of Theophrastus, who dedicates in the temple of Asklepius a bronze ring, and goes every day to clean it and rub it with oil. But many of the thank-offerings presented to the temple were of quite another class, cups of silver and gold, jewels of value, censers and tripods.

The inscriptions found at Athens enlighten us as to the number and character of these dedications; they go into the utmost detail, and even describe the place where each was deposited, by such phrases as "in the second row," "behind the door," and the like. They also preserve to us decrees passed by the people in regard to the temple, and record the names of priests; but they do not give us, what is of far more interest in the present day, a record of the cures wrought in the temple. For that we must turn to the inscriptions discovered in the great Asklepiæan shrine at Epidaurus, the native city of the god. Of these inscriptions, and the cures recorded in them, an account will be found in my *New Chapters in Greek History* (ch. xii.), from which the preceding paragraphs are taken.¹ The record is far more interesting from the light which it throws on ancient beliefs and manners than from any information which it gives us as to the state of medicine in antiquity. For the cures in no case result from any methodical treatment of disease, but rather from the direct interposition of the god Asklepius, who either in a dream gives directions to the patient, or more often with his own hands removes the root of the evil. The *modus operandi* is set forth in still more detail in the well-known passage in the *Plutus* of Aristophanes, in which Plutus is represented as being cured of his blindness through sleeping in the precinct of Asklepius at Athens, and there receiving the personal ministrations of the divine physician. And doubtless, throughout later Greek history, the shrines, not only of Asklepius, but of many other divine and semi-divine healers, were thronged by a crowd of credulous votaries.

In later Greek times some of the doctors devoted their attention to a special part of the human frame, the eye, the ear, or the teeth, and strove to make a wide reputation for skill in their special branch of the art. We even find traces of distinct schools or sects of physicians, such as that of the *ιατραλείπται*, who used embrocations and baths, together with diet and regimen, rather than herbs or the knife. But the poor in all ages of Greece were the ready prey of the un-

¹ By permission of Messrs. Murray.

scientific quacks who went from market-place to market-place boasting the value of their own special nostrum, or of wise men and women, who professed to cure by the use of magical arts. Indeed, the line between medicine and magic was a very shadowy one; the ancients did not widely distinguish the effects of herbs and regimen from those of spells and incantations, ἐπφδαί, and the latter were openly mingled with the former by all but the trained physicians. A prominent place was occupied among magicians in Hellenistic times by the priests of Isis, Cybele, and other outlandish deities.

CHAPTER VII

BURIAL AND TOMBS

It is generally known that the Greeks, like all nations on the same level of civilisation, attached extraordinary importance to the due performance of the funeral rites. This was the first and most sacred duty of a man's heirs; and the strong desire of the Greeks to have a son was in great part caused by the hope that a son would duly perform the funeral rites. The son who would utterly renounce his father threatened that he would not bury him.¹ It is well known what an extraordinary passion of rage and shame swept over the Athenian people when they heard that their fallen comrades had been left unburied at Arginusæ. Becker supposes that the care for sepulture arose originally from prudential consideration for the living; but there is no doubt that it is a survival of some of the most primitive and deep-seated feelings of our race, according to which the man unburied has no home, is exposed to the inclemency of the weather and the attacks of wild beasts. It was very long before mankind recognised that the dead are insensible to these inconveniences.² This fancy dictated among the Greeks the belief that the souls of the unburied were not admitted to Hades, but wandered disconsolate in the neighbourhood of their bodies. In war-time it was an acknowledged principle that each side should bury their own dead; but if this were not possible, a Greek would not hesitate to bury a

¹ *Alcestis*, 665.

² So Lucretius, iii. 878. "Facit esse sui quiddam super inscius ipse."

Greek foe, except in cases where there was excessive exasperation. It is considered most harsh and cruel in the *Antigone* that Creon should forbid the burial of the body of his enemy Polynices.

Immediately on a man's death, his eyes and mouth were closed by his nearest relative and a cloth placed over his head. Then the women of the family washed and salved the corpse, dressed it in clean white attire, adorned it with *ταινίαι* or woollen fillets, crowned it with flowers and wreaths of vine and the plant called *ὀρίγανος*,¹ and laid it on a state couch, with the face turned towards the door. In the mouth, the usual Greek receptacle for small change, was placed the obol, the *ναῦλον* or fee of Charon, which is still frequently found in that situation when Greek graves are searched. That a honey-cake (*μελιπτοῦσα*) for Cerberus was placed in the hand of the dead is asserted by the Scholiast of Aristophanes,² but has been doubted. Friends and relatives were then invited to come and pay the dead a last visit, and thronged about his couch amid the lamentations of mourners and the wailing dirge of hired singing-women (*θρηνηδοί*). Each guest took farewell in his own way, and as he departed sprinkled himself with water from a vessel placed before the house-door, so as to purify himself from ceremonial uncleanness. In modern Greece a vessel of consecrated water is placed beside the corpse with a similar view. This solemn *πρόθεσις* took place on the day after death, and might serve a useful purpose as well as gratify the feelings of friends, because it offered security that the dead man had not been made away with, and that he was really dead and in no trance. Solon spared the custom in his legislation, though he made sumptuary laws to restrain the extravagant show of grief in the house of death.³

¹ Aristoph. *Ecclesiaz.* 1030, specially mentions the *ὀρίγανος*.

² Aristoph. *Lysist.* 600, and Scholiast.

³ A number of scenes of *πρόθεσις* are represented on Greek vases and tablets, especially on the *λουτρόφοροι*, of which we have spoken under the head of *Marriage*, the vessels used for bringing water from the spring for the nuptial bath, and on the white Attic *lekythi*, which were specially made to be placed in graves. On a prehistoric Athenian vase (*Mon. dell' Inst.* ix. 39) we see the deceased lying on a couch amid wailing relatives and mourners. Later scenes of similar import will be found in our engraving, and in Benndorf's *Griech. und Sicil. Vasenbilder*, Pl. i., xxxiii.; *Mon. dell' Inst.* viii. 5, &c. Sometimes about the couch flutter souls, depicted as minute winged figures, who seem to have come to accompany the spirit to the land of Hades. That the women who throng these scenes are usually relatives may be seen from Benndorf, Pl. i., where the names sister, aunt, and the like are written beside various mourners.

On the day after the *πρόθεσις* took place the *ἐκφορά* or burial, which was accomplished early in the morning before the sun had risen. On a couch, probably that on which it had lain in state, the body was brought forth, carefully tended and decked, crowned with a wreath and clad in fair robes, and placed on a waggon or on the shoulders of selected friends to be borne to the cemetery. According to the Solonic law, the men walked before the bier and the women followed it,¹ but only

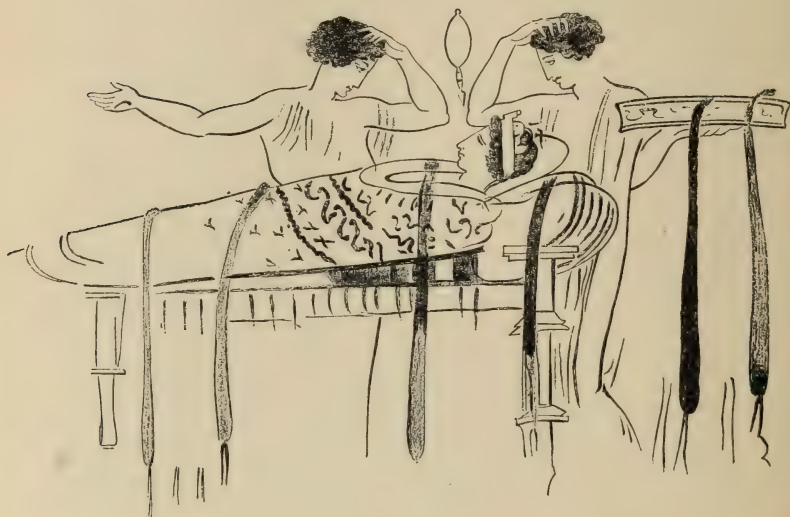


FIG. 28.—PROTHESIS. (Pottier, *Lécythes Blancs*, pl. 1.)

women who were above sixty years of age or near relatives were allowed to be present. The wailing women, who had been stationed in the room with the corpse, followed it to the grave,² making loud lamentations, and flute-players accompanied their lamentations.

Formerly it was disputed whether the Greeks buried or burned their dead, but it is now recognised that both customs existed simultaneously. This it would be easy to

¹ Demosth. p. 1071.

² Plato, *Laws*, vii. p. 800.

prove from passages of the classical writers, with whom

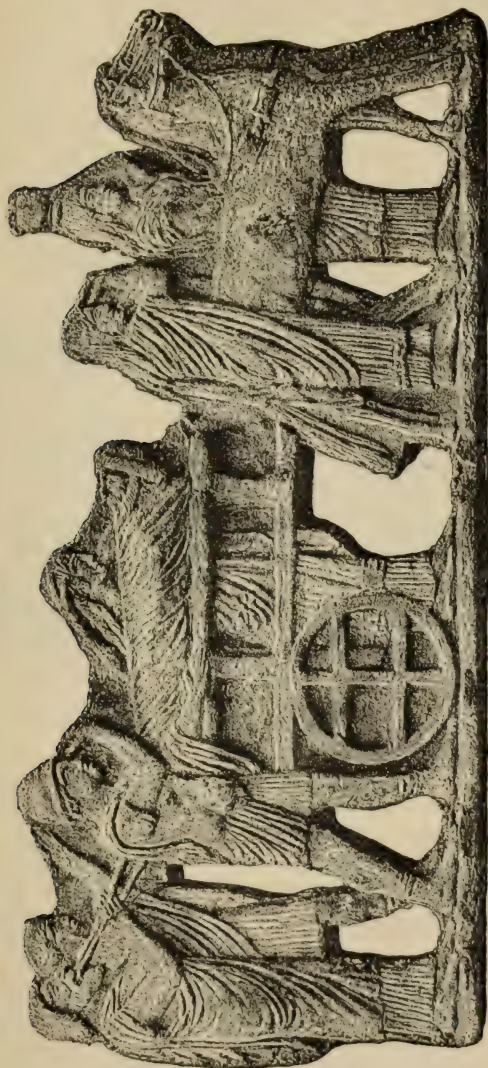


FIG. 29.—FUNERAL.¹

¹ This archaic terra-cotta (Rayet, *Mon. de l'Art Ant.* 75) gives a representation of a funeral procession. The body is placed on a bier drawn by two horses; it is preceded by a woman who bears on her head a jar of wine, and is followed by a male flute-player, besides the mourners. A very early Athenian vase (*Mon. dell' Inst.* ix. 39, 40) presents us with a more elaborate procession, consisting of many men and wailing women accompanying a bier. A sixth-century vase published by Rayet (*L. c.*) shows us the bier borne to the grave by four men, followed by women, a flute-player in front of it. On the white Athenian *kylix* the physical transport of the dead body is not represented, but in place of it either the bearing away of the deceased by two winged figures (perhaps Sleep and Death), or his reception into the boat of Charon.

κατορύττειν and καίειν both frequently occur in describing the

process of disposing of the dead,¹ but their citation is the less necessary because excavations on the site of Greek cemeteries disclose to us in near proximity to one another the bones of the buried and the ashes of the burned. It is probable that the custom varied with classes and with times. In Homeric times we hear much of burning; but on the other hand, the stories of how the bones of Theseus were moved to Athens, and those of Orestes to Sparta, show that in popular belief those heroes were buried. It would seem that burning became less usual during the historic ages, and was reserved for more distinguished men. Nor was it universal even in their case. We hear, for instance, that when a Spartan king² died abroad, his body was embalmed in honey and brought home for burial. The practice of burning seems to have revived in the third and second centuries B.C., and at a later period the repugnance felt by the Christians for burning somewhat recommended it to the Pagan part of the community. But the difficulty and expense of burning caused it at all periods of Greek history to be somewhat exceptional, a distinction reserved for the few.

In cases of burning, the pyre (*πυρά*) was probably erected at or near the place reserved for the tomb. After the pyre had burned itself out, the human ashes, which are easily to be distinguished from those of wood, were carefully collected and placed in a vase of clay or bronze.³ In cases of burial, a coffin was unusual, but sometimes a chest of wood or terra-cotta, or even a stone sarcophagus, was used. The friends, standing by the grave as it was filled, threw in terra-cotta images or vessels or ornaments such as the dead had loved, and such as are now found scattered in and over Greek tombs.

Beyond these we hear of no ceremonies; no oration, as among the Romans, except in the rare case of a public funeral; no prayers and no religious usages. The body was laid in the ground and covered up, and the company returned to the house of the nearest relative, where the funeral feast (*περίδειπνον*) was spread. We are told that the sight of it tended in an extraordinary degree to remove the traces of grief from the

¹ Cf. *Phædo*, 115 E.

² Xenophon, *Hell.* v. 3, 19.

³ The funeral pyre and the collection of the ashes are represented on several Greek vases. On a vase published by Gerhard (*Ant. Bildwerke*, pl. 31) is represented the burning of the body of Herakles, while he himself is borne aloft in a quadriga. A woman meantime pours wine or water on the embers, in order to extinguish them, so that the ashes may be collected.

faces of the mourners. The deceased man was regarded as the host, and speeches were made in which he was highly lauded. Sometimes, when many people fell by a common catastrophe, one feast was held in honour of all. Thus after the battle of Chæroneia the *περίδειπνον* was held at the house of Demosthenes, who had been selected to make the funeral oration.

At intervals sacrifices were offered at the tomb or *ἡρώδον*. The first took place on the third day (*τρίτα*), the next on the ninth day (*ἑνاتا*). These sacrifices were repeated at the *νεκύσια*,

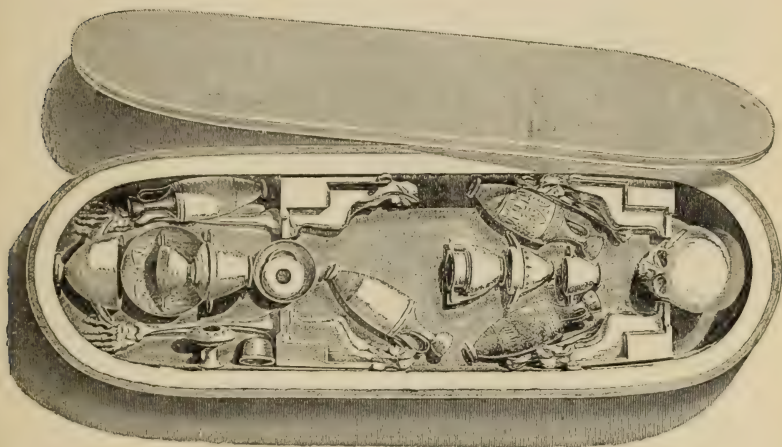


FIG. 30.—CHILD'S COFFIN, CONTAINING SKELETON, TERRA-COTTAS, VASES, &c. (Stackelberg, *Gräber der Hellenen*, pl. 8.)

the All-Souls' Day of the ancients, as well as on the birthday of the deceased (*γενέσια*),¹ and the anniversary of the day of death was also marked by sacrifices. These consisted usually of *χοαί*, the ingredients of which are given by Æschylus² as milk, honey, water, wine, olives, and flowers; but sometimes blood was mingled with the other substances. In all these ceremonies we see a close resemblance between Greek customs and those of the Egyptians as exhibited in the Egyptian tombs. Funeral feasts, the *νεκύσια*, the furnishing of tombs, were all

¹ Herodot. iv. 26.

² *Pers.* 615.

Egyptian customs, and the early Athenian vase-paintings, which give us representations of mourning and of burials, are similar to those on the walls of the Egyptian tombs.

The offerings to the dead are a frequent subject in ancient art. On the white Attic *lekythi* the deceased are commonly depicted as seated on the steps of their monuments, while votaries bring wreaths, fillets, and other offerings. In the reliefs of tombs, especially in later Greece, we have representations of heroised men and women banqueting, while figures on a smaller scale, no doubt survivors, do them homage. The scene of these banquets may be supposed to be either the tomb itself or Hades; the offerings were of course made at the tomb, but their effect was supposed to reach the world of shades.

In an able paper on the tombs of Athens,¹ Dr. Brückner sums up the evidence derived from excavation. He shows that in earlier times, the seventh century and thereabouts, bodies were seldom burned, almost always buried. The graves at this time were roofed with wood; over them was left a ditch containing a large terra-cotta vessel for the reception of offerings, while within was stored pottery of all sorts, gold diadems, iron weapons, spindle-whorls of terra-cotta, and the like. After the sumptuary laws of Solon, the contents of graves are simpler, only *lekythi* and unguent vessels, mirrors for women, and playthings for children. The legislation of Demetrius Phalereus, B.C. 317-307, again increased the simplicity of burials, and for a century after his time the noble sepulchral monuments which had arisen in Athens in such numbers during the fourth century entirely cease.

Tombs erected over bodies buried in the soil sometimes preserved in appearance something of the character of a chapel or *heroon* with pillars and pediment, but more often take the form of simple monuments, upright slabs (*στῆλαι*), or pillars (*κίονες*), set to mark the spot, and to record the memory of the dead. The principal roads, as they approached a Greek city, were commonly bordered on both sides with long lines of such monuments. At Athens a small section of the sacred way leading to Eleusis has been preserved in part, and the tombs on each side of it still remain where they were erected. Both the representations and the inscriptions on these tombs throw an interesting light on ancient life, and illustrate admirably the Greek notions of death.²

¹ *Archäol. Jahrbuch, Anzeiger*, 1892, p. 19.

² For a fuller account of the character of Greek tombs see my *New Chapters in Greek History*, chaps. x. and xi.

They usually present to us, carved in very high relief, a scene from the daily life of the deceased person. If he were a youth given to the chase, we see him with dogs or attacking the boar. If he were a knight, we see him charging on horseback. If he were shipwrecked, he sits desolately on a rock or else on the treacherous ship. Artisans are represented with the tools of their profession; women at their daily task of self-



FIG. 31.¹—OFFERINGS AT TOMB. (Pottier, *Lécythes Blancs*, pl. 4.)

adornment, or sporting with children and favourite animals. The family meal is a frequent subject of these reliefs; more often still there is a scene of departure, where one about to start on a journey grasps the hand of wife, brother, or friend. Very often we find a domestic scene of no special significance,

¹ The dead man here holds a lyre; a bird is brought as offering. A small ghost hovers over the tombstone.

the family being merely grouped to adorn the family grave. Sometimes in place of the upright stele we find a waterpot (ὑδρία or λουτροφόρος) in stone; and in such cases modern authorities, supported by a passage of Demosthenes,¹ see the grave of one who died before marriage.

The inscriptions on tombs were usually very brief, containing little more than would serve to identify the dead, his name, his father's name, and that of the city or deme to which he belonged. At Athens, in particular, when we find a longer epitaph, and especially one in verse, we may be pretty sure that the tomb bearing it was either erected at a late date or in honour of one of the resident strangers who abounded in the city. At Sicyon only the name of the deceased and that of his father was placed on a tomb; the rigorous laws of Sparta are said not to have allowed even the name to appear. One class of inscriptions, however, which does not quite accord with modern notions, deserves special mention. It consists of those which express a curse against all who shall interfere with or desecrate the tomb. This curse is sometimes expressed at great length, and with what is to us loathsome detail. The custom, however, does not properly belong to the best times of Greece, but to the Macedonian age, when sacrilege had become a less rare vice, and the ties which united fellow-citizens were losing their force.

The customs of mourning varied in the various Greek cities. The outward signs of it were cutting the hair close and putting on black garments. Hence the boast of Pericles, οὐδεὶς δι' ἐμὲ τῶν ὄντων Ἀθηναίων μέλαν ἱμάτιον περιβάλετο.² At Argos, however, white is said to have been customary. It was thought very unseemly in a mourner to enter the house of feasting or do anything inconsistent with grief and retirement. Both men and women neglected the care of their persons and ceased all personal adornment. The length of the mourning was thirty days at Athens and Argos; at Sparta it was limited to twelve days, but at most places it was longer. Indeed, when the lost person was a very near relative, we can scarcely imagine that the signs of grief were so soon laid aside.

Certain persons were deprived of the right of formal burial. Among these were persons struck by lightning, who were regarded as the prey of a deity; also traitors to their country, and others who had committed notorious crimes. Suicides were buried at night in an informal manner, and their right

¹ *Ad Leoch.* p. 1086.

² *Plutarch, Pericl.* 38.

hands were cut off. Those who died at sea, were devoured by wild beasts, or otherwise disappeared, were honoured with cenotaphs by their friends, and some of the funeral ceremonies carried through. By the grave of those who had been murdered a spear was set in the ground, which the relatives had to watch for a space of three days.¹

¹ Demosth. *in Eueg.* p. 1160.

BOOK V

COMMERCE

CHAPTER I

AGRICULTURE AND PASTURAGE

THE Achæans, as they come before us in the Homeric poems, are rather a pastoral than an agricultural race. It is in their herds of cattle, sheep, and swine, rather than in the produce of their lands, that the wealth of the heroic kings consisted. It was cattle which furnished them with a measure of value; and cattle, together with slaves, were the most valuable spoil which they secured in their military and piratical expeditions. Thucydides traces the same lines as Homer. In early times, he tells us,¹ the insecurity of property was too great to allow of the planting of trees, which would of course lie at the mercy of an invading enemy. And although men tilled the ground, the harvest would very often fall to the foe, whereas cattle could on an alarm be driven to a place of safety.

We read of kings' sons who were herdsmen and shepherds, such as Paris and Ganymedes and Anchises: and Eumæus the divine swineherd seems to have been a person of consequence in the island of Ithaca. In some instances, too, they are represented as occupied in agriculture. In the stately scenes of the Homeric shield, while the reapers cut and bind the corn, the master stands by, leaning on his staff and rejoicing in his heart. But the aged Laertes, father of Odysseus, is found by that hero clad in skins labouring in digging his own land. And the story goes, that when the chiefs came to fetch Odysseus himself to the war against Troy, they found him, like Cincinnatus, occupied in ploughing. But Odysseus and all his belongings are at a lower stage of material splendour than the heroes of Æacid and Pelopid race.

¹ Thucyd. i. 2.

It is probable that the downfall of the Achæan race was followed by a time of greater simplicity, when the aristocracy of the Greek tribes lived on their estates in the midst of slaves and retainers, as did the wealthy inhabitants of Elis even in the times of the Achæan League. But Greek civic life began to develop with irresistible attraction. The rich thronged more and more into cities, and left the work of their farms to bailiffs and slaves. There were in particular two states wherein the country life fell into the background; Athens, after the territory of the city had been wasted first by the Persians and afterwards by the Lacedæmonians, and the inhabitants of Attica cooped within the city walls; and Sparta, where the tendency of the proud burghers was to despise all pursuits except war and the chase. But we have no reason to suppose that this happened in the same degree in the other Greek cities. Even at Athens, although the witty and luxurious citizens ridiculed the yeoman, *ἀντουργός*, as *ἄγροικος* and a lout, they could not deny his solid virtues. In the *Æconomicus* Xenophon brings before us Ischomachus as one of the wealthiest and most respected citizens of Athens, who understands in the utmost detail the management of crops and trees, and is accustomed daily to visit and inspect his farm. Another pupil of Socrates, Euripides, goes so far in the *Orestes*¹ as to say, *ἀντουργός, ὅπερ καὶ μόνοι σώζουσι γῆν*, and to describe for an Athenian audience a manly fellow full of sense and spirit, but a stranger to the city and the Agora. The farmers of Aristophanes are not at all unkindly treated by him, and Strepsiades, one of them, marries a lady of the highest family. Thucydides² makes Pericles speak of the Peloponnesians, who composed the bulk of the Spartan army, as *ἀντουργοί*. Until the age of Alexander and professional mercenaries, all the armies of Greece were largely composed of men from the plough and the fold; and all history shows that *ἀντουργοί* make the best of soldiers. The mere hired workers, on the contrary, were utterly despised.

In all this we find traces of archaic customs which belonged to the entire Aryan race. The house, together with the field surrounding it, which was marked off by terminal stones, was the original domain of the self-contained Aryan family, within which the head of each family was supreme. Hence the possession of a domain was long considered necessary for the citizen, and always until the present day property in land has

¹ *Orestes*, 911, &c.

² Thucyd. I. 141.

been more highly valued and conferred greater distinction than any other class of wealth.

As a whole, Greece is a country by no means favourable to agriculture. There are a few rich plains, more especially those of Thessaly and Messenia, but the country is mostly rocky, barren, and uneven, especially unsuitable for large farms. Hence the wealthy families of Greece did not, like the Roman patricians, possess large landed estates, but invested their funds in slaves, ships, or the mines. The system of farming was that adapted to peasant proprietors or yeomen; and as early as the time of Hesiod we find a set of manners and a tone of morality appropriate to that class. Curtius¹ remarks that on mountain slopes in Peloponnesse one continually finds artificial terraces, which bear witness to the care of the ancient cultivator, terraces such as in our day are constructed by the peasant growers of vines on the Swiss or French hillsides. At present Greece is sadly in want of water. The streams disappear in the spring, and for the rest of the year the country presents stony wastes alternating with occasional swamps. But in old days great care was taken to construct canals and reservoirs, and lead the water to each plot of land from the springs, an operation mentioned even by Homer.² The draining of marshes, also, a work requiring abundant co-operation, was carried on all over Greece at so early a time that many of these drainage systems passed for the work of Herakles and other legendary heroes. The keeping in order of canals and watercourses was provided for by many laws, and at some places there were even magistrates³ (κρηνῶν ἐπιμεληταί) intrusted with the oversight of them. As Greece is a land of springs and not of rivers, this care made all the difference to its fertility.

Hesiod⁴ speaks of two kinds of ploughs, one αὐτόγυον, or formed of a single piece of wood, the other πηκτόν, or put together. The former is the more primitive. The plough in use among the Greeks at a later time consisted of a beam of oak, to the upper surface of which was fitted a pole to which the draught-oxen were tied, and an upright pole with cross-piece which was grasped by the plougher. Immediately under this second pole, on the lower side of the beam, was fixed the iron ploughshare. The great cheapness of labour in Greece and the paucity of capital stood in the way of improvements in this very rude instrument; and, in fact, much of the pre-

¹ *Peloponnesos*, i. 78.

² *Il.* xxi. 257.

³ *Arist. Pol.* vi. 8.

⁴ *Works and Days*, 432. Cf. Schreiber, *Bilderatlas*, pl. 64.

paration of fields for sowing was done by slaves armed with mattocks. Hesiod¹ draws a curious picture of a slave following the sower of seed with a spade and covering the seed with earth to prevent the birds from getting it. The crop when ripe was cut with a crescent-shaped sickle, and apparently the stalks so cut were gathered by hand² and tied into bundles. The threshing of corn was accomplished by the feet of cattle, which were driven over it. The straw was not cut close to the ground, but a considerable length left standing, to be presently ploughed into the ground for manure.

With regard to manuring generally, the ancients took considerable pains. Dung was spread on the land even in Homer's³ time. When the land had lain fallow, and so was covered with weeds, it was ploughed, and the weeds thrown on it to dry in the sun and so increase its fertility. We even hear of mixing of earths, rich with poor, heavy with light, and so forth. Thrice a year did the plough pass over the field, in early spring, in summer, and in autumn just before the sowing. Greek farmers were alive no less than English to the advantage of deep ploughing,⁴ that the raw earth may be well exposed to the sun. Sowing began about 11th November, at the setting of the Pleiads,⁵ a few days before the winter rains were expected to set in, and harvest at the rising of the same constellation in May. The labour of the field did not end with sowing; hoeing had to be done on either side of the standing lines of corn; and on specially good soil, such as that of Sicily, the young corn was sometimes mowed down to prevent it from growing too strong in straw.

There can be no doubt that agriculture in Attica suffered more and more as time went on, though to a less degree than that of Italy in Imperial times, from the competition of richer soils. Great cargoes of corn from Egypt and Sicily and the Black Sea constantly arrived in the Piræus, and the people of Athens learned the fatal lesson that it was easier to buy agricultural produce with money wrung from the allies or extracted from the mines at Laurium than to grow it on the rugged soil round Athens. For a long while after Solon's legislation the yeoman held his own, but the class never recovered from the effects of the Peloponnesian war, when for a long time Attica outside the walls of Athens was utterly

¹ *Works and Days*, 469.

³ *Od.* xvii. 297.

⁵ Hesiod, *Works and Days*, 383.

² *Iliad*, xviii. 553.

⁴ Xenoph. *Æcon.* 16, 12.

unsafe. The farmers took refuge in the city, and either sank into members of the city mob, or found their way to κληρουχίαι beyond the seas.

Grass-lands in Greece were mostly used for pasture, and not kept for hay, a rule arising from the nature of the Greek soil and the absence of spring rain. The planting of vines was an important branch of industry, and one which occupied many hands. The vines were mostly trained on stakes, sometimes on other trees; and the feast which accompanied the gathering of the grapes was of a joyous and self-indulgent character. As the Greeks lived mostly on vegetable food, the spade-industry of the vegetable garden must have flourished. Oil, also, for the needs of cookery and for rubbing the body, was required in great quantities; that of Attica was noted for its excellence; but wherever the Greek went to settle, the olive-tree accompanied him. Flowers were grown for sale; the vending of the numerous kinds of wreaths used at various times occupying a section of the market; but private gardens were not usual in cities, there being indeed no room for them. Only in the suburbs could they extend; the example of Epicurus in late times gave a stimulus to their spread.

With regard to their live stock, the Greeks from very early times took pains with the breed, and endeavoured to improve it. Thus we hear that Polycrates imported into Samos sheep from Athens and Miletus, and dogs from Lacedæmon and Epirus. Theognis remarks on the fact that the best goats, donkeys, and horses are chosen for stud purposes. At a later time Philip of Macedon imported into Macedon thousands of Scythian mares. The horse was not used for purposes of farming, and was at all times somewhat scarce in Greece. It was used in war and for riding when the master was on a journey, as well as for racing purposes, whether detached or harnessed to one of the racing chariots of later Greece. From the small numbers of the Greek cavalry we may judge of the paucity of Greek horses. Thessaly was pre-eminently their country, as is shown by the legends of the Thessalian Centaurs. Yet the whole number of Thessalian cavalry is reckoned by the Pharsalian Polydamas¹ at six thousand, and by Isocrates² at about three thousand. Bœotia was also a country celebrated for its horses, yet in the battle of Delium³ we find only a thousand Bœotian cavalry, while at the battle of Corinth in B.C. 394 they amounted to but eight hundred. At the same battle

¹ Xenoph. *Hellen.* vi. 1, 8.

² Isocr. *de Pace*, 118.

³ Thucyd. iv. 93.

there were present only six hundred Athenian cavalry, and it is improbable that the cavalry force of Athens in Athens' greatest time exceeded twelve hundred. The Lacedæmonians had little cavalry except mercenaries. Speaking generally, we may fairly assume that in the autonomous times of Greece wealthy men kept one horse. Only the very wealthy could compete at the Olympian chariot-race. This statement is confirmed by the fact that in Attica a poor horse cost three minas, a good one twelve, while for Bucephalus Alexander is said to have given thirteen talents.

The place of horses on farms or for purposes of drawing was taken by mules and asses, which were frequently used for the plough and in carts. The asses of the mountainous Arcadia and the mares of Elis produced a notable breed of mules, such as drew the mule-chariots in the Olympic races. Anaxilaus of Rhegium was so proud of winning the Olympian race with a biga of mules, that he adopted it thenceforth as the type of his coins. Oxen, sheep, and goats found abundant pasture in early times in Greece. Oxen in particular seem to have been in the Homeric age very abundant.

Early in the fourth century B.C. we learn from Attic inscriptions that oxen for sacrifice cost fifty to eighty drachms. The fact is that after the legislation of Solon the plough gradually encroached more and more on the pastures of the cattle, and the numbers of the latter diminished. We even hear of their importation from the shores of the Black Sea. Apparently they were used for sacrifice rather than other purposes; for milking goats were much preferred. The Greeks drank milk and made it into cheese, though they do not seem to have used butter, and goats were kept almost exclusively to supply those articles of food. Sheep were of the greatest use to the Greeks, as their flesh was the usual animal food, and of their wool much of the dress of both men and women was made. Hence great care was taken to improve the breed, and the wool of fine sheep was often protected from injury by clothing the animal while yet alive in a skin. Asia Minor was a great wool-producing region, the district of Miletus especially noted. The shepherds were very numerous in proportion to the sheep they tended, one to fifty, or at least one to a hundred, the labour of slaves being very cheap and very ineffective. Of great pasture farms we find an interesting record in an inscription from Orchomenus in Bœotia,¹ where is recorded the letting of pasture for two hundred and twenty horses and cattle and a

¹ *C. I. G.* 1569 A.

thousand sheep and goats. The pig was commoner in the Homeric times of the divine Eumæus and in the ruder parts of Greece, such as Arcadia and Ætolia, than in the regions of greater refinement. Fowls were kept perhaps less for the sake of their flesh and eggs, though these were of course used, than in order to produce a breed of fighting-cocks for a sport very popular in Greece. Penelope in Ithaca amuses herself by keeping a flock of geese, to which she is much attached. Quails were also kept for fighting, and pheasants for the luxury of the tables of the rich. Last, but by no means least important of Greek domestic creatures, we may name the bee, the cultivation of which was bestowed by the Nymphs, according to the legend, on Aristæus of Cos. Honey being used among the ancients for most of the purposes for which we use sugar, the quantity of it required must have been enormous, and the cultivation of the bee proportionally important. Virgil devotes an entire book of the *Georgics* to the subject; and though his precepts, borrowed no doubt from Greek sources, show great ignorance as to the real nature of bees, they show some skill in the tending of them.

The wild animals were never in historical Greece in sufficient quantities to employ a class of hunters; hunting was practised by the wealthy classes as a means of health and exercise. There were traditions of great hunts of formidable monsters in the heroic age, when bands of heroes assembled to rid the country of a peril. Lions were not forgotten in Greece, though in historical times they did not penetrate farther south than Macedonia and Thrace, and even in Thrace were extinct about the first century of our era. The bear and the wolf, largely mixed in local mythology in the Peloponnese, appear to have still infested mountains in historic times. The boar or the stag were the usual objects of great hunting-parties, but the hare was a common prey, and looked on as the usual spoil of the hunter. Dogs and nets were the means employed for its capture, the hunter following on foot. The time of Alexander witnessed a great revival of the spirit of hunting. The heart of Asia furnished that king and his captains with abundant game, and they entered eagerly into the pursuit, showing their prowess by single-handed contests with boar or lion. The hunting-dogs employed by the Lacedæmonians on Mount Taygetus and by the primitive Molossians of Epirus were celebrated in antiquity, but, if we may trust their representations in art, were not very powerful when compared to the splendid hounds of the Assyrian kings.

Fishing, on the contrary, employed a large number of ships and hands, and supplied a considerable proportion of the food of the ancients. At Athens fish was eaten in the place of meat. The supply to the fish-markets, which abounded in Greek cities, consisted partly of fresh fish caught on the coasts of Greece by the inhabitants of villages such as Anthedon, partly of cured and salt fish imported from abroad. The great source of the latter was the Black Sea, and especially the Bosphorus and the mouth of the Borysthenes, where tunnies abounded in vast shoals. The eels of the Copaic Lake in Bœotia were celebrated, and oysters a favourite dish. But among shell-fish the most valuable was sought not for eating, but as furnishing a purple dye, and this was found abundantly on the coasts of Crete and the Peloponnese, whither its presence had in early times attracted the Sidonian mariners.

A considerable revenue was extracted by the ancient as by the modern Greeks from the *ἄλεις*, which were shallow lagoons on the borders of the sea. In the winter a way was opened from them to the Mediterranean, and they became full of sea-water. In the summer this way of communication was blocked, and the lagoons dried up, leaving at the bottom a deposit of salt, which could be cut into blocks and used.

CHAPTER II

MANUFACTURES AND PROFESSIONS

THE manufactures of Greece, as contrasted with the products of her artistic activity, never reached the excellence we might have expected in so ingenious a people. The reason must be sought in two circumstances: first, that each household producing a considerable proportion of the things it consumed, things so produced were of a rough and domestic kind; secondly, that handicraft was in the best ages of Greece despised, and considered fit rather for slaves and foreigners than citizens. In Homeric times we find less of such contempt. One of the Olympic deities, Hephæstus, occupies a respectable position, though a smith; some of the Homeric heroes are sons of workmen, and some of Homer's best similes are borrowed from the mechanical arts. To him the smith and carpenter is a wise man, a welcome guest of princes, and a favourite of Pallas Athena. With Phœnician wares in those early days

the Greeks imported Semitic ideas as to skilled workmen, who in Syria were supposed to enjoy special divine favour. The crafts mentioned by Homer are those of the carpenter (τέκτων), the maker of spears, the maker of chariots, the worker in horn, the worker in bronze, the goldsmith, the leather-cutter, and the potter. The more skilled workmen wandered from place to place: work of an ordinary character was carried on on the estates of the kings, as is evident from the speech of Achilles when he proposes a mass of iron as a prize,¹ that "the winner will not have to go to the town for five years to fetch iron, but have it ready for shepherd and ploughman." Odysseus can build a ship with his own hands, and himself unaided wrought the couch in his bedchamber at Ithaca.

That in historic times all handworkers (δημιουργοί) together with their handicrafts sank lower in the general esteem is undeniable. They did so for two reasons: firstly, because the man who produces anything for sale is to some extent at the beck and call of all purchasers. Aristotle² says that he only differs from a slave in being subject to all instead of to one man. Secondly, the sedentary and within-door (βάνανος) nature of the crafts unfitted the man who exercised them for war and the chase, which were considered the most dignified employments. And at a later time the popular prejudice against handiwork was fully adopted by the philosophers, who, despising the body and its needs, scorned those who ministered to merely material enjoyments and necessities. So Plato makes the operatives the lowest class in his ideal Republic, and gives them no voice in its government.

It was the natural result of so general a feeling that in most parts of Greece manufactures were left to slaves and resident aliens; but the custom varied in various places. We hear of Corinth, essentially a trading city, as the place where handiworkers were least looked down on; and no doubt the assertion holds of the numerous colonies spread by Corinth over the coasts of Acarnania and Epirus. At Thebes, on the other hand, no man was eligible for a magistracy if he had within ten years practised any manufacture. At Sparta, as might have been expected, the prejudice was still stronger. A Spartan would have deemed himself disgraced irretrievably by the pursuit of any mechanical art. So we are told that king Agesilaüs, wishing to keep up the spirit of his Spartans, one day at a review of his whole force, having ordered the army to

¹ *Il.* xxiii. 834.

² *Polit.* iii. 3, 3.

sit down, then called upon the practisers of each trade, potters, tailors, and so forth to rise by classes one after the other. On which we hear that nearly all the allies rose, but not a single Spartan. The Spartans considered a life of leisure necessary to the acquirement of a manly and spirited nature. And that the philosophers took not a dissimilar view is shown by the Socratic saying that Idleness and Liberty are sisters.

At Athens we find considerable fluctuations in the estimate held of handworkers. The laws of Solon compelled poor burghers to bring up their sons to a trade, on penalty of exempting the sons, if they were not so taught, from the duty of supporting their aged parents. They also forbade ridiculing any man in public on account of his trade. And there can be no doubt that at all times a number of poor citizens practised handicrafts. In Xenophon we find Socrates rallying young Charmides, who was nervous about speaking in the Ecclesia, asking him whether he were afraid of hucksters, smiths, and the like, for of such the assembly consisted. We hear also that in the year B.C. 322 there were 12,000 Athenian citizens who possessed less than 2000 drachms. Most of these must have exercised a trade, as a family could not live at Athens on the interest of much less than 2000 drachms. But the best of proofs is furnished by an Athenian inscription of about the 93rd Olympiad, which records the sums paid on account of public buildings, and we find that of the stone-cutters and carvers there mentioned about two-thirds were Metoeci and one-third Athenian citizens. After the lands of Attica had been ravaged by the Peloponnesians, a number of citizens who had lived by agriculture were obliged to turn to trade. Even women were obliged to take wages as weavers and nurses, though by so doing they thought themselves disgraced.

When, however, we hear of prominent citizens as exercising such and such a trade, we must not understand it always literally. It may mean only that he possessed a factory where the trade in question was carried on by his slaves. Thus Cleon inherited a factory for tanning, and Hyperbolus possessed a lamp-factory. In both these cases the work was no doubt carried on by slaves under slave-overseers, and the masters only exercised a general supervision. The comic poets of course overlooked this nice distinction. Demosthenes, as we know, inherited two factories, one of swords, the other of couches; and it was the custom in Athens for those who had much capital invested in slaves to set them to work in manu-

factories or let them out in the mines. Only those too poor to buy slaves had to work themselves.

The lowest class of operatives, who differed but little from slaves, were those who let themselves out for hire by the day, *μισθωτοί*. To this sad position were reduced many burghers, both at Athens and elsewhere, in the course of the Peloponnesian war, losing their lands, and being unable to exercise a trade for want of capital and training. How such were treated by the wealthy may be judged from the account in Plato's *Euthyphro* of the hired labourer who, having killed a slave, is flung bound into a ditch, and dies of cold and neglect. We hear that Menedemus and Asclepiades, whose days were passed in philosophising, spent the night in labour in the service of a miller, labour noted for its severity and rewarded at the rate of two drachms a day. We are told that the Spartan Eteonicus, in the course of the Peloponnesian war, caused his soldiers to labour in Chios to provide the sinews of war, and at a later period Iphicrates followed his example. But it must be confessed that, in the time of Iphicrates, the ordinary resource of the poor was to become mercenary soldiers, to turn from labour to war, and not in the opposite direction.

We hear little among the Greeks of systems of caste, or of employments being hereditary in families. One of the early tribes of Attica was the *Ἐργάδαι* or handiworkers, but we have no reason to think that the members of that tribe were at all restricted in their choice of means of living. At Sparta,¹ indeed, the occupations of cook, flute-player, and herald seem to have been hereditary. Still more in the nature of castes were the Asclepiadæ of Cos, the Dædalidæ of Crete, and the Homeridæ of Chios, which families seem to have rigorously excluded strangers; but they practised professions rather than mechanical arts; and we may better compare them to the hereditary colleges of priests than suppose them castes like those of Egypt and Hindostan. Guilds or voluntary organisations of workmen are traced in Asia Minor under Roman dominion. Thus in Thyatira² we find organised bodies of dyers, tanners, potters, and so forth, who elect officers and pass decrees; but we have no trace of such organisation at an earlier period or in Hellas itself.

We may be sure from the immense numbers of the slaves maintained at Athens, Corinth, and Ægina, that in the great commercial cities of Greece there were large factories filled

¹ Herod. vi. 60.

² *C. I. G.* 3496-8, 3485, &c.

with slaves, the products of which were known far and wide. Thearion and Cyrebus at Athens baked vast quantities of bread, Attic bread being celebrated, and made their fortunes. Nausicydes at Athens had mills for grinding flour so numerous or extensive that he fed a large herd of cattle on the husks.¹ Special houses were noted for particular descriptions of goods, and sometimes the fame spread to the people of a whole city.

Hermann² observes that we may make a convenient division of employments into four classes, accordingly as they were concerned with houses, furniture, clothes, and food respectively. In ancient, as in modern days, the separation of employments was carried farthest in great cities, while it scarcely existed in the villages.

In the construction of public buildings the supreme direction rested of course with the architect, who was frequently also a sculptor, and who enjoyed high reputation. Under him worked masons and carpenters (τέκτονες). We possess an interesting record, drawn up B.C. 409,³ of the sums paid to the masons at work on the Erechtheum at Athens. They appear to have been partly citizens and partly metœci. The sum paid for the working of marble was sixty drachms (about £2) for an ordinary figure in relief on the frieze: possibly the model was the work of a noted sculptor, which the masons had to reproduce, though not slavishly, in stone.

For ordinary houses, made of wood and brick, and without artistic decoration, an ordinary builder (οἰκοδόμος)⁴ would suffice. The materials of building would come from the yards of the brickmakers (πλινθουργοί), from the timber merchants, and from the quarries. In these last the labour was done by slaves, either criminals or captives of war. The great λατόμια of Syracuse remain almost as they were at the time when the captive Athenian army was driven into them, and a visit to them impresses on the mind almost as much as a visit to the mines of Laurium how squalid were the conditions and how miserable the lives of slaves among the Greeks. Crowded together in dense throngs, exposed to the inclemency of the weather, without any provision for the necessities and decencies of life, labouring under the lash of brutal taskmasters, and at night lying in straw and filth, we cannot wonder that in a few months or years they found a death which can scarcely have been unwelcome.

¹ Xenoph. *Memorab.* ii. 7, 6.

³ Cf. Overbeck, *Griech. Plastik*, i. 475.

² *Privatalt.* chap. 43.

⁴ Plato, *Protag.* 319 B.

The furniture of houses would be produced mostly in factories, such as those already spoken of, in the possession of wealthy citizens. Of the utmost importance were the trades of the worker in metal and of the potter. Chalcis, Ægina, Corinth, and even Etruria, had at various times the highest reputation for utensils in bronze: the commoner utensils of iron were produced in most places. In pottery of the finer kind, after the time of the Persian wars, no city could compare with Athens. The great quarters of the outer and inner Cerameicus swarmed with potters. The earth of Cape Colias was regarded as without an equal for quality and colour; but it was really



FIG. 32.—VASE-FACTORY. (Rayet et Collignon, *Céram. gr.* p. iii.¹)

the greater taste and capacity for art which distinguished the workmen of Athens and gave them the victory over all rivals in the trade. The result was that the finer kinds of vases, used for the decoration of houses or the furnishing of tombs, were everywhere imported from Attica; and excavations in Etruria, Sicily, Cyprus, or the Crimea bring to light few fine vessels which were not made in the Cerameicus.

As every housewife was devoted to the labours of the loom, abundant material for ordinary clothing would be forthcoming in

¹ A notable point in this vase-painting is that one of the workpeople is a woman. Two of the workmen are being crowned by Athena and Victory.

every well-regulated household. It was only garments of finer texture or more elaborate pattern which had to be bought of the merchant. Probably at all times carpets and raiment of the finest kind were imported from the East, works of the "rich dye of Tyre and the fine web of Nile." But we have a description¹ of a garment of great beauty made by Greeks on Oriental lines, and belonging to Alcimenes of Sybaris. It was fifteen cubits long, of genuine purple dye, and inwoven with figures of Greek deities, bordered on each side by rows of animals such as are found on early vases. Megara produced working dresses: Patræ was especially noted for factories of textile wares in which the byssus of Elis was worked up; these were mostly the work of women, who abounded in that city, and not unnaturally introduced much dissoluteness into manners. At Cos and Amorgos were woven the delicate and transparent robes which the wealthy affected, and which philosophers despised as effeminate. As to the nature and sources of Greek food, something has already been said (Bk. iv. ch. 3).

Professional men, that is, those who make a living by education and intellect, did not enjoy among the Greeks anything like so good a reputation or so high a position as among modern nations. For the Greeks never gave up the idea that it was *βάναστρον*, vulgar and low, to take money in return for such services as professional men render. Hence, many of the more respectable of those who exercised learned pursuits took no money for their pains.

The most important professions in Greece were those of teaching and medicine, of which I have already spoken (Bk. iv. ch. 1 and 6).

There was no legal profession in Greece. The task of defending the accused in law-courts fell either upon himself or on any friend who would undertake the task. The prosecutor likewise had to rely on his own powers and those of friends. Nevertheless, there were in later times, at Athens at all events, two classes of men besides the dicasts who made money out of legal proceedings. One consisted of those orators who wrote speeches for others to deliver. Antiphon of Rhamnus is said to have been the first to take money for a written speech; but in the next age that example was followed by most of the great orators, Lysias, Isæus, Isocrates, Demosthenes himself. Nor did they write for pay only speeches to be used in the law-courts, but also political orations. The other class consisted of syco-

¹ Aristotle (?), *De Mirab. Auscult.* 96.

phants, who were very numerous and troublesome. As the law at Athens allowed any citizen who heard of the commission of certain offences to prosecute the committer, it became frequently necessary for those who transgressed to bribe intending prosecutors to silence. Even where a man was innocent, the chances of the law-courts were such that it was often wiser for him to compound by payment. The accuser also in case of conviction received a share of the fine. Hence, a large class of men arose who lived on fines and on hush-money, and it may readily be guessed that their character was most unscrupulous, and that they were ready to be the tools of political and private enmity.

Nor had Greece any class of literary men who lived by the pen; but in this case too the rudiments of such a class may be traced. When the singer or reciter of Homeric ballads repeated other poets' verses or extemporised his own in the court of one of the petty kings or in the market-place of a city, he no doubt had his reward; and we know that at a somewhat later time the lyric poets, like Pindar and Simonides, received money from the patrons whose families they extolled, or whose victories in the games they sang. Later still, the courts of the successors of Alexander were thronged by poets who received pay in return for flatteries and dedications. The queens of Egypt had quite a retinue of poets. There was in all the Greek world a brisk trade in books for educational and other purposes. Booksellers lived in the more literary cities, and kept a staff of slaves to copy the works most in demand, both for sale at home and for export; but it will be understood that the idea of an author's selling the copyright of his work had not arisen. Hermodorus, the pupil of Plato, is said to have been the first to sell his own works, and he incurred a good deal of ridicule in consequence.

In both fame and fortune sculptors and painters and other artists stood at the head of the professional classes. They not only took pupils on very high terms, but were able to dispose of their works for great sums to wealthy amateurs. Pliny¹ gives a list of such prices. Apelles received twenty talents of gold for a picture of Alexander, and Aristides of Thebes a thousand minæ for a picture of a battle with Persians. A hundred talents were paid for the Diadumenus of Polycleitus. Besides these great artists, there were a multitude of lesser ones engaged in cutting signets, engraving coin-dies, painting house-walls and pottery, and the like. In fact, the Greek

¹ xxxv. 36, 92, 99, 100.

workman was always more or less of an artist. Musicians

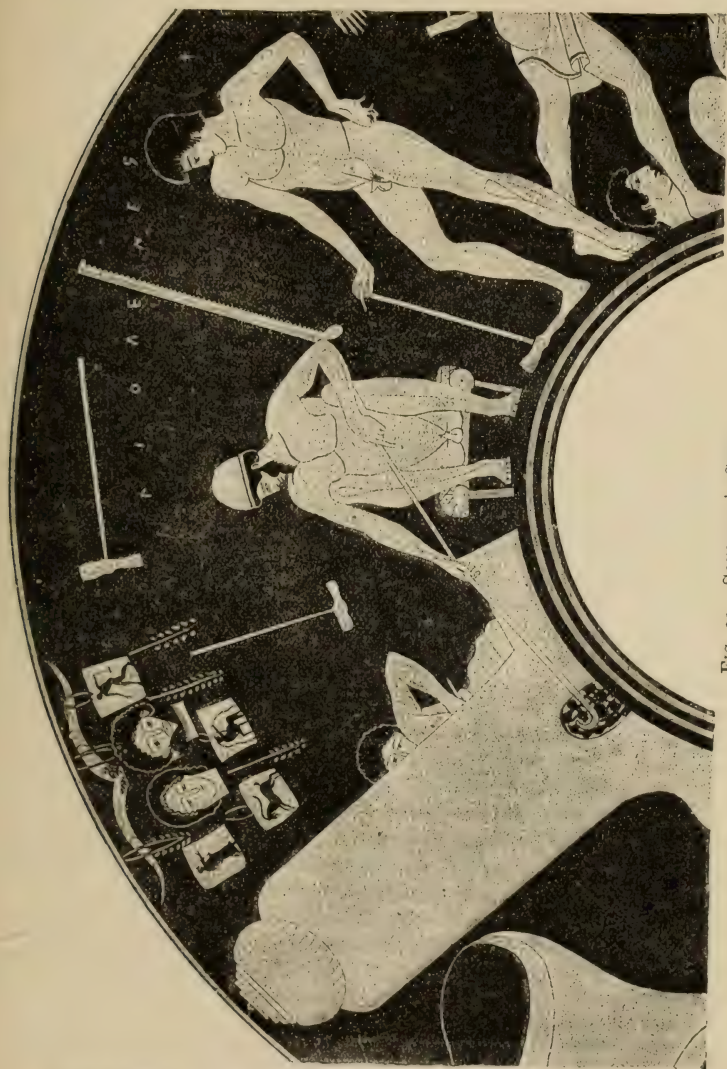


FIG. 33.—SCULPTOR'S SHOP.

Gerhard, *Coups Gr. et Etr.*, pl. 12. The sculptor is a worker in bronze, as is shown by the furnace and the models in clay.

were paid to train choruses and to perform at entertainments.

And after the time of Alexander there wandered about the Greek world troops of Dionysiac artists or actors, who passed from city to city giving representations for hire of the master-pieces of the Greek drama. Indeed, such troops existed in Attica and some other districts at an earlier time, for Æschines is greatly ridiculed by his contemporaries for having played second-rate parts in connection with such a troop. They did not stand very high in popular estimation.

CHAPTER III

COMMERCE AND TRADE-ROUTES

IN the Homeric age commerce can scarcely be said to have existed among the Greeks. The state of society was such as scarcely to require it. The Homeric nobles produce on their own lands nearly all that they require for their rude mode of living. The only necessary which they had to go to the town and fetch seems to have been iron:¹ luxuries they imported, or rather bought, of the foreign merchants who visited their shores. The chief riches of the Homeric chiefs consisted in their flocks and herds and their slaves. These alone they could offer to merchants in exchange for wares. Hence prices are always by Homer reckoned in oxen; and we are told that when a cargo of Lemnian wine reached the Greek camp before Troy, the chiefs purchased amphoras of it for cattle and hides.² The real resources of Greek lands, the purple-fisheries of Cythera, the copper-mines of Cyprus, the gold-mines of Thasos, seem to have been in the hands of Phœnicians; and from the Phœnicians came most of the articles of manufacture and luxury used by the Greeks of that age. Craters and other vessels of bronze, and clothes dyed with purple, the skilful Sidonians manufactured themselves; ivory they brought from Egypt, and tin from Britain or from India. Slaves, in those days the most important article of commerce, they bought and sold everywhere. Their factories were to be found on all shores where any gain was to be made by trading, and their voyages reached from Britain to India.

They did not, however, possess a monopoly of trade. Ruder peoples organised expeditions, partly for piratical purposes, and

¹ *Il.* xxiii. 835.

² *Il.* viii. 474.

partly for trade. The Taphians and Teleboans,¹ who are supposed to have lived in the neighbourhood of Coreyra, traded in metal and slaves with the opposite inhabitants of Italy and Sicily ; and the Phæacians, supposing them to have been a real and not a mythical people, seem to have possessed an extensive and lucrative trade. The Lemnians exported their wine in their own ships, and the Cretans were celebrated as bold sailors and organisers of piratical expeditions as far as the coasts of Africa.² In the traditions of the Argonautic expedition we may see proof that even the Achæans did not shrink from long and venturesome expeditions, though they had as yet small idea of trading ; rather they endeavoured to surprise and sack the cities of richer peoples and to bring home wealth and honour. The gold, which we know to have been no rarity in some parts of Greece in Homeric times, must have either been thus acquired or brought over the sea by wealthy Phœnicians or Lydians.

It was probably the pressure of population which caused the Greeks about the eighth century before our era to turn their attention to the spreading of colonies over the shores of the Mediterranean, and, as a consequence, to commerce. We may call this a consequence, because in most cases communication was kept up between the mother-city and the colony ; the latter, finding itself in the midst of a new set of surroundings and productions, acquired new wants and new tastes, and then communicated these wants and tastes to its parent, together with the materials for their satisfaction. Thus a lively trade between old and new Greek cities arose throughout the Levant ; and the Greek traders, by a process which we can but rarely trace in history, gradually ousted the Phœnicians from nearly all their factories and trading stations, inheriting their traditions and their relations to the barbarous tribes of the interior. For the western trade Corinth was the most important city. The incomparable position of this city, the Acropolis of which is placed on a lofty rock commanding both the eastern and western seas of Greece, gave it marvellous advantages. No trireme could be dragged across the isthmus which divided the two seas without permission of the Corinthians ; and as the Greeks dreaded the open sea of Cape Malea, they eagerly sought such permission. By the colonies of Coreyra and Dyrrhachium, Corinth commanded the Adriatic Sea, and pushing on, founded mighty cities in Italy and Sicily, including Syracuse itself. Scarcely less active in the same region were the people of Chalcis in Eubœa,

¹ *Od.* xv. 427.

² *Od.* xiv. 245.

who founded Naxos and Catana in Sicily. On the coast of Macedonia a whole district was settled by these same Chalcidians, and received its name from them. Miletus took as a special province the Euxine Sea and studded its shores with flourishing towns. Greek settlers occupied the coasts of Cyprus, and even the distant Libya received a colony in Cyrene. In the time of the Persian wars, the people of Phocæa sailed as far as Massilia and settled there. Before the Persians conquered Egypt the Greeks had settled in large numbers at Naucratis on the Nile, and had in their hands much of the trade of that rich country.

The history of Greek commerce may be most aptly divided into three periods. The first comprises the time when no Greek city was specially pre-eminent above the rest, although Corinth in the west and Miletus in the east took usually the lead. The second period begins with the fall of Miletus and with the sudden expansion of Athenian commerce, the Athenians inheriting Milesian supremacy in the Euxine and forming a strict commercial confederacy in the Levant. This period begins with the Persian wars and ends with the taking of Athens by Lysander. The third period includes the rise and activity of the city of Rhodes, which was founded about B.C. 408, and almost immediately became a centre of Greek commerce, continuing to be wealthy and flourishing until the Romans were supreme in all parts of the Mediterranean Sea.

Taking Athens, Ægina, and Corinth as the centre, we find radiating from it four principal courses of trade. The first led in a north-easterly direction past the coasts of Macedon and Thrace, through the Bosphorus into the Euxine Sea. This line of trade was perhaps to the Greeks the most important of all, and in every age the city that had most share in it attained a preponderant commercial position. The shores of Macedon, Thrace, Pontus, and Bithynia, were to the Greeks what the wide plains of Russia and America are to ourselves. Thence came their supply of food and the raw materials of manufacture. In ancient, as in modern days, the plains of Southern Russia produced an enormous harvest of corn, and fed innumerable herds of oxen, which supplied the Greek tanners with hides. At the mouth of the Borysthenes and in the Propontis were some of the most productive fisheries known to the Greeks, supplying them with immense quantities of salt fish, which, with bread, was the staple of their food. The vast forests of Macedon and the Danube valley furnished an inexhaustible supply of timber for house and ship building, while even at that period Greece was poor in forest; as well as tar and char-

coal. Flax and hemp also came largely from the Euxine. The great bulk of these products the Greek colonists did not produce on their own lands, but procured by barter from the barbarous tribes of the interior. The wandering tribes of Scythians, who dwelt on the northern shores of the sea, learned to cultivate corn for export and to breed cattle; and bringing these to the Greeks, obtained in return oil and bronzes, and more especially wine, which was very necessary to their enjoyment, and yet could not be grown so far north. Their kings were generally on good terms with the Hellenic colonists; and in our own day the tombs of these chiefs have been in many cases opened, and found to contain elegant pottery, jewellery, and ornaments, which exhibit Greek art almost at its best. The influence of Athens in particular is very clear in these elegant luxuries; a fact which reminds us that at Athens the public police force consisted of slaves imported from Scythia, the *τοξόται*.

The second great line of trade was that of which at successive periods Delos and Rhodes were the emporia, and which led from Hellas past Rhodes and Cyprus along the coast of Phœnicia to Egypt. This route was the more important because along it came the products of the far East, of India, and Arabia, and Babylon. Before the foundation of Alexandria, the great cities of Phœnicia retained the commerce of Farther Asia almost entirely in their own hands, but at a later period it was more widely spread, and shared by Antioch on the north and Alexandria on the south. Babylon furnished the Greeks with carpets and other stuffs, India with precious stones, silk, and ivory, Arabia with frankincense and various spices. The valley of the Nile exported both in later Greek and Roman times immense quantities of corn, as well as writing-paper and linen made of the papyrus plant, ivory, and porcelain. Phœnicia supplied the Greeks with fewer and fewer articles as their own resources developed; but cloth of purple, alabaster flasks of ointment, and fragrant woods, seem to have been exported through Tyre and Sidon until Roman times. Cyprus furnished not only the best copper known to the ancients, but in addition manufactured cloth of both finer and coarser texture. Cyrene, which could be reached either through Egypt or by way of Crete, supplied the whole world with silphium, an article very much used in ancient medicine, and found nowhere but in the Cyrenaic district. The people of Peloponnesus sailed to both Cyrene and Egypt by way of Crete.

The third line of trade, which was always in the hands of

Corinth and her colonies, started from that great commercial metropolis, and led through the Corinthian gulf, past the coasts of Acarnania and Epirus to the various ports on both sides of the Adriatic Sea. Although the Adriatic was reckoned a very dangerous sea, both on account of its frequent storms and because of the hardihood of the Illyrian pirates, yet it produced great gain to the merchants who ventured on it. They exchanged Greek wine and manufactured goods for the produce of agriculture and grazing offered them by the farmers of the Epirote and Italian coasts. On the Italian side the harbours of Adria and Ancona lay open, and offered access to the peoples of Eastern Italy.

More celebrated and frequented was the fourth line of trade, which led either from the Corinthian Gulf or the promontory of Malea across to Sicily, and through the Straits of Messina to the western coasts of Italy, to Gaul and Spain. As far to the north as Cumæ this route passed a continuous succession of Greek colonies, and even in Gaul and Spain Massilia and Emporiæ stood ready to harbour the Greek merchants, and to give them facilities for obtaining the produce of the interior. Corn and cheese were obtained from Sicily, wood from the forests of Southern Italy. Gaul supplied slaves, and the merchants who were so venturesome as to penetrate to Spain reaped a rich reward in the shape of gold, with which Spain at that time abounded. But the jealousy of Carthaginians and Etruscans prevented the commerce of the Greeks from ever spreading in force to the west and north of Cumæ. To Italy and Sicily the Greeks of Hellas brought in return for the products of the soil wine, pottery, and articles of manufacture.

These four routes were the chief lines by which the riches of the barbarians flowed into Greece. Of course, among the great Greek cities themselves, scattered over the coasts of Asia Minor, Sicily, and Italy, and the mainland of Hellas, there was constant intercourse and a continual exchange of goods, for particular classes of which special cities and districts were famous. Thus Chios exported the finest wine, as well as Cnidus and Thasos; Corinth supplied the Greek world with articles of bronze; Athens with pottery and with silver from the Laurian mines, with oil, honey, and figs; Thessaly and Elis with horses; Arcadia with asses; Sparta and Epirus with dogs; Bœotia with eels from the Copaic lake; the district about Mons Pangæus with gold and with roses. The internal trade of the Peloponnese was mainly in the hands of astute natives of Ægina, who travelled as pedlars over the country,

carrying with them wares adapted to the needs of the hardy peasants of the hills.

Plato in the *Politicus*¹ distinguishes two classes of dealers. The first consists of those who sell only the goods they themselves produce (*αὐτοπώλαι*). The second consists of those who buy in order to sell again at a profit. In the latter class are included both shopkeepers or hucksters (*καπηλοί*), whose business is retail, and merchants² (*ἐμποροί*) who deal wholesale between market and market, or city and city.

We are told that among the Locrians³ the second and third of these classes were wanting; that the husbandmen sold their products one by one to the consumer and not in the mass to dealers. Such a state of things could exist only in a very simple society; and among the Greeks generally the two classes of hucksters and merchants were numerous and clearly distinguished one from the other.

In poor and mountainous or barren districts, such as Arcadia, the hucksters usually moved from place to place carrying with them a pack of goods for sale. But wherever the Greek population gravitated, as it normally did, into cities, these petty dealers did not acquire wandering habits, but remained attached to a certain spot in the market-place. Here their booths stood side by side with the factories of those who made articles for sale, sandal-makers, for instance, or wreath-makers. Among the most numerous classes of them were dealers in wine, oil, and fish. Sometimes covered halls were erected in order to contain a certain class of them, halls which thenceforth became the markets for a particular class of goods, the wine-market, for instance, or the fish-market. In large cities there would be found in the market-place a series of detached halls of this character, near together but disconnected. Even where everything was sold in the open Agora, dealers in the same commodities would naturally gravitate to the same quarter of it, forming what were termed *κύκλοι* for the sale of such and such goods. The Agoras were not always in the cities; sometimes they were situated on a convenient spot on the boundaries of two or more states, to be used in common by them; sometimes they were in the neighbourhood of celebrated temples, which attracted crowds of votaries.

Of course these hucksters employed all their art to attract customers. A large or public sale would be announced beforehand by the town-criers, but ordinary dealers probably trusted

¹ *Polit.* 260 c.

² *Repub.* 371.

³ Heracleid. *Polit.* 30.

to the lusty use of their lungs for attracting attention. The voices of the sellers proclaiming their wares, and of the buyers chaffering and trying to beat down the price, must have mingled in a noise like that of Babel. Diphilus¹ mentions a wine-seller as going about with a skin of wine under his arm, and offering samples (δείγματα) to probable buyers. Such samples were sometimes hawked out of the market, up and down the streets, and those who carried them would loudly cry their wares.

Not all times were equally devoted to marketing. Special days were set apart in many cities for fairs, the first of the month being a favourite time. On the occasion of all great festivals, and more especially of the Olympic, Nemean, and Pythian games, the assembly offered an irresistible opportunity to petty dealers of all sorts, who turned the place of meeting into a great fair, and provided the visitors with plenty to carry away in memory of the feast. The meeting of the Amphictionic council, the annual assemblies of the Achæans and Ætolians, and all other such gatherings were used in the same way. Finally, armies on the march were accompanied by crowds of hucksters ready to provide the soldiers with the necessaries of a campaign in return for the booty they might acquire, and especially to buy up the numerous enemies who should be captured and reduced to a condition of slavery. In passing through a friendly country, the army would halt in the neighbourhood of a city, and the inhabitants would come out and form a temporary Agora without the walls, where the soldiers could buy what they required. Hence generals in the field were obliged to constantly issue a supply of money, and in a large number of the coins which have come down to us we find traces of a military origin.

With regard to the transactions of merchants we get much information from the Attic orators, which is well summed up by Büchschütz, from whose work² the following is an extract. "The merchant embarks certain goods for a place where he is sure of disposing of them, or at least has reasonable expectations of doing so; and either makes the journey on board the ship, or commits the goods to a trustworthy person whom he sends with them. As he thus runs the risk of finding under certain circumstances at the destination no market for his goods, he is in that case compelled to repair to another port which offers better prospects, unless on the

¹ Apud Athen. 499.

² *Besitz und Erwerb*, p. 459.

journey he has already received news of the altered circumstances and changed his plan in accordance with them. It is obvious that the merchants must have sought means of gaining news as to favourable or unfavourable conditions in the markets to which they intended to send their wares, as well as to the prices of the goods they intended to purchase in exchange. In the speech against Dionysodorus, Demosthenes gives a clear outline of the way in which a company of corn merchants keep themselves informed by correspondence of the current prices of corn, in order thence to determine whither to send their cargoes from Egypt. For the forwarding of such news, as well as for the buying and selling of goods, merchants kept agents at important places. For instance, we find it stated that a merchant resident at Athens sends word to a partner at Rhodes, giving him directions as to a corn-ship on her way from Egypt which is to call at Rhodes; a merchant of Heraclea has an associate at Scyros, who makes thence business trips; in another case the son and the partner of a merchant resident at Athens pass the winter at the Bosphorus, probably with a stock of goods or to make purchases; at least it is stated that they were commissioned to receive payments."

The Greek merchant would not be able, as a rule, to dispose of his whole cargo to one purchaser, but would sell it by portions to the various retail dealers. Sometimes indeed a speculator would try to buy up all of a particular commodity, such as corn or olives, which was in the market, in order to gain the control of the supply of that commodity and raise the price against the consumers. No behaviour was so unpopular in antiquity as this, and those who attempted it were very often victims of the general indignation. But there was not, as among us, a class of general dealers or speculators intervening between merchant and shopkeeper.

On receiving payment for his goods in money, the merchant might sometimes sail home with it. This, however, took place seldom, partly because the money current at one seaport was usually not taken at another, except at a considerable reduction, every city having its own types and monetary standard. There were certain kinds of coin which had a more general circulation, as the silver coin of Athens and afterwards that of Alexander the Great in the Levant, the money of Corinth in Sicily and on the Adriatic, and the gold coins of Philip in Central Europe. But usually the money received by merchants had to be either expended by them in the same or a neighbouring port, or else taken away and melted down in order to pass as bullion.

Therefore, after disposing of his cargo, the merchant would search about for a new stock of goods such as he might judge to be in demand at his native city or elsewhere ; and thus the process already described would be repeated. It will be evident from this description that merchants among the Greeks could not usually confine themselves to dealing in one or two classes of goods, but must be ready to purchase whatever was cheap. There were, perhaps, exceptions in case of dealers who attended specially to classes of goods in demand everywhere, such as corn and slaves. Transactions among Greeks took place for money, but, in dealing with the barbarians, the Greeks retained barter at all periods of their trade.

That which produces the greatest differences between ancient and modern trade is the fact that in ancient times buying and selling took place not on credit but for cash. This makes the mechanism of ancient trade extremely simple. But it does not follow that a merchant must have then possessed a large trading capital. A large part of his working capital could be borrowed on the security of his goods. Of such transactions we must speak in the next chapter, which treats of credit and loans.

CHAPTER IV

THE MONEY-MARKET AND COINS

As a large proportion of the wealth of many Greeks consisted in gold and silver money, they sought from the earliest times to turn it to account by lending it to those persons who could profitably employ it, and receiving interest in return. This lending was accompanied in various cities by various ceremonies, the chief object of which was to secure witnesses of the transaction and to prevent the borrower from denying the loan. Sometimes the contract was made in the presence of a sort of notary appointed by the State ; more frequently it was arranged before witnesses summoned by the parties. At Athens the terms of the loan, the amount, rate of interest, and period were carefully stated in a document which was sealed by both parties and deposited in the custody of some trustworthy person. It is said that in the city of Cnossus¹ the borrower made a pretence of stealing the money lent him, in order that, if he did

¹ Plutarch, *Quæst. Gr.* 53.

not repay it in time, the lender would have him in his power. A more usual precaution would be to require a person of respectability as surety for the repayment. As regards the goods which are the material security of a loan, Büchschütz,¹ whose chapters on these subjects are admirable, remarks that they may be either handed bodily over to the lender of money, in which case they would by us be called pledged, or retained by the borrower, whose creditor acquired certain rights over them, a condition to which we give the name of mortgage. Furniture, slaves, or horses might be given in pledge; lands, houses, or ships would usually be mortgaged. The nature of pledges is simple, and they need not occupy us further, if we only observe that he who lent money on a living pledge, such as a horse or slave, ran great risk of its dying, and of his security becoming thus worthless. Mortgages were more usual and of more importance.

Money-lenders in Greece were of two classes, either private individuals who had to live on the interest of their property, and possessed that property in the form of money, or else *τραπέζίται* or *ἀργυραμοιβοί*, money-changers. Indeed, private persons usually intrusted these latter with spare capital, their professional habits and business abilities rendering them able to make better use of it than the owners could, while the money-changers gave good security to their creditors and allowed them a fair rate of interest. As in Greece every considerable city had its own coinage, money-changers must have had a very large stock of gold and silver; and credit being absent, they would naturally constitute *par excellence* the class with money to lend. Further, their profession compelled them to live in the market-place at a spot known to all. Hence all in need of funds resorted to them, and they become bankers almost in our sense of the word. Some of them attained great wealth and world-wide credit. Thus Pasion² employed a capital of fifty talents, of which eleven belonged to his depositors. Merchants would without witnesses, such was his reputation for probity, deposit sums of money with him, which he at once entered in his books. On the credit of his name money could be procured in any Greek town, and deeds of all classes were deposited with him for safe custody. It was customary for merchants to make payments one to another, when they could not meet, by leaving the sum with a *tapezites*, with orders to him to deliver it to the proper person who was also obliged, before receiving it, to prove his identity.

¹ *Besitz und Erwerb*, p. 485.

² Demosth. *pro Phorm.* 5.

It was the *trapezitæ*, then, who usually lent on mortgage (*ὑποθήκη*). The security was sometimes a manufactory with slaves in it. A still better class of security was the lands and farming capital of the citizens. It was usual to set up on mortgaged lands an inscription on stone stating the name of the creditor and the amount due to him. In some states there seems to have been a less primitive arrangement in the shape of a register of mortgages kept by authority. In case of default of payment on the part of the owner of the land, the holder of the mortgage apparently had the right to occupy it, even although the value of the land exceeded the amount of the debt. It would hence appear that foreigners and *metœci*, being incapable of holding land, could not lend on this sort of security, or, if they did so, must do without the customary remedy.

To commerce the *trapezitæ* were of the utmost importance, since without such aid as they afforded merchants could only have traded to the amount of their actual capital in coin. The ordinary course of proceeding was as follows:—A merchant, say at Athens, wishes to carry a cargo to the Euxine. He finds a *trapezites* willing to lend 8000 drachmas on the outward cargo on condition that he undertakes by written contract to make that cargo of the value of 12,000 drachmas. The rate of interest is fixed for the whole voyage at so much per cent. Either an agent of the *trapezites* sails with the ship, or else he appoints some person at a port on the Euxine to receive the money. When the cargo is sold on arriving at its destination, principal and interest are paid. If, on the other hand, the cargo is lost at sea, the *trapezites* loses his venture. Thus the system of borrowing on cargoes served, so far as the merchant was concerned, the purpose of insurance, besides increasing his available capital and so extending trade. The rate of interest was of course high and proportioned to the risks of the voyage, the course of which was carefully specified beforehand; in the contract it was sometimes also stated that if the voyage were prolonged into the winter season the rate of interest should be higher. In the case we have supposed, our merchant, after disposing of his cargo on the Euxine, would find himself deprived of means for the return voyage unless he could again find a lender. It was therefore far more usual for those who sailed from Greek ports to borrow for the double journey, out and home, and repay the loan to the original lender on their return. Unfortunately, Greek commercial honour never being very high, this course of proceeding gave opportunity for a

great deal of dishonesty and fraud. Various means of self-defence were adopted by the lenders, such as sending an agent on board or requiring a surety who remained at home, but their chief reliance was on the strictness of the laws, which were very severe against those who attempted fraud, more especially at Athens.

Sometimes capitalists, instead of lending on a cargo, would lend money on the ship herself. This was in most respects less risky, the value of a ship being easier to discover. Accordingly, while lenders would advance not more than two-thirds of the stated value of a cargo, which might easily suffer depreciation, we find that they would lend on a ship up to its full worth. But there was of course much risk of its being lost, a danger no doubt taken into view in fixing the rate of interest.

We find certain cases in which states borrowed money like individuals, mortgaging their revenues or public buildings. But it is hard to see how the creditors, in case of default, could have made good their claim against cities which boasted of complete independence.

Interest (*τόκος*) was reckoned among the Greeks in one of two ways, either by stating the number of drachmas to be paid per month for the use of each mina,¹ or by stating the proportion of the whole sum lent to be paid yearly or for the period of the loan. The rate of interest was of course higher than among us, twelve per cent. per annum being considered a very low rate, and instances occurring in which twenty-four per cent. was charged. At Athens interest was generally paid monthly, at the new moon. We find ten or twelve per cent. paid for a loan on a single voyage from Athens to the Bosphorus; but we must remember that a part only of this amount represents interest on money; the remainder was paid for risk. For, as already shown, if the ship were wrecked at sea, or captured by pirates, or otherwise lost, the capitalist who had lent money on her cargo was the chief sufferer, recovering no part of his venture. The rate of interest being thus high, we can understand how private persons in the great cities, possessing no lands but only capital in the shape of money, managed to live in comfort on the interest of it.

Every reader of Homer will remember the fact, already stated in a previous chapter, that with him cattle are the

¹ As the mina contained 100 drachms, a drachm in the mina per month would be twelve per centum per annum.

measure of value. The armour of Glaucus is said to have been worth a hundred oxen, and that of Diomedes nine oxen.¹ Homer does, however, in some places name χρυσοῖο τάλαντα. That these were bars of metal of very small value will appear from the fact that among the prizes proposed for the chariot-race in the 23rd book of the *Iliad*² two talents of gold are offered as the fourth prize only, while a brazen tripod is the third prize. But nowhere in Homer is it said that an article is worth so many talents of gold. And so the Greek writers on metrology naturally, though in all probability wrongly, assert that the term *talent* does not in Homer signify any fixed amount or weight in gold, but may imply a small bar of any size. They overlook the fact that Homer speaks in one place of a hemi-talent.³ Indeed, it is quite certain that in Homer's time, although coins were not yet in use, bars and rings of metal of fixed weight were current, and generally accepted, whether by weight or by tale, in all kinds of mercantile transactions. At Hissarlik, among the débris of a city of a date much earlier than that of Homer, Dr. Schliemann found bars of silver which Mr. Head has shown to be nearly of the weight of a third of the Babylonian silver mina. Small ὀβολοί or wedges of silver were certainly the principal medium of exchange in Greece very long before the seventh century, and of these, six were reckoned as a δραχμή or handful. Indeed, from very remote times the Babylonians and the Egyptians had formed for themselves systems of currency in metal bars, and had transmitted the custom to the nations of Asia Minor and Syria, with whom the Greeks were in constant contact. We cannot fix the date at which the custom spread to Greece also, but it must have been very early. And when bars of metal of fixed weight and fineness are in circulation, nothing is required to turn these into coins except the addition of an official stamp.

It has long been disputed what people were the first to substitute in their currency coins proper, *i.e.*, properly-stamped lumps of metal, for the bars of metal of fixed weight which had preceded them. Modern opinion is inclined to the view that this discovery belongs to the Lydians. The first coins were made neither of gold nor silver, but of a yellow metal compounded of the two, and called electrum, which was found in large quantities in the beds of the Pactolus and other rivers of

¹ ἑκατόμβοι ἐννεαβοίων. *Il.* vi. 236.

² Line 269.

³ Since this was written Mr. Ridgeway has tried to show (*Origin of Currency and Weight-Standards*) that the Homeric talent was the equivalent of an ox, and in weight equal to the Daric (130 grains).

Asia Minor. About the reign of Gyges it occurred to some wise man of the Lydian court to have small balls of electrum marked with the official stamp of a city or a temple to guarantee both its weight and its quality. Miletus and other Greek cities of Asia adopted the plan from their neighbours, and as early as the seventh and sixth centuries before our æra a considerable quantity of electrum coins was circulating on the shores of the Ægean and the Euxine. Nevertheless, considering the obvious utility of coinage, it cannot be considered that it spread rapidly.

Pheidon, king of Argos, is supposed to have been the first to issue money in Greece proper. This he struck in the island of Ægina. The metal he used was silver, silver being the normal currency of Greece, as gold was of Asia, and copper of Italy. The type was the tortoise, the symbol of the Phœnician goddess of the moon and of trade, whom the Greeks identified with their own Aphrodite. The date of Pheidon is set down by Weissenborn as about B.C. 668; but it is hard to believe that any coins were issued in Greece at so early a period. There is no trace of any Athenian coinage before the time of Solon; for all Attic money is struck on the monetary standard introduced by him. Nor do most of the cities of Greece proper seem to have issued money until the time of the Persian wars.

By that time Persia had a well-established currency, both in gold and silver. Cræsus had introduced in Lydia a regular state coinage in these two metals in place of the irregularly-issued pieces of electrum which had preceded him; and Darius the son of Hystaspes, in his general reform of the Persian Empire, followed the example of Cræsus, adopting alike his metals and his standards of weights. The Persian gold Darics, as they were called from their founder (*στατῆρδες Δαρεικοί*),¹ or *τοξόται*, as they were called from their stamp or device, played a very important part throughout Greek history, being used largely for subsidies or bribery by the Great King and his satraps.

In Macedon and among the tribes of the Thracian Pangæum coining was in use as early as B.C. 500. The invention reached the Greek cities of Italy and Sicily, which were at this time at least as forward as the cities of Greece proper in all appliances of civilisation, apparently during the latter half of the sixth century. Rome is not supposed to have issued money before the time of the Decemvirs. In all parts the early coins

¹ Some writers now deny any connection between the Daric and Darius. See Head, *Historia Numorum*, p. 698.

were struck in very rude fashion. An anvil was made with one or two irregular square or oblong projections. On these was laid a bean-shaped piece of metal. A punch of iron or bronze was then brought, on the end of which was cut in intaglio the device which the coin was to bear. Being struck between this punch and the projections of the anvil, the coin bore on the obverse the device which is called its type, on the reverse a rude *incuse*, square or oblong. A reverse type was used at few cities before the fifth century.¹

The coinage of Greece forms a wonderful commentary on the free and liberty-loving character of its inhabitants. No city which was autonomous seems to have been too small to issue coin with its own types and inscriptions. In the island of Ceos there were at least three cities which issued coin; in the island of Amorgos, at least three. The island of Sicily included over fifty mint-cities, among which some, such as Piacus, Nacona, and Hipana, are all but unknown to every one but the numismatist. And each city struck on the standard of weight which best suited its markets and its monetary alliances. Hence the prodigious abundance of Greek coins, differing in type, legend, and weight one from another, which furnishes indeed to the modern student an immense quantity of valuable information in every branch of archæology, but which must have been very confusing and detrimental to commerce at the time. The usual denominations of gold and silver coin in use in Greece were the tetradrachm and didrachm, equal respectively to four and two drachms, the drachm (*δραχμή*), the hemidrachm, the diobol, the obol, which was the sixth of the drachm, and the hemiobol. Pieces of lower value than the hemiobol were usually struck in copper, after copper coin was introduced, which took place about B.C. 400. At Athens there were eight *χαλκοί* in the *δβολός*.

It has been ably maintained by Professor Curtius that the origin of coins was religious. He considers that the need of a currency became most clear and strong at the religious festivals which took place at fixed periods in connection with the great temples of antiquity. The offerings of the people on such occasions would take the form of small bars or ingots of gold or silver, and these, on being accumulated in the temple, would sometimes be stamped with the mark of the deity, the lyre for Apollo, the tortoise for Aphrodite, the owl for Athena. Thus

¹ For more details of the process of coining, see *Types of Greek Coins*, chap. 3.

the earliest coins are everywhere ingots thus marked with the symbols and not the heads or figures of deities. In fact, it is certain that in early times coins were closely connected with the deities and their festivals. The coins of Ephesus are closely connected with the temple of Artemis; those of Miletus with the temple of Apollo at Didyma. The coins of Elis bear every mark of a close relation to the Olympic festival. The Roman mint was the temple of Juno Moneta.

No doubt in later times coinage became a political rather than a religious institution. Darius of Persia claimed the minting of gold as his exclusive prerogative, and allowed no rival issue to his Darics to appear in Asia. Hence throughout ancient and early mediæval history, the issue of gold coin was the sign of a claim to complete autonomy. The Persian satraps were, however, allowed to issue silver, more especially when they were employed on military expeditions, and needed money to pay their troops. Also the Greek cities of Asia Minor were allowed, during a great part of their history, to issue electrum and silver money of their own. Meantime everywhere in Greece the state was stepping into the place of the temple as the issuer of coin. Hence throughout the flourishing period of Greek history the most usual inscription on the money is the name of the state which issued it, or rather the people of that state. Thus the coins of Syracuse are regularly inscribed ΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΩΝ, the coins of Athens ΑΘΕ for ΑΘΗΝΑΙΩΝ, and so forth. A king, or even a despot, would introduce his name in place of this ethnic. Thus the coins of Alexander I. and III. of Macedon, and those of Alexander of Pheræ, are alike inscribed ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ. Until the time of Philip of Macedon, we comparatively seldom find any other inscription than those of these two classes.

The types or devices of early Greek coins are almost exclusively religious. I have already stated that the earliest money bore a mere indentation on the reverse, and on the obverse the symbol of some deity. The god or goddess selected for this honour was often the protecting divinity of the mint-city. The symbol was frequently an animal. Thus, the wolf of Apollo is impressed on the early coins of Argos, the owl of Pallas on those of Athens, Pegasus on those of Corinth, and so forth. In later times, that is to say early in the fifth century, this symbol is in most coinages transferred to the reverse of the coin, while the obverse is reserved for the effigy of the deity to whom the symbol belongs. This is the most general rule, but the exceptions are very numerous. In fact, in every district of Greece

the coinage has a distinct character. In Sicily it is predominantly agonistic, the racing chariot and the racehorse marking most of the issues; in Cyrene it appears more commercial, bearing a figure of the silphium-plant, the great object of export. Yet even in these cases there is probably a close connection with religious cult. The general rule is that the dominant religion of a district or city dominates also its coin. Thus, the coins of Macedon are full of the symbols of Ares and Dionysus, Herakles and Dionysus reign supreme in the coinage of Thebes, Artemis in that of Ephesus. Even where a religious reference may not be at first sight evident, it reveals itself on closer study. The shield at Thebes belongs not to the Thebans but to Herakles or Athena, the helmet in Macedon not to the Macedonians but to Ares. The ear of corn at Metapontum does not primarily refer to the plenteous harvests of the place, but belongs to the worship of Demeter; the wine-cup at Naxos does not simply refer to the goodness of Naxian wine, but shows that the island specially worshipped Dionysus. Hence, the value of Greek coins in informing us as to the local cults of various cities and districts. For the Artemis of Ephesus was not the same as the Artemis of Crete, or of Stymphalus, nor the Apollo of Delphi the same as the Apollo of Mytilene or of Lycia.

Towards the end of the fifth century there begin to appear on the coins of most cities small figures in the field beside and in subordination to the types. These are called in technical numismatic language symbols. Thus at Metapontum, for instance, beside the type, which is an ear of corn, we find on various coins as symbols an owl, a mouse, a locust, a dove, &c. It is supposed that these subordinate devices were taken from the private signet of the magistrate who was responsible for the issue of the coin. It is well known that the ancients used the impression of their signet rather than the writing of their name to authenticate deeds. In the same way, when they were monetary magistrates, they sealed, as it were, the coin, to indicate its date, and to show who was answerable for its weight and fineness. At a somewhat later period, that is to say during the course of the fourth century, either in addition to or in place of the symbol, there was introduced the name or the initials of the monetary magistrate, sometimes of two or three magistrates of various grades.

In the time of Alexander the Great the great changes which came over Greek political and social life affected also the coin. Henceforth, although a large number of cities preserved a

partial autonomy and went on issuing coins stamped with their ancient types, the bulk of the Greek coinage ceases to be civic and becomes regal; that is to say, it bears both the name and the portrait of some one of the kings of Macedon, Syria, or Egypt, and has his family type on the reverse of it. The type of the mint-city, if it appear at all, sinks into the subordinate position of an accessory symbol. So accurately does the coinage reflect the political state of Greece. Dionysius of Syracuse dared not put either his name or his portrait on coins, nor did Jason of Pheræ; Alexander of Pheræ and Philip of Macedon marked their coin with their name, but not with their portraits. Even Alexander abstained from putting his head on his numerous coins, leaving that honour to Pallas and Heracles, his special guardian deities. But the Diadochi or successors of Alexander, beginning by placing their master's effigy in the character of Heracles on their coin, soon proceeded to substitute their own heads as of earthly gods, and banished the deities of Olympus to the reverse of their money. Henceforward, until the fall of the Roman Empire, coins present to us an admirable gallery of portraits, in which are included not only kings and emperors, but also their wives and a number of men illustrious in various ways. Coins thus become in a great degree the key to ancient iconography.

After the Roman conquest the issue of gold money was prohibited to all Greek cities, and the minting of silver was allowed but to few, and under severe restrictions. But from the time of Mark Antony to that of Aurelian, a host of Greek and Hellenistic cities issued a constant succession of copper coin. This had little intrinsic value, and could have been used only for very small payments, but its variety is infinite, and the amount of material which it furnishes to the archæologist enormous. The pieces being intended only for circulation within the walls of a single city, are distinguished by types and inscriptions of an extremely local character.

BOOK VI

CONSTITUTIONAL AND LEGAL ANTIQUITIES

CHAPTER I

THE HOMERIC STATE

THE primitive Aryans were a nomad people, who were kept together in their wanderings by the tie of blood relationship. The members of a family naturally held together. Several families related to each other formed a clan; several clans, a tribe. The organisation of the family was in all probability patriarchal, and included grandfather, father, and children. To the tie of blood-relationship we may perhaps add that of ancestor-worship: the family was a religious organisation, as all its members united in the same worship, which was conducted by the house-father. In the same way, the clan being descended from a common ancestor, had a common worship; and the head-man of the clan stood in the same relation to it as the house-father to the family. In war, the fighting men of each family fought side by side, and the various families of a clan took their orders from the clan-leader or war-king, who would be elected to his post on the ground of personal fitness. In peace, custom was king of all, in the phrase of Herodotus; the head of a family laid down the custom for his family and enforced it with *patria potestas*. The relations between families were also regulated by custom, and the custom was expounded by the house-fathers assembled in council. Marriage by purchase (in place of capture) was becoming customary, as was also the offering and accepting of wer-geld or money compensation for the slaying of a man.

Whether Homer was a contemporary of the Mycenæan civilisation which the discoveries of Schliemann have since revealed to us, or whether the Homeric age was separated from the Mycenæan period by the Doric invasion, in either

case there was an interval between the entrance of the Aryans into Greece and the age of Homer, which was great, probably, if measured merely by the lapse of time, and very great when considered with reference to what occurred during it. The change from pastoral to agricultural life, which had commenced indeed before the Aryans entered Greece, was completed, and the social and industrial habits of the family were consequently revolutionised. Again, the Greeks, who at the commencement of this interval had been in the Stone Age, by the end of it had passed through the Bronze Age and were witnessing the beginning of the Iron Age; that is to say, their industrial organisation and their material development had made an advance owing to the discovery of metals and familiarity with their use, which was probably greater than any that had ever been made before, except that which followed on the discovery and use of fire. Above all, the transition had been made from the nomad mode of life to the habits of a settled population, and the germs of political power, which were previously diffused probably throughout the tribe, were now tending to become concentrated in towns.

The advance in political development that the Homeric Greeks had made on the family and tribal system of the earliest times is considerable. Nothing can give us more striking evidence of the advance which even the Greeks themselves felt that they had made than the fact that they had left the earlier stage so far behind as to conceive that it was only possible among savage races whose very existence was mythical. The Cyclopes, according to Homer (*Od.* 9, 112), "Have neither gatherings for council nor ancient customs, but they dwell on the peaks of lofty mountains, in hollow caves, and each determines custom for his own wives and children, and they reckon not of one another." From this we must not infer either that gatherings were wholly unknown to the earliest Greeks, or that in Homeric times the power of the house-father over his own household had diminished.¹ The value of the passage is that it shows the supreme importance which the Greeks had come to put upon the gatherings of free men for the purpose of settling all matters affecting the community in its collective capacity. Above all, the passage shows us how such matters were settled: they were—according to the popular theory—not settled by the rule of might, or by the caprice of

¹ Fanta, *St. in der. Il. und Od.* 86, draws the wrong inference. Even down to historical Greek times no member of a family had any legal standing as against the house-father.

any individual or any body of persons—even of the majority—but by “ancient customs” (θέμιστες). Not every man was competent to determine or pronounce what the custom might be in any given case, or at least not every man was listened to. The claims to a right to expound the custom were the natural claims of age and good birth. The persons thus qualified are accordingly spoken of as “elders” (γέροντες) or “kings” (βασιλῆες), or “ministers of justice” (δικασπόλοι); and they are conceived as possessing or inheriting the knowledge of the customs. Law, it is to be observed—the enactment or prohibition, laid down and enforced by the state, of certain classes of actions—is unknown to Homer, and only came into being later, either when the concentration of the authority of the state brought to the state the duty of enforcing custom, which thus became law; or when the abuse, by the possessors, of exclusive knowledge of the custom, compelled the people to demand that it should be published and enforced without partiality and without interpolations.

The disputes which arise in a society so primitive as that of Homeric times still was are, perforce, like society itself in that stage, simple. The conditions of life are too easy to either necessitate or allow the existence of a criminal class. The only disputes were such as naturally rise among neighbours, for in a small community all the members are neighbours and known to each other. These disputes might, and in some cases did, proceed to blows and end in homicide or murder. Blows did not lead to “proceedings” in the legal sense: Thersites having been thrashed by Odysseus has no action for assault and battery open to him. With murder the case was somewhat different: there was indeed no state power to which the relatives of the deceased could appeal for redress, much less was there any state power which of its own motion undertook to apprehend and punish the murderer. Murder was no offence against the law of the state, for there was no law. But in Homeric times a feeling was gathering that murder was an offence against the members of the community in their collective capacity.¹ This feeling operated strongly in support-

¹ We may indeed safely generalise this proposition, and say that all wrong-doing which was brought before the Agora or assembled village was regarded vaguely as an offence against the community—at least in so far as the moral support of the community was the only force of a public nature that could be invoked to give effect to custom. And this is the reason why in the Agora scene of the shield the disputants address themselves quite as much to the crowd of their fellow-villagers as to the *gerontes*. The latter indeed pronounced the custom, but on the attitude

ing the relatives of the murdered man, whether they demanded blood or were content to accept money in compensation. In the majority of cases there was probably no possibility of doubting who was the murderer. Where the matter was not one of public notoriety, it sufficed if a certain number of the kinsmen of the murdered man testified in the Agora as to the identity of the murderer.¹ If, after that, the family of the murderer were not content to pay the *wer-geld*, the amount of which we may conjecture was settled in the Agora, or "gathering for council," in accordance with the *themistes* on the subject, the murderer generally found it expedient to flee into a far country; for if he remained he would assuredly be killed in revenge, to the satisfaction and with the approval of the community in general. There was indeed another course which the murderer could pursue: to promise the *wer-geld*, and not keep his engagement. It is a commentary on the honesty of the Homeric Greek that Homer, wishing to select a scene in the Agora typical of the kind of business brought most frequently before the "elders" or *gerontes* when engaged as *δικασπόλοι*, chooses precisely a case in which one man declares that he has paid all the *wer-geld* and the other asserts that he has received nothing.² The whole village is gathered together to hear the dispute. Those members who are distinguished by age or position are admitted to sit on the white stones which form a ring round the Agora. The rest of the men crowd

of the former depended the amount of submission which would be given to it.

It is important to notice also, that even if there be no trace in Homer of the belief of a later age that guilt could be cleansed away by religious ceremonies and purifications, the first step to that belief has already been made: guilt renders a man liable to punishment from heaven, especially in cases where there is no possibility of punishment from man. Murder brought vengeance from the murdered man's kin, if the murderer and the murdered were of different families; from the house-father if they were of the same family. But if the house-father were murdered by one of his own family, then the *Erinyes* of the father were to be dreaded. If the head of the family were murdered by his younger brother (being a member of the joint undivided family), then the elder brother had the *Erinyes* to avenge him.

¹ This does not appear from Homer. But Aristotle, *Pol.* ii. 5, mentions, and, not understanding it, ridicules the practice. There may be, however, little hesitation in accepting the existence of this practice at Cyme as a survival from a state of things at least as ancient as Homer.

² Dr. Leaf, however, *ad loc. cit.*, points out that the words may equally well mean that one prayed to be allowed to pay the *wer-geld* (to avoid exile or reprisals), and the other refused to accept the money, and so forego his revenge.

round and are kept back with difficulty by the heralds. The *gerontes* having heard both sides (who address themselves quite as much to those outside the ring as to those inside it), take the sceptre, the possession of which indicates that the speaker is "in possession of the House,"¹ one after another, and give each his opinion on the matter. The meaning of the rest of the passage, which is disputed, will be discussed in the next paragraph. Here it is enough to note, that as there is in Homer no state power to afford redress in case of murder, so in civil cases there is no power which a creditor, for instance, can set in motion to compel payment. In the case just quoted from Homer, the debtor is not "haled" into the Agora by his creditor; they are both "eager" to appear.

The dispute about the payment of *wer-geld* described in the previous paragraph is one of the scenes depicted on the marvellous shield made by Hephæstus for Achilles (*Il.* xviii. 497-508). The principal difficulty is raised by the last lines of the passage: "in their midst lay two talents of gold to give to the man who should speak amongst them most righteously." In the grammar of the Greek there is nothing to show whether it is one of the two disputants or one of the *gerontes* who is to receive the money deposited. The usage of the original expression "to speak most righteously" is such that it is equally applicable to a man pleading his own cause and to one giving his verdict on a suit (*cf.* xxiii. 579). The passage, therefore, as far as the language is concerned, may mean that the two talents are intended either for one of the *gerontes* or for the successful disputant. In support of the former view it may be argued that the run of the passage seems to show that one of the *gerontes* is intended, for the lines quoted (507-508) follow immediately on the description of the way in which the *gerontes* rise and speak one after the other, while it is so long since the two disputants have been mentioned (501), that it is hard to imagine them referred to. Further, we know generally that offerings were made to the *gerontes* or "kings;" and from Hesiod we know in particular that offerings were made to the "kings" as a compensation for their expenditure of time, and as an encouragement to them to render their services—an encouragement to which the "gift-devouring kings" (*W. and D.* 38) were perfectly susceptible. In Roman law, too, each litigant deposited a sum of money

¹ *Il.* xxiii. 568. ἐν δ' ἄρα κῆρυξ χεῖρ' ἰσκήπτρον ἔθηκε, σιωπήσαι τε κέλευσεν Ἀργείους.

(*sacramentum*), and the unsuccessful suitor forfeited his deposit to the *prætor*, who took it as compensation for his time and trouble. In Homeric Greece there was not one *prætor*, but several *gerontes* to decide the suit; and we must conjecture that, when they differed, the shouts of the assembled village community settled the question which of them pronounced the most righteous judgment. This explanation, therefore, is in harmony with Greek habits,¹ and what is more, with the habits of a time when law had not yet displaced custom. Further, the two talents can hardly be regarded as the wergeld in dispute; for according to *Il.* xxiii. 75, half a talent of gold is worth less than an ox, and a female slave was worth four oxen. A free man, therefore, would be appraised at more than two talents.

The two essentials of government, according to Homer, are, as we have seen, gatherings of the village community and customs. The proof of the anarchy of the Cyclopes is, in the poet's eyes, not that the Cyclopes have no monarch, but that they have no gatherings and no customs. Monarchy is in the conception of Homer no more necessary to hold a community together than it was four centuries later in the opinion of the more backward Greek tribes, or still later among those Teutonic tribes which had not yet developed a king. In the gatherings which were the indispensable organ of government according to Homer, though all members of the community were or might be present, all were not on an equal footing. The speaking was, as a rule, left to those whose age or dignity ensured them a respectful hearing; and they are dignified by the name of βασιλῆες or "kings." This use of the appellation suffices to show that by "king" is not necessarily meant in Homer a monarch, a single ruler, whose sole will is law to the community he governs. Rather we have in Hesiod a picture of the same class, but drawn without the magnificent haze which in Homer lends things more than their true proportions, a picture in which the "kings" appear as the headmen of the village in which Hesiod lives, and as keenly alive to the value of the offerings voluntarily made on certain occasions by the villagers. But amongst these "kings" we not unfrequently find in Homer one who is called "more of a king" than the

¹ A similar practice was known later in Attic law, παρακαταβολή, and is compared by Schömann (*Antiq. jur. pub. Gr.* 73). But in Attic times the object of the deposit was to act as a *pœna temere litigandi*, to prevent vexatious litigation.

others,¹ and who is distinguished by the superior respect paid to him. To term him, however, a monarch, and to call the Homeric polity a monarchy, is apt to be misleading, in the same way as it would be misleading to call it a democracy because of the existence of the Agora, or to call it an aristocracy because of the Boulê or council of *gerontes*. The germs of all three forms of government are present in the Homeric polity, just as all three organs of government, the assembly or Ecclesia, the Boulê, and the monarch, are present in embryo. But none of these three organs is yet differentiated so far as to enable us to say that it predominates absolutely. Subsequent circumstances were in the case of each community to determine which organ should grow by use, and which by disuse remain a rudimentary organ. War was the atmosphere most favourable to the growth of monarchy: distance from the place of assembly consequent on the growth of the community would prevent the people from exercising their function. The absence of the former condition and the presence of the latter would develop the council of *gerontes*. But in Homeric times circumstances had not yet favoured the evolution of any one of the three organs at the expense of the rest. So far from being exclusively monarchical is the Homeric polity, that of all three organs the monarchical is the only one the functions of which can be discharged by the other two. The *gerontes* and the people are essential to the transaction of business in a gathering: the monarch is not indispensable. Let us examine the principal functions of government, and see by what organs they are or might be discharged. A government which cannot make laws is scarcely a government in the modern sense: a community, therefore, which is governed by custom, not law, can be said to have a government or be a state only of a rudimentary kind. Custom is not in Homer the creation of the will either of people, *gerontes*, or monarch;² the only privilege involved with it is that of expounding it. If the privilege of expounding custom is the exclusive right of the monarch, the polity is so far monarchical. But in Homer the *themistes* are just as much in the keeping of the *gerontes* generally as of the monarch in particular.³ Amongst the functions of govern-

¹ Βασιλεύτης, *Il.* ix. 69, 160, 392, x. 239; *Od.* xv. 533.

² In *Il.* xvi. 385: λαβρότατον χέει ὕδωρ Ζεὺς, ὅτε δὴ ῥ' ἀνδρεςσι κοτεσσάμενος χαλεπήνη, οἳ βίη εἰν ἀγορῇ σκολιάς κρίνωσι θέμιστας, σκολιάς is proleptic: the *gerontes* (not the monarch) expound the custom crookedly, i.e., falsify the custom.

³ See the passage quoted in the previous note, and cf. *Il.* i. 238.

ment, one of the most important is the administration of justice. It is sometimes said that in Homer the monarch is supreme judge. But in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* the monarch never appears as supreme or as sole judge.¹ Uniformly, in both description and allusion,² disputes are represented as brought before the *gerontes* in the Agora. Nowhere is the monarch represented as occupying a position different from or more exalted than that of the other βασιλῆες in the administration of justice; and in the trial scene depicted on the shield we have the *gerontes* distinctly administering justice without the assistance of the monarch. In the history of monarchy one of the principal reasons for the existence of the office has been that the monarch used his power to enforce the law of the land. In Homer the monarch never exercises his power for that purpose. In fine, as regards expounding, administering, and enforcing the law, or rather custom, the monarch—if monarch we can call him—enjoys no privilege which the other βασιλῆες do not also possess. As regards the important power of summoning a gathering, the case is the same: the monarch possesses the power, but the other βασιλῆες also possess it, *e.g.*, Achilles, not Agamemnon, calls the first gathering in the *Iliad*.³ Nothing proves the existence of government more conclusively than the power of raising taxes. In Homer taxes are unknown: the monarch receives gifts (or “benevolences”) of oxen, wine, &c.;⁴ but the *gerontes* share them.⁵ The monarch has also a crown-demesne⁶ (attached to the office, not the property of the individual); but such grants of public lands are made to other βασιλῆες as well.⁷ Turning to the external relations of the community, we find that in peace the monarch represents the community, but the *gerontes* also act in its name;⁸ and even in war, when the monarch might be expected to act with the most absolute power, he usually consults the *gerontes*, and frequently the people as well, before taking any important step.

In peace and in war, in foreign and domestic relations, in the legislative, deliberative, judicial, and executive functions of government, the monarch in Homer has no power which the *gerontes* do not also possess, no power which the gathering of

¹ *Il.* xviii. 503, xvi. 386.

² *Il.* xxiii. 573, i. 238; *Od.* xi. 547, 186, xii. 440.

³ *Il.* i. 54; cf. *Od.* ii. 27, xxiv. 420, xvi. 361. As regards summoning the Βουλῇ, the case is again the same: the monarch summons it, but the other βασιλῆες also summon it. *Od.* vi. 54.

⁴ *Il.* ix. 155.

⁵ *Il.* xvii. 250.

⁶ τέμενος:—*Il.* vi. 194, ix. 578.

⁷ *Il.* xx. 184.

⁸ *Il.* ix. 574.

gerontes and people cannot exercise quite as well in the absence as in the presence of the monarch.¹ In what sense, therefore, can the monarch be said to be "more of a king" than the other βασιλῆες? what distinguishes Agamemnon from Achilles, or Odysseus from the other βασιλῆες of Ithaca? Two things: the other βασιλῆες usually allow the monarch to exercise the functions which they are equally entitled to exercise; and the monarch has an immunity in his actions superior only in degree to that of the *gerontes*.² Thersites submits to indignity at the hands of Odysseus; Achilles to indignity from Agamemnon. The gathering which witnesses these scenes may or may not approve of the action of the monarch. But even if it does not approve, it does not resist. There is, however, the feeling that such action on the part of the monarch brings down the wrath of the gods, as does falsification of custom by the *gerontes* in the Agora.³ This submission on the part of the people was doubtless partly, perhaps mainly, due to the sanctity of the βασιλῆες, whose rule was regarded as a sway divine. The submission of the βασιλῆες to the monarch can scarcely be explained in this way, for it is not possible to doubt that in some cases—Ithaca for instance—the office of monarch was not divine and hereditary, but elective.⁴ Indeed, it may be with greater reason doubted whether the office was ever hereditary. The one instance in which Homer distinctly represents it as hereditary is that of Agamemnon; and this is precisely the instance in which tradition may reasonably be conjectured to have led Homer to lend to his picture a touch not borrowed from the facts of his own time.

The ties of blood which hold together a wandering tribe are

¹ To this we may add: (1) that that part of the land of the community which was not yet occupied belongs not to the monarch but to the community. It is from the community that the monarch and others receive their *τεμένη* (*Il.* xx. 184, ix. 578, vi. 194, xii. 113); (2) that in war the army fights according to Tribes and Phratries (see Fanta, 35 ff.), not under the command of the monarch; (3) Agamemnon did not command the attendance of the βασιλῆες at Troy; they came in consequence of their oath (*Il.* ii. 286, 339); (4) the monarch has the power of life and death in no greater degree than any of the βασιλῆες.

² To this we may perhaps add the greater gifts received by the monarch. Telemachus sums up the advantages of monarchy (*Od.* i. 392): οὐ μὲν γάρ τι κακὸν βασιλεύμεν. αἶψα τέ οἱ δῶ ἀφνειὸν πέλεται καὶ τιμῆστέρος αὐτός.

³ *Il.* xvi. 387.

⁴ *Od.* i. 394. The *τέμενος* goes with the office; the *τέμενος* does not necessarily remain in the family of Odysseus (*Od.* xi. 184), neither therefore does the office. Alcinous (*Od.* vii. 150) and Priam (*Il.* xx. 185) are in the same case.

at first strengthened by the tie of neighbourhood which a settled life produces. But with the expansion of the community local distinctions arise which were unknown before. The land in the immediate neighbourhood of the village, at first sufficient to support the inhabitants, no longer suffices when they become more numerous. Some families must go farther afield. Thus arises the distinction between town and country, a distinction already known to Homer.¹ But to live in the town far from one's farm was a thing which could be done only by those who were rich enough to own slaves to cultivate their ground. Thus this local distinction tended to emphasise the distinction between rich and poor; and as the Agora, the centre of government, was in the town, the mere growth of the community tended to withdraw the people from the discharge of their function, and to give the *gerontes* superior facilities for the exercise of their power. But the nobles were not the only persons attracted to the town; artisans came, the smith, the potter, leather-makers, carpenters engaged for building houses or boats, and making spears, bows, or seats, stone-masons, cartwrights, and wheelwrights, &c. Though we here have the germs of the artisan class and of a town population deriving its subsistence from other industries than agriculture, we must not exaggerate the importance of this class in Homeric times. Division of labour was still in a very rudimentary condition; metal-working was indeed the special work of the smith, but leather-dressing, carpentering in all its forms, and the other simple industries of the age were performed mainly by each family for itself. Weaving and spinning and the manufacture of clothes were still the work of the women of each household; men of the rank of Odysseus not only superintended the cultivation of their own farms, but could pride themselves on carpenter's work done by their own hands.

The division of labour implied in the rise of an artisan class and the distinction between town and country are not the only signs of the growth of the community to be found in Homer. Before his time capital and labour were united in the joint undivided family; now we find them separated. The class of common labourers, Thetes (*Od.* iv. 644), depending for subsistence on the work of their hands and the wages they can earn, has now arisen. Capital and labour were to some extent employed in commerce (*Od.* viii. 161); but their usual occupation was in agriculture, and here there was little demand for

¹ *Od.* i. 185, xix. 296; *Il.* xvi. 235.

hired labour, inasmuch as the soil was tilled and cattle bred either by the toil of the landowners themselves, when they were small men, or by slaves on the larger farms. The sources of slavery were war,¹ and to a smaller extent kidnapping;² while the supply was maintained by breeding and by purchase, for a trade in slaves undoubtedly flourished.³ The moral degradation of the man reduced to slavery was fully recognised;⁴ but though the master had the power of death,⁵ and exercised it,⁶ the simple character of Homeric life made the distance between master and slave much less, and the slave's lot therefore much easier, than was the case in later times. Nausicaa plays ball with the slaves, Eumæus greets Telemachus as a son, and Melanthius takes his seat at table with the suitors without ceremony or apology.⁷ The slave could possess property, a house and wife, and even slaves of his own.⁸ In conclusion, slaves were not numerous, no instance of emancipation occurs, and no mention is made of the existence of a class like the Helots or Penestæ, consisting of a previous population reduced to the condition of slavery.

Finally, the existence of beggars, both casual and professional, might establish the claim of Homeric society to rank as completely civilised, if it were not counterbalanced by the absence of a criminal class.

CHAPTER II

THE HISTORY OF THE SPARTAN CONSTITUTION

THE Spartans were not the first Greeks who occupied Sparta, nor was Sparta the first portion of Greek soil that the Spartans settled on. The memory of these facts is preserved, though perverted, in the myth of the return of the Heracleidæ. To endeavour to convert any of the details of this myth into facts of history would be to indulge in the alchemy of history: the attempt is one which modern science is abandoning as much in history as it has abandoned the search for the philosopher's stone in chemistry. We must content ourselves with saying

¹ *Il.* ix. 593; *Od.* ix. 40.

² *Od.* xv. 403.

³ *Il.* vii. 475, xxi. 78, xxii. 45; *Od.* xiv. 115, 449, xx. 383.

⁴ *Od.* xvii. 322.

⁵ *Od.* xix. 91.

⁶ *Od.* xxii. 441.

⁷ Fanta, 40, and *Od.* vi. 85, xvi. 23, xvii. 256. Cf. xviii. 329, xxiv. 385.

⁸ *Od.* xiv. 449, 62, xxi. 214, xvii. 256.

that linguistic palæontology has made it almost certain that Greece received its Greek population from the north, and that it is therefore probable that the myth is right in making the Dorians who populated Sparta come from the north. It seems also probable that their migration was but one incident in a general movement of the tribes inhabiting Greece, which took place about 1000 B.C. and which changed the whole political map of the country. Whence or by what route the Spartans came to Sparta is matter of conjecture. The traditions of antiquity made them come from Doris by Naupactus, and regarded their departure from Doris as due to the same pressure of tribes from the north as the Bœotians' from their primitive settlements in Thessaly to their historical abodes in Bœotia. The analogy of the mode in which other Aryan peoples settled in the countries they are found to occupy at the dawn of history makes its probable *a priori* that the Dorians did not enter Sparta in one compact host, but in detached bands, who settled down in separate village communities; and this presumption gains some confirmation from the fact that the villages which, when united, came to be known as the town of Sparta, were not the only villages in the district of Lacedæmon which were settled by Dorians. There are also indications that the country was entered not from one side only, nor exclusively by land, but from the sea also, and from several quarters. It seems also probable that the Dorians who settled in the valley of the Eurotas and became the Spartans of history were a long time conquering the whole of the valley. Amyclæ, a town not very far south of Sparta, was in the hands of the original population long after Sparta was occupied by the Dorian invaders.

Like the Teutonic tribes that conquered England, the Dorian tribes which conquered Sparta settled in village communities, and, we can hardly doubt, divided the land they conquered in lots, *κλήροι*, among themselves. For this process we have the analogy of the procedure usual in this respect at the foundation of a Greek colony, as well as the parallel of the Teutonic tribes and the evidence afforded by the Gortyna Code. In addition to these analogies we have direct statements in support of the existence of these land-lots, *κλήροι*, in Sparta by Greek writers, statements which can with great probability be traced back to the historian Ephorus, and therefore cannot be regarded as a fiction promulgated for political purposes in the time of Agis and Cleomenes, as Grote has argued.

That the distinction between simple and noble was known to the Spartans as to other Greeks, and to the Aryans generally,

is a reasonable presumption, though it is hard to find a distinct statement to that effect in our Greek authorities. But the distinction, if not explicitly stated, is plainly implied. We have throughout Greek history allusions to the division of the Spartan full citizens into the wealthy class and the poor. But as the only form of wealth a Spartan was allowed to possess was property in land, and as, according to a statement which may be referred eventually to the authority of Aristotle, a Spartan was not allowed to sell the land-lot which he occupied, but which was still regarded as the property of the state, it follows that those Spartans who possessed other landed property besides their *kleros* cannot have acquired it by purchasing the land-lots of their fellow-citizens, but that in the beginning, when the conquered land was portioned out, they, or rather their ancestors, must have received estates over and beyond the *kleros* of the ordinary citizen. In other Aryan peoples too we find that certain members of the community received larger grants of land in the same way, and we also find that it was the nobles who received the larger grant. We may therefore infer the existence of the distinction between noble and simple to have existed in Sparta also from the beginning. That the principle of making larger grants was known to the Spartans is also indicated by the fact that among them, as amongst other Greeks, the king received a special grant of land, a *temenos*.

From this social system were developed political institutions such as we have already met elsewhere. Here too we find an assembly of all free men, a body of elders elected by the free men; while the struggle which the community had to carry on during many generations with the original inhabitants for very existence gave to the war-king a permanent importance in the organisation of the state.

It is scarcely possible to speak of the development of the Spartan constitution, as the whole tendency of its organisation was to prevent development. But though the growth alike of monarchy and democracy was effectually checked, to maintain the existing order of things without change or modification was beyond the power even of Spartan discipline. The result was that the changes which took place were all converted to the interests of oligarchy, and such development as did take place was but the strengthening of the oligarchical element of the constitution. The social causes which operated elsewhere to produce the growth of a population outside the body of privileged citizens, and thus to make government, even by the whole of the citizen body, the government of the few, had their

full effect in Sparta also. The exact way in which they took effect in Sparta was peculiar to Sparta. The garrison-like life which the Spartans, surrounded by a hostile native population, were compelled to lead, had as one of its features the famous *Syssitia* of Sparta. A Spartan father of a family did not take his meals in the family circle, but with the other Spartans at a public mess, *syssitia*. The food at these messes was provided by the members of the mess, and a Spartan who was too poor to be able to make his contribution was excluded from the *syssitia*. This exclusion carried with it exclusion from political rights, from citizenship. Now the land lot, the *kleros*, which originally sufficed for the support of one family, in course of time would come to be inadequate to the support of all the descendants of that family, and thus there grew up a number of men, Spartan by birth, but through poverty not citizens of Sparta. They were called Hypomeiones. As early as the first Messenian war, the growth of a non-privileged population surrounding and threatening the nucleus of privileged citizens had resulted in a conspiracy which might have ended in a revolution, but that it was discovered and the malcontents drafted off as colonists.

If the force of circumstances and the laws of nature converted what had originally been a meeting of all the freemen of the community into a meeting of a minority of the freemen of the country, legalisation meanwhile was not wanting to lessen the power even of the citizen body. By a *rhētra* or law, referred to the time of the kings Theopompus and Polydorus, the Gerontes and kings were authorised to override the decisions of the assembly of free citizens, at Sparta called the Apella, at their own good-will. Thus the sovereign power of the state was in effect withdrawn from the citizens, and handed over to an oligarchical body of thirty nobles; for the Gerousia consisted of the twenty-eight Gerontes and the two kings. Whether the kings and the Gerontes, having excluded the demos from the sovereignty, proceeded to fight for it between themselves, is a point on which we have no direct information. It seems probable, as regards the Gerontes, that not only did they thus arrogate to themselves the right of overriding the decisions of the Apella, but that they contrived to limit the power of the citizen body in another way. The Gerontes were elected by the citizens, and thus in theory, though governed by the Gerontes, the citizens did at least choose their own rulers. But the form of a constitution is one thing, the spirit and sense in which it is worked another. The forms, and even

the purpose, of the constitution may be entirely defeated by the way of working it. In what way the popular election of the Gerontes was converted into a farce, and the power of free choice withdrawn from the citizens, we do not know. But Aristotle calls the mode of election "childish," and he also qualifies the Gerousia as "dynastic in the extreme," *i.e.*, a corporation of the closest possible description. It seems, therefore, probable that means were found by which election to the Gerousia was in practice confined to certain noble dynastic families. If the Gerontes thus completely succeeded in excluding not only the body of free citizens, but even the non-dynastic nobles from political power, they were equally successful in their struggle, if struggle there was, with the monarchical element of the constitution. The cause of their success is plainly and undoubtedly to be found in the fact that there were two kings, not one, in Sparta. The origin of the divided kingship is unknown. The myth invented to account for it was, that originally there was but one king, and that the birth of twins in the royal house led to the division of the kingship. Modern inquirers have quoted the analogy of the two consuls at Rome, or have referred the double kingship to the rivalry of powerful families, or have regarded it as indicating an early fusion of two originally independent communities, one Dorian, one Achæan. The last hypothesis is an inference probably mistaken from a passage in Herodotus (v. 72), where one of the kings, Cleomenes, who belonged to the royal house of the Eurypontidæ, says to the priestess of Athena Polias in the Erechtheum at Athens, "I am no Dorian but an Achæan." In the sense, however, in which Cleomenes spoke the other king was as much an Achæan as Cleomenes himself: both kings were made by the official Lacedæmonian myth to be descended from the Heraclidæ, who were, according to the myth, Achæans. We may perhaps conjecture (with Holm) that the double kingship was due to the fusion not indeed of a Dorian and an Achæan community, but of two distinct Dorian bands of settlers. This conjecture might have been made earlier, had it been recognised that the Dorians in all probability did not enter the Peloponnese in one host, but in detached bands of invaders. Whatever may have been the origin of the divided kingship, it does not seem necessary to assume (as Holm, *G. G.* i. 210, does) that it was divided with the intention of weakening the monarchical element. The fact, however, that neither royal house was allowed to depose or swallow up the other (they were not allowed to, at any rate did

not, intermarry), shows however, that the aristocracy came to see that the division of the kingship guaranteed the continuance of their own dynastic power. The division of the kingship also explains how it was that, essential as the military office was to the very existence of a community surrounded, like the Spartan, by a hostile native population, it still was not allowed by the aristocracy to take to itself the other executive functions of the state, but was for ever limited to the strict duty of the original war-king or *heretoga*, i.e., was in Aristotle's words "a perpetual and irresponsible generalship." Indeed, in accordance with the tendency in virtue of which the oligarchical element in the Spartan constitution grew at the expense of the other elements, the kings in the course of time came to lose some of the powers which belonged to them originally and of right. The declaration of war, which had been the right of the kings, was assumed by the oligarchy. The foreign policy of the country, which would naturally to a large extent fall into the hands of the kings as long as they exercised this right, was eventually withdrawn from them. And not only was the navy, when it came into existence, not intrusted to them, but they came to be controlled even in the discharge of their military duties by the representatives of the oligarchy.

Undoubtedly the triumph of the oligarchy over the monarchical element of the constitution was largely secured by the aid of the Ephors. The oligarchy could never have contended so successfully with an executive officer of the importance of the kings of Sparta, had they not possessed executive officials as instruments of their own. In Rome, the Consuls were practically powerless against the Senate, because the Consuls were in power but for a year, while the Senate went on for ever. In Sparta, however, the kings were as permanent as the Gerousia itself. The conditions therefore were different; and it may be doubted whether the result would not have been different also, had it not been for the Ephors. The origin of this board of five is involved in absolute obscurity. It has been supposed that they were in some way connected with the five village communities, *κῶμαι*, out of which the town of Sparta was formed. In Sparta itself in late times there was a tradition that they were the creation of the kings, who found that the growing duties of the executive made it necessary to erect a board of magistrates to relieve them of some of their civil duties. Again, the fact that they were chosen, not necessarily from amongst men of wealth or birth, but from the ranks of the people, has caused them to be compared to the tribunes of the people at

Rome. As, however, the most ancient function that they can be shown to have exercised was censorial in its nature, and as they undoubtedly did in historical times exercise a supervision, in accordance with the etymological meaning of the word *ἐφορος*, which gave them a remarkably strict control over every member of the Spartan state, even over the kings themselves; and as the tremendous growth of their power is easily understood if we assume that it was in its origin censorial, we may, in the absence of positive information as to the creation of this board of officials, conclude that their functions were in the beginning rather censorial than executive or political. The office was not in itself one which necessarily need have come to play into the hands of the oligarchs. As every full and free citizen was eligible for the post, the institution might well have proved an instrument of democracy. The enormous extent of the power exercised eventually by the Ephors might have made this office a tyranny. There was no reason, as far as we can see, why the Ephors should not have been enlisted in the service of the monarchical element. As a matter of fact and history, however, we find that the more the powers of the Ephors increased, the more oligarchical the constitution of Sparta came to be in its practical working. It is a necessary inference, therefore, that the institution of the Ephorate was worked in the interests of the oligarchical element, and it remains for us to interpret the few facts we possess accordingly. We may conjecture that the democratic tendency of the institution (the eligibility of every Spartan citizen for the office) was defeated by the method of election. What the method was we do not know: Aristotle stigmatises it as childish. Apparently it allowed the oligarchs to work it for their own ends. Tyrannical as was the action of the Ephors in the zenith of their power, the individual Ephors were prevented from administering it in subservience to their own ambition, partly by the fact that the board consisted of five Ephors, and partly by the limited tenure of office: it was annual and the holders were accountable to their successors. How the appointment of Ephors came to rest practically with the oligarchs we do not know, but the result of its appropriation by them was that, as the Ephors were not for the monarchical element, they were against it, and their powers steadily grew at its expense. Not only was the control of the foreign policy claimed and obtained by the Ephors to the exclusion of the kings, but the kings were overruled even in the exercise of their military functions by the Ephors. Finally, the supervision which the Ephors as censors exercised over the conduct of every member

of the state was extended to include the right of calling even the kings to account.

No name is more closely connected by tradition with the constitutional history of Sparta than that of Lycurgus. We have, however, as yet made no mention of him, partly because it is difficult, if not impossible, to determine with any probability what precisely were the services he rendered to Sparta; and still more because the origin and the development of the constitution can be satisfactorily explained without reference to him. The statements made by ancient authors as to his personal history become more precise the more remote the biographer is in time from the subject of his biography. At the same time the more precise the statements made by one writer, the more precisely inconsistent they become with the statements made by other writers. It is plain, therefore, that no trust is to be placed in these stories, and that if we admit his existence as a historical personage, we must also assert our complete ignorance as to his personal history. Even the details of his life, which are shadowy enough to make the charge of inconsistency against them untenable, bear such a remarkable resemblance to stories told of another great legislator, Solon, that they can claim no credibility. Lycurgus, who was the guardian of an infant king, according to some authorities belonging to one royal house, according to others belonging to the other, undertook, like Solon, extensive voyages, which, like Solon's voyages, included a visit to Crete, from which island, according to some authorities, he borrowed the Spartan constitution, while according to others it was the work of the Delphic oracle, from which again Solon was said to have derived legislative inspiration. Lycurgus, too, like Solon, had something to do with the Homeric poems and their mode of recitation. Finally, both great legislators went into voluntary exile towards the end of their lives. From this it is plain that, if Lycurgus ever existed, he lived so long before historic times that every actual fact concerning his life has passed into the region of myth. When we come to his legislation, we find an equally unsatisfactory uncertainty hanging over the subject. By turns every institution characteristic of Sparta is set down as his invention. According to Herodotus, he framed the *Enomotiaë*, the *Triakades*, established the *Syssitia* and instituted the *Ephors* and the *Gerontes*. Other writers deny that he introduced the *Ephorate* into the constitution, but declare that he divided the land into equal lots amongst the Spartan citizens. In fine, and as indeed some of our authorities do not scruple to

say in so many words, before Lycurgus lawlessness reigned in Sparta; he established law, *eunomia*. At Athens too we find that every law, good or supposed to be good, was without regard to history assigned as the work of Solon: we may therefore reasonably hesitate before admitting that everything is the work of Lycurgus with which he is credited. We have already incidentally noticed that there were even ancient writers who regarded the Ephorate as not the work of Lycurgus. It is, again, impossible for a modern student to believe for one moment that he instituted the Gerontes. The existence of this council not only goes back to heroic times, it may with great probability be traced back to the Aryan period. Nor will a modern student be inclined to accept the statement that Lycurgus was the author of the common-field system. That the land the Dorians conquered in the Peloponnese was distributed by them amongst themselves as they conquered it, is probable in itself, as being the common Aryan custom, and is also confirmed by indications in subsequent Spartan history. It is not, however, probable that there was a redistribution of the land into equal lots by Lycurgus, and the tale may well have been made for political purposes in the time of Agis and Cleomenes. In conclusion, the Greeks were not acquainted with the discovery that constitutions are not made but grow. On the other hand, the anthropomorphic instinct, which in art justified itself by the marvels of sculpture which it gave birth to, made the Greeks assign a larger share in the making of history to personality than any modern people has done. It is therefore not an untenable, it can hardly be described as an extreme view, to maintain that in the case of the Lycurgean legislation we have to do entirely with the work of the anthropomorphic tendency of the Greek mind; that Lycurgus, as his very name indicates, was a being more mythical even than Theseus, was an Apollo Lycius or a Zeus Lycæus. On the other hand, we must bear in mind that great men played a greater part in the history of Greece than of any other country. The supposition that Lycurgus was originally Apollo or Zeus under some one aspect does not afford a more satisfactory explanation of the respect the name of Lycurgus was held in than does the assumption that he was a historical personage who did much for his country. But, if we make the latter assumption, we must also make the admission that it is absolutely impossible to say what it was that he did for his country. Be he a fable or no, he does not help us to trace the development of the Spartan constitution.

CHAPTER III

THE SPARTAN CONSTITUTION

SPARTA, like other Greek states, was based on a foundation of slavery ; but in Sparta purchased slaves were the exception : the body of slaves consisted of the descendants of the pre-Dorian population reduced to a state of serfdom by the Dorian invaders. The inhabitants of the valley of the Eurotas (and subsequently the population of Messenia) were made into serfs, and came to be known as Helots ; a name the meaning of which has not even yet received a satisfactory explanation. The Helots were the property of the state : they were attached to the land lot, *kleros*, on which they were born, and could neither be sold nor emancipated by the Spartan by whom the land lot was occupied. They farmed the *kleros*, and handed over a certain amount of the produce to their lord. They served as light-armed troops. They were kept in subjection by force, and were a source of perpetual alarm and danger to their rulers.

The inhabitants of the small towns of Lacedæmon were also deprived of political freedom by their Dorian conquerors, but not of personal liberty. This portion of the population of the state received the name Perioeci. They constituted the artisan class, and some of their manufactures in iron, steel, wool, and leather were famous throughout Greece. They were bound to render personal service to the state as heavy-armed soldiers, while their towns paid a tribute. A certain amount of municipal liberty and local self-government was probably allowed to them, though the extent of this freedom was limited by the presence of a Spartan governor or *harmost*.¹ As the number of Spartiatæ decreased, the calls on the Perioeci for military service increased ; hence growing discontent.

Finally, we have the descendants of the Dorian conquerors, who, by way of distinction from the Helots and Perioeci, called themselves Spartiatæ, while their official appellation, in contradistinction to the members of other states, was Lacedæmonians.² Between the Spartiatæ themselves there

¹ The title of the governor of Cythera was *Κυθηροδίκης*. Cf. Thuc. iv. 53. An inscription of B.C. 370 found in Cythera mentions a *Μένανδρος ἀρμοστής*.

² This appears from the document in Thuc. v. 18, 23. *Οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι* includes both Spartiatæ and Perioeci. Thuc. iv. 8, 53.

were differences of grade ; pure descent qualified for full citizenship, but did not confer it. The rights of Spartan citizenship could only be exercised by those who had gone through the Spartan training. The evidence or certificate that a man was complying with this condition consisted in something analogous to "eating dinners." It was necessary to join a mess ; those who could afford to pay their contribution to these *syssitia* were "peers," *homoioi*, and entitled to full political rights. Those whose poverty forbade them lost their political though they retained their civil rights, and were termed "inferiors," *hypomeiones*.

Children of a Spartan father and a Helot mother were called *mothakes* or *mothônes*, and probably ranked with the *neodamôdeis* or enfranchised Helots.

It is probable that the Spartiatæ, like other Dorian peoples, were originally divided into the three tribes or *phylæ* of the *Hylleis*, *Dymanes*, and *Pamphylî*. But this division seems to have yielded to a system of local tribes, identical with the five *comæ* or villages of which Sparta was composed.¹ We find also *phratries*, twenty-seven in number, in existence, which probably were divisions of the three Dorian tribes ; and *obæ* (*comæ* according to Curtius, *Gk. Et.* 517), which on the evidence of inscriptions (*C. I. G.* 1272-1274) seem to have been divisions of the local tribes.

Though Spartan tradition accounts for the double kingship by the story of the appearance of twins in the royal house, the kings really belonged to different families, the Agiadæ and Eurypontidæ. In each house the kingship was hereditary, and passed to the eldest son, or to the son born after his father's accession.² The kings were also priests, the one of Zeus Lacedæmon, the other of Zeus Uranios ; and, as representatives of the state, offered state sacrifices to Apollo. Their judicial functions³ were extremely narrow : they decided (in cases of dispute) which of the next-of-kin should marry an heiress ; and it was in their presence that declarations of adoption had to be made. The public roads were also under their charge. Much more important were their powers as hereditary commanders-in-chief. In the field they exercised martial law and the power of life and death. In the time of Herodotus (v. 73) they had exercised the right of declaring war. In

¹ The five *comæ* were Πιτάνη (*Hdt.* iii. 55), Μεσάα, Λίμναι, Κυνόουρα, and the fifth was either the πόλις itself or Θόρναξ.

² *Hdt.* vii. 3.

³ *Hdt.* vi. 57.

course of time, they contrived to escape from the responsibility attaching to this right, by previously consulting the Ephors and the Apella. In other words, they resigned their control over the foreign policy of the country into the hands of the Ephors, by whom, in case of disaster, they would eventually have been called to account. Even in his military duties, the king was controlled by the two Ephors who accompanied him : the Ephors indeed had no formal power to interfere with him in the actual discharge of his military functions, but they reported his action ; and on their reports kings were called to trial at the end of the campaign, and condemned.¹

The king's revenue was drawn mainly from the royal demesne, and was paid to him in kind by the Perioeci. It also included a double portion at the *syssitia*, and part of the animals offered at various sacrifices. Amongst the honours paid to the king, the most remarkable was the elaborate mourning at his death (Hdt. vi. 56-58).

The Council of the Elders consisted of the two kings and twenty-eight elders ;² the Ephors also took part in the deliberations of the Gerousia. Admission to the Gerousia was practically limited to the nobility, and to a few powerful or dynastic families among the nobility. Election was for life, but as the minimum age was sixty, a tolerably free stream of new members must have been kept flowing. The electing body consisted of the assembly of free citizens, who voted by acclamation. The duties of the Gerousia were deliberative, administrative, and judicial. All public business was discussed by them in the first instance, and the proposal which they determined to recommend was submitted through the king to the people for assent or rejection. The whole of the administration of the state fell to the Gerousia, while as a judicial body it had the trial of criminal cases and state trials.

The Apella or assembly was open to all citizens of over thirty years of age. It met once a month, within the boundaries of the five *comæ* which constituted the city of Sparta. It was summoned by the kings, who originally presided over the meeting, until they were ousted by the Ephors. The business of the Apella consisted in the election of the Gerontes, and possibly the Ephors and other officials, and in voting on the business laid before it by the Gerousia. The matters brought before it were mainly questions of peace,³ war,⁴

¹ Thuc. v. 63.

³ Xen. *Hell.* II. ii, 20.

² Hdt. vi. 57.

⁴ Thuc. i. 67-87.

alliances,¹ &c. These questions were not debated by the Apella; speeches might be made by the kings, Gerontes, and Ephors, but if the ordinary citizen had the right to speak, he rarely used it. The vote of the meeting was given by acclamation,² though if necessary a division might be taken, in which case the assembly rose (for it sat³) and divided. The vote, however, was a mere formality, for from the time of the kings Polydorus and Theopompus, the Gerousia could set aside a "crooked" decision of the people: the Apella, therefore, can have been little more than the machinery by which the resolutions of the government were communicated to the people. A so-called "small Ecclesia" is mentioned once (Xen. *Hell.* III. iii. 8), but not in a way which enables us to infer anything whatever about it.

The Ephors, five in number, were elected from and possibly by the people, though we know nothing of the mode of election.⁴ Their first duty on election was to issue a proclamation bidding the citizens "to shave their moustaches and obey the law,"⁵ an injunction which indicates that their office was censorial. As censors they superintended the training and the morals of the youth, and had the right to punish any Spartiate for any piece of conduct they deemed improper, to sentence Perioeci to death without trial, and to expel persons whose presence they thought noxious to the state. They interfered in the households even of the kings.⁶ Their power extended over all other officials, whom they could suspend from office and imprison, and who were responsible to them for the execution of their duties.⁷ Many of the powers exercised by the Ephors must be regarded not as inherent in their office, but as having their source in the Gerousia. The Ephors came to preside over the Gerousia, and were intrusted by it with the execution of their joint resolutions. Thus as presidents of the Gerousia in its judicial capacity the Ephors would receive criminal and other informations, conduct the trial, and finally be deputed by the Gerousia to see to the execution of its sen-

¹ Hdt. vii. 149; Thuc. v. 77; foreign policy, Xen. II. iv. 38; decides disputed succession to the throne, Hdt. vi. 65; emancipates Helots, Thuc. v. 34.

² Thuc. i. 87.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Ar. Pol. ii. 9 calls it, *παιδαριώδης*. That all Spartiatae were eligible follows from his words, ii. 10, *αἴρεσις ἐκ πάντων*. Whether the people elected or not is not clear from vi. (iv.) 9, *τοὺς μὲν γὰρ γέροντας αἰροῦνται, τῆς δ' ἐφορείας μετέχουσιν*.

⁵ Plut. *Cleom.* 9, *κέρεσθαι τὸν μύστακα καὶ προσέχειν τοῖς νόμοις*.

⁶ Hdt. v. 40, 41.

⁷ Ar. Pol. ii. 9, *δόξειε δ' ἂν ἡ τῶν ἐφόρων ἀρχὴ πᾶσας εὐθύνει τὰς ἀρχάς*.

tence. This, doubtless, was the procedure in the case of state trials.¹ As, further, the Ephors summoned² and presided over³ the Apella, we may perhaps also regard the Ephors' control over the foreign policy as deputed rather than as inherent power. If the Apella decreed war, the duty fell upon the executive, the Ephors, to take the necessary steps: they mobilised the army, and gave the order to march to the military authorities. In fine, though everything was done through the Ephors, it does not follow that everything was done by the Ephors. The steady growth of the oligarchical element of the constitution can only be explained on the assumption that the Ephors were the tools of the Gerousia, and that their power was deputed to them by the elders, and not exercised independently. Doubtless the reason why the Ephors, who, being drawn from the people, might have been expected to develop the democratic element, thus lent themselves to the policy of the oligarchical party, is to be found in the fact that the Ephors held office but for a year, while the Gerousia went on for ever. If the board happened on occasion to include an Ephor of democratic tendencies or royal sympathies, he might be outvoted by his colleagues, and the minority had to submit to the majority;⁴ while even if the majority one year were opposed to the oligarchy, they were debarred from free action by the prospect of being called to account by their successors, who would in all probability be subservient to the Gerousia. In the matter of foreign policy, where the Ephors in appearance are most independent of the Gerousia, it is most obvious that they were the instruments of the Gerontes. The continuous and well-considered foreign policy of Sparta cannot have been the work of a yearly changing board of incompetent persons: it bears on its face the mark of its origin in a senate possessing hereditary traditions and aristocratic tenacity of purpose.

From the time when the Dorian invaders first entered Sparta, they continued to be what they were on the first day of their coming, an encampment on hostile territory. They can scarcely be said to have become even a garrison, as they did not fortify their town. They neither exterminated the original population nor amalgamated with them, and if time strengthened their position in many points, it also developed discontent amongst the Perioeci; the Spartans lived only on the naked exhibition of brutal force. The Spartiatæ were citizen troops who were

¹ Hdt. vi. 82. Other state trials, Thuc. ii. 21, v. 63.

² Xen. *Hell.* II. ii. 20.

³ Thuc. i. 87.

⁴ Xen. *Hell.* II. iii. 34, and iv. 29.

never disbanded. They lived perpetually under arms. So far from endeavouring to exchange the manners and the discipline of the camp for the less irksome habits of civil life, they assimilated even the nursery to their military organisation, proclaimed conjugal affection under a state of siege, and placed maternal love under martial law. The moment a child was born it was subject to a sort of court-martial, and liable to be condemned to death ere it had well learned how to breathe; it was submitted for examination to the oldest members of the tribe, and if judged by them to be weakly or deformed, was exposed to death at the *Apothetæ* or place of exposure. If allowed to live, it was intrusted to its mother's care until the age of seven; these years, however, were all the furlough it was destined to obtain in the course of its existence. At the expiration of this period of leave, the boy was recalled by the *Paidonomus*, and drafted into an *ἵλα* or band of recruits of the same mature years as himself. The *ἵλα* which he joined was the junior division of one of the *βούαι* or companies into which all boys under the age of eighteen were distributed. Each *ἵλα* had its own commander, as also had each *βua*, elected from amongst the youths of more than twenty years of age by the boys themselves. The Spartan boy, cast away from home in this way, got something much more like an English public school education than did Athenian boys. The latter went to day-schools, were taken backwards and forwards by a servant, and at home were mostly in the women's part of the house. The Spartan boy, on the other hand, was cut off from home: he lived and slept with boys of his own age, and had to take care of himself. The Athenian school-boy apparently had nothing by way of school sports: the Spartan boy was allowed to elect his own captains, spent his time in running, jumping, wrestling, throwing the spear and the quoit, and must have enjoyed himself thoroughly. To what extent bullying went on cannot be conjectured, but there was a check on tendencies of that kind in a sort of fag system: specially intimate and affectionate friendships between a senior and a junior boy were encouraged, and the *εἰσπνέλας* or lover was held responsible for the morals and good conduct of his beloved, his *αἶτας*. There were, of course, differences between the Spartan *agogé* and a public school education: the Spartan boy had to rough it a good deal. He had to sleep on hay, straw, or rushes without bed-covering: his arrival at puberty was celebrated in a common savage fashion by severe scourging, which it was a point of honour to bear without flinching. Even this, however, the English boy

would probably gladly exchange with the Spartan, if, like the Spartan, he was totally exempt from lessons, even from learning to read ; while permission to eke out scanty food by stealing what he could, provided only he conveyed it dexterously, would turn the scale completely. There is one other respect in which the Spartan system differed from the public school, and it is a point in favour of the Spartan system : the Spartan boys were not debarred from the society of their elders. They were allowed to listen to the conversation of the men at dinner, and thus received an education which was none the less valuable because it was unconscious and unforced. Narrow as were the limits of Spartan education, it is impossible not to give it our hearty admiration, as far as it went. The propensity to imitation is the indispensable condition of education ; it is also the basis of nearly all children's games. Especially do children like to imitate in their games what grown-up people do. Now the Spartan system of education consisted simply in making boys imitate men, and imitate them in precisely the things that are manly, and therefore the object of a boy's admiration and ambition. If we add to this that the men spent much time in watching the boys' sports, and thus gave the boys the very spectators whose approval the boys most wished for, we cannot help believing that the Spartan system thoroughly accomplished the object it aimed at.

At the age of eighteen the period of boyhood was over, and from eighteen to twenty those "approaching youth," the *melliranes*, were employed in the *Crypteia*, a sort of police service, the main object of which was to keep the Helots in proper subjection. At twenty they became liable to regular military service, and were called "youths," *iranes*, until thirty, when they became qualified to attend the assembly and to start a household. It was at the age of twenty probably that they became members of the *syssitia*, or, as they were called in later times, *phiditia*. The *syssitia* or *phiditia* were simply military messes. Some fifteen *hoplites* dined together at a mess in peace as in war. In peace as in war, the members of the mess dined in their tent, and in peace they were under the same officers and military discipline as in war. Each member of the mess had to contribute a certain amount of barley or meal, and wine, cheese, figs, and a small sum of money every month. Spartans too poor to pay their contribution and belong to a mess lost their political rights and ceased to be full citizens, *homoioi*. The fare at these *syssitia* was such that the Sybarite who was told of it understood now why the Spartans did not fear death.

Herodotus¹ attributes the organisation of the Spartan army to Lyncurgus. How the army was organised in the time of Herodotus we cannot quite gather from that writer; and that is the less to be wondered at because the Spartans were at great pains to keep their organisation secret. Herodotus speaks of *enomotiæ*, *triakades*, and *syssitia*: Plutarch says that about fifteen men messed together in one tent at the *syssitia*. We might therefore conclude that a *triakas*, which, as its name implies, consisted of thirty men, was constituted of two *syssitia*, and that an *enomotia* consisted of a number of *triakades*. We find, however, in Herodotus² traces of a system of *lochi*, which does not seem to harmonise with this conclusion. That the organisation of the Spartan army in the fifth century was based on the *lochos* appears beyond a doubt from Thucydides. He, moreover, explicitly states that the *lochos* was made up of four *pentecostyes*, and that each *pentecostys* was made up of four *enomotiæ*.³ How many *lochi* there were in the army is, however, a point scarcely yet satisfactorily settled. It seems highly probable that the *lochi* were in some way connected with the five *comæ* of which Sparta consisted; ⁴ and Aristotle is quoted by Hesychius as saying that there were five *lochi*. Thucydides,⁵ however, describing the battle of Mantinea, speaks of seven *lochi*, and there were more *lochi* than seven in the full army, because two detachments (the very old and the very young men) together, constituting one-sixth of the army, had been sent home before the battle.⁶ But if two detachments constituted one-sixth of the army, the whole army must have contained twelve detachments or *lochi*; and this number, twelve, may be brought into harmony with that of the five *comæ* if we assume that each *come* supplied a *lochos* of seniors and a *lochos* of juniors, making ten *lochi* in all: the two *lochi* still wanting are the *lochos* of very young men, who had only just reached twenty years of age, and the *lochos* of old men, nearly sixty years of age.

¹ i. 65, μετὰ δὲ τὰ ἐς πολέμον ἔχοντα ἐνωμοτίας καὶ τριηκάδας καὶ συσσίτια . . . ἔστησε Λυκοῦργος. ² ix. 53, 55. ³ v. 68.

⁴ Whether one of them took its official name from Pitane, as Hdt. ix. 53 avers, or did not, as Thuc. i. 20 maintains, the λόχος Πιτανάτης was probably drawn from Pitane. ⁵ v. 68, λόχοι μὲν γὰρ ἐμάχοντο ἑπτὰ.

⁶ v. 64, τὸ ἕκτον μέρος, ἐν ᾧ τὸ πρεσβύτερόν τε καὶ τὸ νεώτερον ἦν. Gilbert (G. S. I. 75) does not think that these constituted two separate *lochi*, but that they were the oldest and youngest members from all the *lochi*, which, on the strength of the passage quoted in the previous note, he considers to have been at this period seven in number; whereas before B.C. 425, according to Gilbert, they were five in number. But see Stehfen *de Spartanorum re militari*, Greifswald, 1881.

The statement made by Thucydides as to seven *lochi* refers not to the whole force, but to the troops fighting in the centre: the other three *lochi* were on the right (v. 71). The full nominal strength of the Spartan army was 6000 men, of each *lochos* 500 men. The organisation of the Perioeci was parallel to, but distinct from, that of the Spartiatae. At Plataea 5000 Spartiatae, ten *lochi*, fought; and the number, and probably therefore the organisation, of the Perioeci was the same.

When, however, the number of Spartiatae began to decline, and Sparta could no longer send out one full citizen to every Perioecus, a re-organisation of the army became necessary. This re-organisation becomes known to us for the first time in B.C. 403. The whole number of Spartiatae and Perioeci liable to military service was divided into six divisions or *mora*, and there was probably a corresponding territorial division of the country into six districts. The number of men composing a *mora* depended on the class called out:¹ it was obviously larger when men up to fifty years of age were called out than when men up to thirty were summoned to the ranks. Each *mora* consisted of two *lochi*, each *lochos* of four *pentecostyes*, each *pentecostys* of two *enomotiæ*. The *mora* was commanded by a *polemarchus*, the *lochos* by a *lochagus*, the *pentecostys* by a *penteconter*, and the *enomotia* by an *enomotarchês*. Commands passed down this line of officers, and thus the army possessed the mobility necessary for tactical movements.

Cavalry, as a branch of the service, does not seem to have existed in Sparta before B.C. 424,² and then only 400 were raised. In B.C. 394 the number was increased to 600, but they were very inferior. On the other hand, from much earlier times,³ there seems to have been a picked body of 300 Hoplites, called knights,⁴ who acted as a body-guard to the king⁵ in time of war, and in time of peace were employed by the Ephors as a sort of mounted police.

The Spartan camp was circular in form, and but very slightly, if at all, defended by a palisade. The safety of the camp depended on the pickets and outposts. The erection of the camp was left to the artisans and camp-followers, Perioeci and Helots, who accompanied the army for the purpose.

The largest fleet Sparta ever possessed consisted of twenty-five ships⁶ in the year B.C. 413. At Artemisium she had ten,

¹ Cf. Xen. *Hell.* II. iv. 32.

² Thuc. iv. 55. Cf. v. 67.

³ Hdt. i. 67, vi. 56, vii. 205, viii. 124.

⁴ οἱ τριακόσιοι ἱππῆς καλούμενοι. Thuc. v. 72.

⁵ Thuc. v. 72.

⁶ Thuc. vi. 3.

at Salamis sixteen. Her harbour was Gytheion;¹ the marines were Perioeci, the crews Helots and mercenaries. The trierarchs (*e.g.* Brasidas, Thuc. iv. 11) were Spartan. In B.C. 480 the command of the fleet was in the hands of a *navarch*.² This office, which at first might be held by one of the kings,³ eventually became independent, and of such importance (owing to the fleets Sparta commanded, not those she raised) as not only to rival the power of the kings,⁴ but to be a source of fear to the oligarchy. The office, therefore, was made annual,⁵ and might not be held by re-election.⁶ The *navarch* received instructions from the Ephors,⁷ and was sometimes assisted or hampered by an advising board.⁸

CHAPTER IV

CRETE

IN Crete, as in Sparta, the dominant race was the Dorian. In Crete, as in Sparta, the subject races were Greeks whom the Dorians found in possession at the time of their invasion of the country; but in Crete there appear to have been prehistoric Phœnician settlements, and possibly also immigrants from the coast of Asia Minor. According to tradition, the Dorians found a great maritime power existing in Crete, as in the Peloponnese they found the kingdom of Agamemnon. But whereas the relation between the Dorians and the Achæans was one of hostility, in Crete the Dorians actually regarded their constitution, which, nevertheless, is obviously Dorian, as instituted by Minos. The position of Crete as a half-way station between the Peloponnese and the Orient, was undoubtedly favourable to the growth of a great naval power, but it is vain to expect that by casting the legends about Minos into the crucible of history we shall get anything but "chymic gold." The colonisation of Crete by the Dorians must be regarded as subsequent to their conquest of the Peloponnese: tradition makes Argos and Sparta the principal colonists. Homer re-

¹ Thuc. i. 108.

² Hdt. viii. 42.

³ Hdt. viii. 131.

⁴ Arist. *Pol.* II. vi. (ix.) 22, ἡ ναυαρχία σχεδὸν ἑτέρα βασιλεία μετέστηκεν.

⁵ Xen. *Hell.* I. v. 1, vi. 1.

⁶ An exception was made in favour of Lysander. Xen. *Hell.* II. i. 7.

⁷ Thuc. ii. 85, viii. 12; Xen. *Hell.* I. vi. 5.

⁸ σύμβουλοι, Thuc. iii. 69 and 79, ii. 85, viii. 39.

presents the population as consisting of divers elements; and in Homeric as in historic times the island was divided into numerous independent states. Homer speaks of ninety or a hundred cities (*Il.* ii. 649; *Od.* xix. 174). Coins and inscriptions have already demonstrated the existence of forty-three autonomous communities. It is the existence of these states, which, though similar, were yet not identical in constitution, that creates the principal difficulty in the investigation of Cretan institutions. Certain institutions may have co-existed in Crete, but not have co-existed in any one Cretan state. In the attempt to combine all that our authorities tell us of "the Cretans," we may be led into associating two institutions which never were or could be combined in any single state. This danger, and the possibility of this kind of error, meet us the moment we begin to investigate the condition of the subject populations of Crete. Sosicrates, himself a Cretan, tells us (in *Ath.* vi. 263 ff.) that "the Cretans" call the class of public slaves *μνοία*, of private slaves *ἀφαιμῶται*, and of Pericæci *ὑπήκοοι*. We also learn from Callistratus (*ib.*) that "the Cretans" call the slaves they employ in the town *χρυσώνητοι*, "purchased with gold," and those they employ in the fields *aphamiotæ*. From this it has, on the one hand, been inferred that every Cretan state possessed three classes of slaves: (1) *ὑπήκοοι*, corresponding to the Pericæci of Sparta, *i.e.*, the inhabitants of subject non-Dorian towns paying a tribute to the tyrant cities; (2) *aphamiotæ*, the serfs attached to a land lot or *kleros*, and, like it, in the possession of a Dorian citizen; (3) *μνωίται*, the serfs attached to the land which remained over when every citizen had received an allotment, and which, together with the inhabitants, continued in the possession of the state. To these three classes must also be added the purchased slaves. On the other hand, it has been inferred (Grote, ii. 285) that there was no class of *ὑπήκοοι* distinct from the other two classes; that in Crete, as in Sparta, there were but two classes of subjects, the *mnōitæ*, corresponding to the Pericæci (Aristotle, *II.* vii. 3, calls the *mnōitæ* Pericæci), and the *aphamiotæ*, corresponding to the Helots. But it is plain that neither inference is necessary; all three classes may have been known to "the Cretans," and yet no single Cretan state may have possessed more than two classes. Doubtless in every state the individual citizen had at his service serfs corresponding to the Helots of Sparta; and there seems little doubt that these serfs were called by different names in different states, *ὠταάφαμι*, *κλαρωταί*, *Φοικέες*. Doubtless, too, every state, as

a state, may have possessed slaves ; in some states these slaves may have occupied a position corresponding to that of the Pericæci of Sparta, enjoying personal and municipal, but not political freedom, *hypekooi*, while in other states they may have been the cultivators of the folk-land, *mnoitæ*. On the other hand, it is to be noted that in the Gortyna Code (ii. 2-16), though provision is made against criminal assaults upon the purchased slave, the *Foikeus*, the free-man, and the ἀπέταιρος, whoever he may be, there is no mention of either the *hypekoos* or of any class corresponding to the Pericæci. Negative evidence is not generally satisfactory, but it is hard to see on what principle the code should not provide for the protection of the *hypekooi* or *mnoitæ*, if the state possessed such dependants. We must, therefore, conclude either that Gortyna at least possessed only *Foikees* and purchased slaves, or that at Gortyna the *hypekoos* was called *apetairos*.

The condition of the *aphamiotæ*, *klarotæ*, or *Foikees* in Crete was much better than that of the corresponding class in any other Greek state. Aristotle (*Pol.* ii. 5) says that the only things forbidden them were the use of the gymnasia and the wearing of heavy armour ; and the favourable picture he draws is amply borne out in the recently discovered Gortyna code. From it we find that the *Foikees*, as they were called in Gortyna, might marry freely amongst themselves, and that their marriages and family relations had the same legal basis as those of their masters. A *Foikeus* might even marry a free woman, and, in certain cases, the children of such a marriage might be free, though in others they were *Foikees*. The right of property was also accorded to the *Foikeus* in its fullest extent : he could possess house and cattle without fear of deprivation at the hands of his master. The *Foikeus* and the *Foikêa* were protected by the law in their persons, like other members of the community : if the fine for assaulting them was less than for assaulting a free man, on the other hand it was greater than that for assault upon a purchased slave. The result of this enlightened policy was that the Cretans had much less to fear from their serfs than had the Spartans from their Helots. We may conjecture that the Dorians in Crete would hardly have shown greater toleration towards the subject populations than did the Dorians of Sparta had they been equally strong. But the disproportion between the numbers of the dominant class and its subjects seems to have been greater in Crete than it was in the Peloponnese.

The large amount of liberty yielded to the subject popula-

tions of Crete by the Dorian conquerors would not of itself have been sufficient to perpetuate the power of the latter: indeed it might well have brought about its downfall. But as in Sparta, so in Crete, the Dorian was essentially a predatory state; teeth and claws were developed at the expense of the rest of the organism. The Cretan Hybrias put the matter so well in a skolion that his words have not yet been lost: his store of wealth consisted of his spear, sword, and buckler; with them he ploughed, with them he reaped; he trod out the sweet wine from the grape with them: they were his title to be lord of serfs.¹ The constitution of the Dorian state in Crete was that of a camp.² The resemblance between the education of the Cretan and the ἀγωγή of the Spartan is so close as to be proof that the two systems had a common origin, and that the resemblance, though helped, was not created by similarity in the conditions under which they existed. At the same time, there are differences which indicate that one or other or both have departed from the original form; but what the conditions were which determined this evolution, and whether the Spartan or the Cretan had departed the farther from the original type, it is impossible to say. The most striking difference between the two is the greater amount of liberty given by the Cretan system to individuality. But whether this is a departure from the original system, due to the freedom of action which colonisation necessarily procures for the individual colonist, or whether the greater control exercised by the Spartan state over its members was itself a later growth, not developed until after the emigration of the Dorians from the Peloponnese to Crete, is matter of doubt. The fact remains that the liberty which the Spartan citizen was allowed in choosing his messmates at the *syssitia*, and which the Spartan boy exercised in choosing his captains, was kept in check by the *paidonomos* and the *polemarch* at Sparta, but in Crete was allowed to grow until it became the very essence of the organisation of the state. Until the age of seventeen, indeed, the Cretan boys were under the control of a state official called, as in Sparta, *paidonomos*, who superintended their physical education. During this period the boy seems to have waited at his father's *syssition*, and to have been fed at its cost. In Sparta, the boys under eighteen were allowed to elect their

¹ See Ath. xv. 695 ff., ἔστι μοι πλοῦτος μέγας δόρυ καὶ ξίφος καὶ τὸ καλὸν λαισήιον, πρόβλημα χρωτός· Τούτῳ γὰρ ἀρῶ, τούτῳ θερίζω, Τούτῳ πατέω τὸν ἄδυν οἶνον ἀπ' ἀμπέλῳ· Τούτῳ δεσπότης μονοίας κέκλημαι.

² Plat. *Laws*, ii. 666, στρατοπέδου γὰρ πολιτείαν ἔχετε.

own captains or *bouagors*, but the *bua* or company was under the control of the *paidonomos*. In Crete, on the other hand, it was the youths who had begun their eighteenth year who formed themselves into companies under captains of their own choice. These companies were called *ἀγέλαι*; the members of them were called *ἀγελάται* or *δρομεῖς*, because they now were admitted to the *dromi* or gymnasia. Boys under this age were called *ἀπάγελοι* or *ἀποδρόμοι*.¹ An *ἀγέλη* once formed, continued to hold together for ten years, until the youths attained the age of twenty-seven. Even then the association was not necessarily dissolved: the Cretan citizen probably had, like the Spartan, the right to choose what mess he would join, and to admit to his mess whom he would. There was therefore nothing to prevent, and much to encourage, the members of an *ἀγέλη* at the end of the ten years joining the same mess, or as it was called in Crete, *hetaireia*. Having thus seen that the principle of voluntary association ran through the life of a Cretan citizen, we have now to consider the importance of the *agelæ* and the *hetaireiai*, both most remarkable institutions.

The primary object of the *ἀγέλη* undoubtedly was to practise its members in athletic exercises and military manœuvres. These exercises, however, were not performed, as in Sparta, under a state official; the father of the elected captain of the *ἀγέλη* had the command of the troop. He directed their sports, superintended their physical exercises and their hunting, and could inflict punishment on the disobedient. The *agelæ* were fed at the state cost, and on certain days they had sham fights with each other. But it was impossible that young men between the ages of seventeen and twenty-seven should be continually practising the use of weapons and the methods of warfare, and be content with sham fights. Nor could it be expected that the full citizen who had the command of an *agelê* and was involved in the struggles of political life would always refrain from employing the physical force under his command. And we find, in fact, that the *agelæ* not only—as, for instance, in Dreros (Cauer, *Inscr. Gr.* 121)—bound themselves together with an oath of enmity against the neighbouring city of Lyttos, but even acted as independent powers, concluding treaties with other towns (*e.g.*, Latos and Olus, *C. I. G.* 2554,

¹ The difference between the two expressions would seem to be that the *ἀπόδρομος*, according to the Gortyna code (vii. 35), is *ἡβίων*, but not *δρομεύς* (*i.e.*, not yet admissible to the *δρόμοι*), whereas the *ἀπάγελος*, we may infer, was also too young to be admitted to the *δρόμοι*, and might or might not be *ἡβίων*.

30 ff.). As regards the civic rights of the *agelatae* or *dromeis*, entrance into an *agelê* seems to have brought with it, or to have coincided with, entrance into all civil rights. The *dromeus* was competent to act as a legal witness; his assent was required by his father to any arrangements as to his mother's property; if he were entitled to marry an heiress he had now to decide whether he would marry her or not. According to Ephorus (Strabo, 482), the *dromeus* was at once married, but did not take his wife home until he could provide an establishment, *i.e.*, probably until he quitted his *agelê*. As an heiress, at any rate at Gortyna, was marriageable at the age of twelve (Code, xii. 31), and the *dromeus* had to serve ten years in the *agelê*, she would have to wait until she was twenty-two. What became of her during this time we are not directly informed,; as, however, her house and property passed to her husband, and he was competent by law to possess property, it seems probable that she would pass with the estate to her husband. In the case of wives not heiresses, it seems clear that they lived with their father or brother (ii. 20 ff.). As in Sparta so in Crete, the husband during this time could only visit his wife occasionally, as the members of the *agelê* lived, ate, and slept in common quarters. In Sparta the age at which a man could set up a household was thirty, which was also the age at which he acquired political rights, *e.g.*, the right of attending the assembly of full citizens. In Crete the age at which the *dromeus* ceased to belong to an *agelê* and could set up a household was twenty-seven; we may therefore infer that in Crete he became a citizen with full political rights at the age of twenty-seven. In Sparta the exercise of political rights was conditional on membership of a *syssition*. In Crete a man, in order to enjoy full citizenship, had to belong to a *hetaireia*, *i.e.*, to one of the messes into which the *andreion*¹ was divided: in the Gortyna Code *apetairos* means a non-citizen. But whereas in Sparta the *syssitia* were supported by the members, and inability to contribute meant forfeiture of membership, in Crete Aristotle (*Pol.* II. vii. 4) says things were managed better: the state provided the meals, and the poor citizen was not in danger of losing his citizenship because of his poverty. This general statement is on the whole borne out by what Doriadas says (in *Ath.* iv. 143 A) of Lyctus in particu-

¹ In every Cretan state there seem to have been two halls: the *andreion*, in which all the citizens messed at their separate tables and according to their *hetaireia*; and the *κοιμητήριον*, in which strangers were entertained.

lar : in Lyctus each member contributed a tithe of his income in kind to the *hetaireia*, while the state also made a contribution, and the slaves paid a poll-tax of an Æginæan stater towards the *hetaireiæ*. What happened if a citizen had no property and could not contribute a tithe of it is not quite certain. We might conjecture that he lost his political rights and became an *apetairos*; but the very object of the state contribution was, according to Ephesus (Strabo, 480) as well as Aristotle, to prevent this sort of thing. We must therefore conclude, either that the *apetairos* of Gortyna was a foreigner, or that he was a freedman.

As in Sparta the citizen was allowed to choose his *syssition*, so the *hetaireia* in Crete was a purely voluntary association, and it is remarkable that this organisation should have succeeded in displacing the *phratry* to a large extent, if not altogether. Even "the cake of custom," which elsewhere secured for the *phratry* the rights which it had exercised from primitive times, was inoperative in Crete against the *hetaireia*. In Athens, a man, to enjoy full civic rights, must first belong to the *phratry*; in Crete to the *hetaireia*. The feast celebrating the adoption of a son, which elsewhere was given to the *phratry* and *Zeus phratrios* in Crete was given to the *hetaireia* and *Zeus hetaireios*. The importance of the *hetaireiæ* did not end with their influence on the organisation of the state. It seems not improbable that they contributed materially to the colonisation of Crete, and to the foundation of the hundred cities for which it was famous; their organisation was excellently adapted for planting military colonies. On the other hand in an established state it was inevitable that they should increase the bitterness of party politics, and lend faction weapons ready made for civil strife.

According to Aristotle (*Pol.* ii. 10), the original form of government was monarchical, and when it was set aside the military power was taken over by the ten *cosmi*. From this perhaps we may infer that the power of the king in Crete, as in Sparta, was purely military, and that the king's powers corresponded rather to those of the Teutonic *heretoga* than of the *cynig*. Herodotus (iv. 154) mentions a king of Axos at the time of the founding of Cyrene; but he gives us no hint as to the nature of the king's powers. The causes which led to the development of the aristocratic element of the original constitution at the expense of the monarchic are unknown to us; but we may reasonably conjecture that amongst them was the small size of Cretan states, in all of which apparently a single *andreion*

was capable of accommodating the whole citizen body. Within the citizen body there were distinctions, probably of birth,¹ certainly of wealth,² which formed soil for the growth of a close oligarchy. The power of the oligarchs was probably originally based on the possession of horses, and the superiority in physical force thus ensured to them.

Though the monarchical element disappeared early from the primitive constitution, the assembly of full citizens, *i.e.*, of citizens over twenty-seven years of age and belonging to an *hetaireia*, continued to exist. But, as in Sparta, the assembly was a mere form: it served as a convenient means whereby the *cosmi* and the Council notified their resolutions to the people, but the people had no power to reject these resolutions.³ The *boulê* of Cretan states resembled the *gerousia* of Sparta, in that its members, when once appointed, held office for life and were irresponsible; and also governed not in accordance with a written constitution, but according to their own notions. They were not, however, like the Spartan *gerontes*, elected directly by the people: the Cretan *boulê* consisted of ex-cosmi, as the Areopagus of Solon consisted of ex-archons. When the Cretan *boulê* sat collectively as a law-court we do not know. In Gortyna, cases were tried by a single judge, who may safely be supposed to have been a member of the *boulê*.

The real power of the state seems to have been exercised by the Cosmi or Cosmii, ten in number. Both Aristotle (*Pol.* ii. 10) and Ephorus (Strabo 482) compare the powers of the ten Cosmi to those of the five Ephors. Like the Ephors, too, they were nominally elected by and from the whole citizen body, but really by and from certain dynastic families. Their office was annual, and the president or *protocosmos* gave his name to the year. During their year of office they could neither prosecute nor be prosecuted.

The discovery of the Gortyna Code (by Dr. Federico Halbherr, July 1884) throws light on the judicial system of at least one Cretan state. The portion of the code discovered is mainly concerned with the law of inheritance and adoption; and the Gortyna Code, unlike the laws of Draco and other celebrated Greek lawgivers of his time, is not so much the existing custom

¹ According to Ar. *Pol.* ii. 10, the κόσμοι were elected, not ἐξ ἀπάντων, but ἐκ τινῶν γενῶν, probably Eupatrid families.

² This is evident from Ephor. *ap.* Strabo, 480, ὅπως τῶν ἴσων μετὰσχοιεν τοῖς εὐπόροις οἱ πενέστεροι.

³ Ar. *Pol.* ii. 10, ἐκκλησίας δὲ μετέχουσι πάντες· κυρία δ' οὐδενός ἐστιν ἄλλ' ἢ συνεπιψηφίσαι τὰ δόξαντα τοῖς γέρονσι καὶ τοῖς κοσμίοις.

committed to writing as a piece of fresh legislation consisting of a series of laws intended to reform or complete certain portions of a previous code.¹ The legal proceedings which it prescribes are, however, conducted throughout without the employment of writing : summons, evidence, and judgment are wholly verbal. The method of procedure is equally primitive in other respects : witnesses are called not only as to matters of fact, but also as to questions of law. In the absence of witnesses, or if the witnesses are equally balanced, the case may be decided by the oath of one of the parties to the case, or the judge may decide the case on his own responsibility after taking an oath.² In Homer, it will be remembered, judges in pronouncing a decision take the sceptre in hand, and in Homeric times the taking of an oath was indicated or accompanied by a lifting of the sceptre.

The laws of Gortyna, however, will be treated of in greater detail in a subsequent chapter.

CHAPTER V

THE CONSTITUTIONAL HISTORY OF ATHENS

IN chapter iii. we dealt with the constitutional history of the Spartans, the most important branch of the Dorian race. In this chapter we shall have to do with the constitutional history of the Athenians, the most important branch of the Ionian race and the rival of the Spartans. If these two states were the most important in Greece, their position was due to no mere accident, but may be traced to their size. In geographical area they were the greatest of Greek states. Sparta indeed was in mere area twice as large as Attica ; but between the two states there was a difference which nevertheless made Sparta the smaller state of the two. This difference is, that whereas the Spartan political community was concentrated in the city Sparta, whence it ruled over the subject and hostile population of the rest of Laconia, the citizens of Athens were not confined to the city, but covered the whole of Attica. The number of free

¹ *Recueil des Inscriptions Juridiques Grecques*, III. ii.

² *κρίνειν* is the word used of the action of the *δικαστής* when he decides on his own responsibility, e.g. i. II, τὸν δικαστὰν ὁμνύοντα κρίνειν, αἱ μὴ ἀποπῶνλοι μαῖνυς. Δικάζειν is used when the judge is to decide by the evidence, e.g., i. 18, κατὰ τὸν μαῖνυρα δικάδδεν.

Athenian citizens was therefore greater than that of free Spartan citizens, as the area populated by them was larger. This fact (which is of as much importance for the internal and constitutional history of Athens as it is for its external history and its conflict with Sparta) certainly indicates a difference in the conditions under which the Athenians and the Spartans entered their historical abodes respectively, but the exact nature of the difference can only be guessed at. On the one hand, the Dorians, when they entered Laconia, found a Greek population already in possession of the soil. This population they reduced to a subject and servile state, and their rule over these Helots and Perioeci was to the end a rule of force. Thus far we are on tolerably safe ground: it is when we turn to Attica that our footing becomes insecure. But even here we can begin with one or two indubitable facts. Thus in the first place the evidence of language and the early division of the Athenians into four tribes bearing the same names as the four tribes into which Ionian communities elsewhere were divided makes it reasonably certain that at some early time some Ionians settled in Attica. In the next place, there was no subject Greek population in Attica corresponding to the Helots or Perioeci. But whether from these two facts we are to infer that the Ionians when they entered Attica found no Greek population to subdue, or finding the soil inhabited, amalgamated peaceably with the inhabitants, is doubtful. There is, however, another fact which may be regarded as established: at an early time Attica was covered by village-communities, each ruled by its own head-man or archon, and often fighting with its neighbours; and eventually all these independent village communities were organised into one state, Attica, having Athens for its seat of government. But whether this political organisation, *synoikismos*, took place before or after the immigration of the Ionians is matter of speculation.

The four tribes into which the Athenians were divided until the reforms of Cleisthenes were the Geleontes, the Argadeis, the Aigikoreis, and the Hopletes. These names have been interpreted to mean respectively the shining ones, the farmers, the goat-herds, and the soldiers; and it has been inferred that the tribes got these names from the districts of Attica which they occupied and the occupations which they followed: thus the inhabitants of the plain were farmers, and so came to be called Argadeis, and the inhabitants of the hills kept goats, and were therefore called Aigikoreis. But this view is now being given up: the etymologies are uncertain; where the soldiers lived, or what occupation "shining" was, remains a mystery; above all, these

four tribes, being found amongst other Ionians, existed before the Ionians entered Attica. We may therefore conclude that this division into tribes dates from a time when the Ionians were still in a nomad condition, and that the bond which united together the members of a tribe could not have been the fact that they were settled inhabitants of the same district, but must have been the tie of blood-relationship (real or fictitious). This is confirmed by the constitution of the Ionian tribes: each tribe was divided into three *trittyes* or *phratries*, each *phratry* was divided into a number of *genê* or *gentes*, and each *genos* consisted of *gennêtæ* who joined in worshipping a common ancestor. This constitution resembles that of other Aryan tribes, and may be conjectured to go back to Aryan times. We may be sure also that, like other Aryans, the Ionians knew the distinction of noble and simple, and that the further classification into Eupatridæ, Geomori, or Agroeci, and Demiurgi goes back to very early Attic times. As for the political organisation of the tribes, it is not likely that the Ionians differed from other Greeks and other Aryans so much as to have no *boulê* of aged nobles, and no folkmoot of free men who expressed their approval or disapproval of the *boulê's* deliberations. We may therefore conclude that when the Ionians settled in Attica, the *boulê* continued to meet, and met in Athens, which, if it had not already become the political centre of Attica, would now be made so. At the same time, each tribe would probably settle down in some one district, and thus become a local division of the Athenian people; and each *genos* would tend to form a village community having a head-man or archon of its own. Each of the four tribes further had a king, who stood to the tribe in the same relation as the house-father to his family; he represented the tribe or family in religious and ceremonial proceedings, and probably expounded the customs of the family or tribe. These kings, to distinguish them from other kings, were called tribe-kings, *phylobasileis*. The other kings, from whom it became necessary to distinguish them, may have been war-kings, for probably all four tribes on their wanderings put themselves under the command of a war-king or *polemarch*, whose office was probably elective, not hereditary, as it required ability.

The earliest Attic historians, logographers, genealogists, and annalists treated the myths and folk-tales of Athens as genuine traditions of actual events, and looked upon mythical figures such as Erechtheus and Theseus, or local heroes such as Codrus, as historical personages. This confused mass of incidents and

personages was reduced to some kind of order by means of the hypothesis that Attica in the beginning was ruled by a line of hereditary monarchs, and into the framework thus provided the imaginary personages of mythology were fitted. The desire for chronological order led to the assumption that each of these imaginary monarchs was separated from the next by the length of an average generation; and gaps were filled up freely by the creation of entirely fictitious personages. The discord between this imaginary history, with its line of hereditary monarchs, and the actual fact that Attica was governed by archons, was explained away by the assumption that the monarchy was converted into a life archontate and then the tenure of the office was reduced to ten years, then made elective, and finally was made annual. The hypothesis that the king-archon originally held office for life, then for ten years, then for one, and exercised powers which in historical times belonged to other officials, is accepted by the author of the *Ἀθηναίων πολιτεία*—whether Aristotle or another. According to him, first the command of the army was taken away from the king-archon, and the office of polemarch created; then *the* archon was created; finally, at a time when the office of archon had already become annual, the six thesmothetæ were created to commit the *θεσμοί* or laws to writing and to produce them when necessary at trials. That the three offices of king-archon, polemarch, and *the* archon existed long before the institution of the thesmothetæ, and were originally lifelong and confined to the wealthy and well-born, as the *Ath. Pol.* says, is highly probable; but the hypothesis, though strengthened by the authority of Aristotle's name, that the *βασίλεια* was originally a hereditary monarchy with extensive powers, remains a hypothesis still.

In the time immediately before Draco, the executive power of the state lay in the hands of the archons, who were chosen from amongst the wealthy and well-born by the *boulê* which has already been mentioned in the last paragraph but one. The supreme power of the state lay in the *boulê*, to which now all ex-archons officially belonged: it had arbitrary power to punish offenders by fines and chastisement. To this period, the seventh century B.C., we must probably also assign the institution of the naucraries: their name indicates that they had to do with the fleet; and the growth of a maritime trade, and the consequent conflicts with commercial rivals just at this time would necessitate a navy. There were forty-eight naucraries, twelve to each of the four tribes: probably a naucrary consisted of the richer inhabitants of a given district, and each naucrary was bound to

supply two ships. It is also possible that amongst the officials of this period were the *κωλακρέται*, who originally, as their name implies, carved the offerings which were made under the superintendence of the king: portions of these offerings belonged to the king in virtue of his prerogative, and the *κωλακρέται*, who looked after his interests in this matter in early times, acted as treasurers afterwards.

Political power thus lay entirely in the hands of a narrow oligarchy, out of whom and by whom all officials were chosen. The common people had no share, direct or indirect, in the government. The ancient folkmoot probably no longer met: from the time when Athens became the place of meeting, the distance was too great for the small farmer in the country.¹ But worse than the political was the social condition of the lowest class of free-men, the *έκτημόριοι* or *πελάται*. They were called neighbours (*πελάται*), because they dwelt near a Eupatrid and on his property, and *έκτημόριοι*, because they were tenants who either paid or retained (which is not clear) one-sixth of the produce of the land they occupied: if they only retained one-sixth, it is hard to see how they lived; if they only paid one-sixth, it is hard to see why they grumbled. Anyhow, they got into arrears with their rent, became liable to the Eupatrid for the amount; and the only security they had to offer consisted in the liberty of themselves, their wives and children, who thus eventually became the slaves of the creditor. This agricultural distress was not confined to the *έκτημόριοι*, but extended to larger farmers who were able to borrow money on credit, and who accordingly mortgaged their farms to do so. The distress was doubtless due to the large economic changes which were in process in the seventh century: colonisation brought maritime commerce in its train, commerce competition with imports from abroad; exchange by barter was superseded by monetary exchange, and coins were now struck; trade appears by the side of agriculture; and the small farmer could not hold his own against the large farms daily growing larger.

Apart from the information contained in the *Athenaion Politeia*, all that is known of Draco is that he codified the law, and that his code was distinguished for its severity. But the *Ath. Pol.* (in a chapter which not unnaturally has been suspected as an interpolation, but is accepted as genuine by the

¹ Ch. iv. of the 'Αθ. πολ. does indeed imply that all who could arm themselves as *hoplites* possessed the *civitas*, but the exact nature of the civic rights thus enjoyed is not explained; even according to the 'Αθ. πολ., they amounted practically to little better than nothing.

majority of scholars) informs us that Draco was a political reformer who attacked the privileges of the oligarchy by a series of remarkable measures. The arbitrary and unlimited power of the *boulê* was curtailed by him in several directions: the power to punish offenders on its own motion and at its own discretion was withdrawn from it, and it could only take cognisance of the misdeeds of officers of state when it was appealed to by the person who alleged that he had been wronged. Next, the power of electing the archons, and so of electing indirectly its own members, was taken from it. Third, and most important, it was deprived of its paramount position in the administration by the creation of a new *boulê*, which, as it consisted of one hundred members from each tribe, was called the *boulê* of the Four Hundred, while the old council was known henceforth by way of distinction as the *boulê* in the Areopagus. The new *boulê* was further effectually removed from the control of the oligarchy by the device—remarkable as occurring at this early date—of using the lot as the method of appointment, and allowing no one to sit a second time until every one who was eligible had already sat once. The same principle of appointment by lot and rotation was applied to certain minor (unspecified) offices, which (like the *boulê* of the Four Hundred) were open to all who could equip themselves as hoplites, *i.e.*, not only to the Pentacosiomedimni and the Hippeis, but also to the Zeugitæ. Further, the offices of archon and treasurer (*ταμίης*) were now also thrown open to the same classes, to whom also was transferred the power of electing to these important posts. To keep the members of the Four Hundred and the Ecclesia up to their duties, a fine of three drachmæ was imposed on the Pentacosiomedimnos, two on the Hippeus, and one on the Zeugites who failed to attend any meeting of the *boulê* or ecclesia at which he was required to be present. Finally, the posts of Strategus and Hipparch appear in this chapter as offices of such high importance, that whereas their existence even at this time had not previously been suspected, we now must infer that the Polemarch had already become a mere figure-head, and his powers had been practically transferred to the Strategi and Hipparchs.

If Draco made all these changes, then it is possible that he also withdrew from the Areopagus the exclusive right of trying cases of bloodshed, and left to it only the trial of voluntary homicide (actual or intended), and transferred other trials for homicide to a court of his own creation, *viz.*, the Ephetæ, consisting of fifty-one Eupatrids, chosen probably by lot.

The economic changes which in the seventh century wrought the distress in Attica, in the sixth century worked indirectly its remedy: the development of manufactures and commerce caused the growth of a class of artisans who, clamouring for a redistribution of property and ready for revolution if they did not get it, were strong enough to compel the oligarchs to submit their claims to the arbitration of Solon, a man of the middle class, whose character commanded the confidence even of the unjustly rich and the revolutionary poor. He was therefore appointed archon in B.C. 594. He repealed all Draco's laws except those relating to homicide. He declared all debtors released from the obligation to pay their debts.¹ He removed all mortgages from landed property. He released all Athenians who had been sold for debt into slavery either in Attica or abroad. He forbade any man's being sold into slavery for debt. To protect the small farmer, he checked the growth of large estates by fixing a legal limit to the amount of land which any one man might acquire. To protect the artisan, he forbade the export of agricultural produce, except oil; and above all, he adopted the Eubœan standard for money, weights, and measures, instead of the Æginetan, thus emancipating Athenian commerce from the influence of Ægina and Megara, and obtaining a footing for it in the area of Chalcidic and Corinthian trade.

It was this his economic policy on which, and justly, Solon's fame rested, for his constitutional reforms, with two exceptions to be noted shortly, were neither remarkably novel, important, or permanent. As the basis of his revision of the constitution, he took the four classes of the Pentacosimedimni, the Hippeis, the Zeugitæ and the Thêtes. This division of the community had apparently been in existence before his time; but whether it had existed merely as a rough social classification but had not been used for political purposes, or whether it had been used for political purposes but had been based on an estimate of the capitalised value of the landed property of the individual owner, is a point on which opinions differ. It is, however, clear that, according to Solon's arrangement, every man whose estate yielded annually 500 measures of produce, dry and liquid together,² was counted as a Pentacosimedimnos, a five-hundred-measure man; every man whose estate yielded 300 measures was a Hippeus; 200, a Zeugites; all others were counted as belonging

¹ 'Aθ. πολ. cc. 6 and 10; and see Dr. Sandys' notes.

² Corn, barley, &c. (dry produce), was measured by the *medimnus* (= 12 imperial gallons); wine, oil, &c. (wet produce), was measured by the *μετρητης* (= 8½ gallons).

to the class of *Thêtes*.¹ Starting from this basis, Solon declared the *Pentacosiomedimni* to be alone eligible for the highest offices of state, the *Hippeis* for the less, and the *Zeugitæ* for the least important posts, while a member of the class of *Thêtes* could hold no office at all.

The election of officials was a combination of the two methods of the vote and the lot: thus for the archontate, each tribe elected the four men it thought best; and from the forty thus elected, the nine archons were chosen by lot. The *boulê* of the Four Hundred, if it existed before Solon, was retained. The Areopagus under Solon's constitution enjoyed the same wide power of punishing offenders at its own discretion which had belonged to it before Draco's time; it also had the power of receiving appeals from those who alleged they had suffered injustice, especially at the hands of officials; and it was intrusted with the duty of proceeding against those who conspired for the overthrow of the constitution. The *Ecclesia* was left by Solon exactly with the same power probably as it had enjoyed from its origin: the power of assenting to or dissenting from a proposal to go to war. Finally, in some minor details the Naucrary system was reorganised.

Thus far the constitutional reforms of Solon are trifling; the *Ecclesia*, the *Boulê* and the Areopagus practically were left untouched; and the qualifications for office do not seem to have been materially modified to the advantage of the democratical party. Two reforms, however, there are yet to mention which were of importance: the extension of the franchise and the institution of the *Heliaæ*. Draco, it seems, had given the right of electing officers of state to such members of the tribes as possessed sufficient substance to allow of their equipping themselves as *Hoplites* (*i.e.*, practically to the upper three property classes). Solon extended the franchise to all members of the tribes, without any property qualification. The other institution created by Solon by its unforeseen consequences made him the founder of the Athenian democracy: that was the institution of a popular law-court or *δικαστήριον* called the *Heliaæ*, which consisted probably of a certain number of citizens over thirty years of age, selected by lot. To this court lay an appeal from the verdicts of the archons; and thus the final interpretation of all laws lay with the *Heliaæ*, that is to

¹ It should be noted that these measures were of the new (Eubæan) standard, and contained 27 per cent. less than those of the old (Æginetan). Consequently, before Solon it required a larger estate to entitle a man to be called a five-hundred-measure man than it did after his reforms.

say, eventually every law came to be worked in harmony with the spirit of democracy.

Solon's reforms left Attica in a very unsettled state: the Eupatrids and the despoiled creditors on the one hand, on the other the artisans, disappointed at not getting a redistribution of property, were dissatisfied with Solon's legislation; and both were opposed by the small farmers, who had the best reason to be satisfied with the new state of things. Five years after Solon's archontate, the party fights for the office of the archon—which was considered at this time to be the key to political power—were so bitter that no election at all could be made. Five years later the same dead-lock again occurred. Five years later still, Damasias having been placed in the post, remained there for two years and two months, until he was compelled by force to quit it. This led to a compromise between the three parties, according to which there were to be ten archons, of whom five were to be Eupatridæ, three farmers (Geomori), and two artisans (Demiurgi)—a remarkable reaction against the Solonian constitution, which probably did not last long. In the meantime, the three political parties tended to become local as well as political divisions: the Eupatridæ, whose aim was a restoration of the oligarchy, became the party of the Plain, for there was the richest soil, and the farms on it belonged to the nobility. The party of the Coast consisted of those who were satisfied with the Solonian reforms. The party of the Mountain consisted of those whose poverty inclined them to revolutionary measures, and who found a leader in Pisistratus. But all three parties were crushed out of existence by Pisistratus, who having gained, as Strategus, a character for courage, and, as leader of the Mountain, the confidence of the democrats, persuaded the ecclesia to give him a body-guard to protect him in his endeavours to benefit the people, and thus established himself in B.C. 561 as tyrant. In this character he seems to have made no changes of importance in the form of the constitution: he was content to have some member of his family in office as archon; and for the rest, he did his best to give the people no occasion to wish to exercise political power. He assisted them to cultivate their farms; he dispensed justice to them by means of local judges,¹ so that they might not have to come to Athens; and thus he succeeded in quietly letting Solon's laws drop into disuse. He did indeed levy a tax, probably of 5 per cent., on income from landed property, but his

¹ κατὰ δήμους δικασταί.

personal popularity was so great, that this was felt as no hardship, and doubtless the rest given to the country was felt to be worth the money. Pisistratus died B.C. 528, and his rule was for long afterwards regarded as a golden age. His sons, more tyrannical, were eventually expelled, B.C. 511, by the aid of the Lacedæmonians, whose king, however, would have imposed another tyrant on Athens in the person of Isagoras, a friend of the Pisistratidæ, had it not been for the resistance of the Athenian people and the reluctance of the Spartan allies. The fall of Isagoras left the political field in Athens clear for his rival Clisthenes, who, to overthrow Isagoras, had committed himself to a democratic programme.

The reforms of Clisthenes changed the whole political face of Athens; they gave to the Athenian constitution the framework which was destined to hold it together for centuries to come, and they made Athens effectually and for ever a democracy. Yet Clisthenes did not deprive the Areopagus of any of its privileges; he did not curtail the powers of the *boulê* or extend those of the *ecclesia*, or of the popular law-court; nor did he lower the property qualification for any political post. He extended the franchise. He first gave to the *πλῆθος* that foothold within the constitution by means of which, in course of time, it inevitably conquered the whole. He it was, in a word, who created the Athenian *demos*.

The changes made by Clisthenes were numerous and extensive, but they are all inspired and controlled by one single motive, viewed in the light of which, they are seen to be characterised by unity and simplicity. The difficulty we have in appreciating them is due mainly to the fact that we do not know what determined the franchise before his reforms, but have to infer it from them. Thus we know that he succeeded in extending it to all Athenians, from which the inference is that before him they did not all possess it. Again, it is clear that to attain his object he had to create new tribes and *trittyes* (phratries), from which again the inference is that the old tribes and phratries somehow constituted an obstacle to the extension of the franchise. Finally, he made the possession of political rights an incident of membership of a new local organisation (the *deme*), and as this new local organisation stood in the same relation to the new tribes and phratries as the old organisation of the *γένος* stood in to the old tribes and phratries, a presumption is created that before his time an Athenian could only be a citizen provided he belonged to a *genos*.

In a matter where only speculation is possible, we will assume

that to the time of Clisthenes the constitution of the tribes was essentially the same as it had been from the period when they first entered Attica—indeed, from primitive Aryan times: no one could belong to a tribe who did not belong to one of its three phratries or *trittyes*; nor to a phratry unless he belonged to a *genos*; and that the *γένη* included both noble and simple born. Draco had given the franchise to all members of the four tribes who possessed the property qualification implied in the ability to equip themselves as hoplites. Solon gave it to all within the phratry without any property qualification whatever. But outside the phratries and the tribes was a *plêthos* of free-men with as yet no franchise. To enfranchise them by enacting that they should be received within the existing phratries, was apparently regarded by Clisthenes as a measure too hazardous to risk. At any rate, he preferred to take the election of magistrates away from the four old tribes and give it to ten new tribes, which he now created, each having three *trittyes*, as the old tribes had; and each *trittys* consisting of demes, in the same way as the old phratries consisted of *genê*. These demes or village communities existed of course before Clisthenes, but before him they had no political rights. By his reform, every one who at the time of the passing of the measure was a member of a deme, a *δημότης*, became *ipso facto* a member of the *trittys* and tribe to which that deme belonged, and became a full Athenian citizen, entitled to vote for all magistrates who were to be elected by that tribe. Henceforth too the descendants of the first generation of demes-men were to be full Athenian citizens; and to place citizens who enjoyed the *civitas* because they belonged to a deme on an equality with those who belonged to a *genos*, the official style and title of every citizen was to consist of his own name and that of his deme—patronymics indicating the *genos*, such as Alcmaeonides, were not to be officially recognised. Every deme kept its own register; and it was the business of the demes-man who wished to secure the political rights of a citizen for his son, to present him at the age of eighteen to a meeting of the deme, and, with the approval of the meeting, to enter his name on the register.

Though Clisthenes took political power away from the old tribes, phratries, and *genê*, he did not abolish them: they were too closely intertwined with the very roots of Athenian social and religious life. As social and religious organisations, therefore, he left them intact; and as such the phratries kept each a register, on which members of the phratries entered—with the approval of their fellow *phratores*—the names of their

children shortly after birth. Such registration, though not required by the law, was accepted by the law-courts as the best proof that a person was the legitimate child of Athenian parents lawfully married, and as such was entitled to inherit from them. Thus registration by the deme (which probably did not inquire whether the candidate for admission was legitimate or not) was the indispensable qualification for the exercise of political rights ; while registration by the phratry was a convenient mode of proving, if necessary, that a person was not illegitimate (*vóthos*), and therefore not liable to the civil disabilities attaching to *vóthoi*.

Clisthenes, being unable to break up the old phratries and their *genê*, had to face the probability that they would continue to be used for political purposes. The danger was that the humbler citizens, who had always been accustomed to follow the lead of the well-born members of their phratry, would continue to do so. To avert this, it was necessary that, in the exercise of their political rights, the one class should be associated with citizens to whom they had not been in the habit of deferring, and the other with citizens to whom they were strangers, and to whose deference they had no traditional claim. Clisthenes effected this object by placing the three *trittyes* into which each of his new tribes was divided in three different local districts. Having thus made the voters free and independent, he could intrust to them the election of magistrates and of the *boulê*. The members of the *boulê* consequently had to be increased : hitherto it had consisted of 401 members, henceforth it was to contain 500, of whom each of Clisthenes' ten tribes elected fifty. Each tribe's representatives formed a committee of the *boulê*, and as such for one-tenth of the year presided over its meetings, and prepared the agenda for them. The relation of the *boulê* to the ecclesia was fixed by law. Finally, to protect the infant constitution from attack, Clisthenes invented the institution of ostracism : once a year the citizens were to have the opportunity of exiling for ten years any man whose policy was so notoriously threatening to the constitution, that in a meeting of six thousand citizens, the majority voted for banishing him. This institution admirably served the purpose for which it was invented ; and when the democracy had grown strong enough to stand in no need of it for its original purpose, a fresh use was found for it, and it served as a sort of referendum by means of which political obstruction, when so obstinate as to produce a constitutional dead-lock, could be terminated by the will of the people.

In B.C. 501, when Clisthenes' ten tribes had had some years to settle down into working order, the military organisation of the country was adapted to them: the citizens of each tribe, when called out on service, served together in one company or *τάξις*, and were under the command of a strategus elected by and from their own tribe. The board of ten strategi thus created was under the presidency of the polemarch, as titular commander-in-chief.

The foundation and rapid development of the Confederacy of Delos into the Athenian empire entailed greater and more continuous work on the army and navy, and consequently rendered a division of the labour of command necessary: the strategi became ministers of departments, controlling the foreign policy of the state, while the actual work of commanding the regiments (*ταξίεις*) raised from the respective tribes was deputed to officers (*ταξίαρχοι*), who however were subordinate to and took their orders from the strategi.

In the democratic enthusiasm of the Clisthenean period, the Areopagus retired into the political background, and there remained until it recovered the confidence of the country by saving the state when the strategi despaired just before the sea-fight at Salamis (B.C. 480). Its vague powers were so elastic in virtue of their vagueness, that it was enabled now once more to become the dominant factor in politics. It also inevitably became the bulwark of the anti-democratic party, for its members were drawn exclusively from the upper two property classes. Its reform therefore became the leading item in the democratic programme, and eventually (B.C. 464) it was deprived of political power for ever by Ephialtes: its administrative powers were transferred to the *boulé*, its judicial powers to the popular law-courts, its other powers to the ecclesia, except its power of repressing constitutional offences. Indictments for unconstitutional acts (*γραφαὶ παρανόμων*) were henceforth to be tried by the law-courts. Thus practically the only right left to the Areopagus (when Pericles had completed the work begun by Ephialtes) was that of trying cases of wilful homicide, actual or attempted.

The election of archons, from whom, after their year of office, the Areopagus was recruited, in this century was modified more and more in a democratic direction: during the ascendancy which the Areopagus exercised for some seventeen years after the battle of Salamis, the archons were drawn from the Pentacosimedimni and Hippeis; some seven years after the reforms of Ephialtes, the archonship was thrown open (B.C. 457)

to the third property class; and eventually, though the law was not altered, in practice not even members of the fourth class were excluded. Democratic changes were also made in the mode of election. Pisistratus had introduced direct election, because he wished to control the elections, so as always to have some member of his own family in office. Direct election was continued by Clisthenes, but in B.C. 487 a combined method of sortition and voting was adopted: each tribe elected fifty candidates, and the nine archons were chosen by lot from these 500 candidates. Eventually sortition displaced voting entirely, and the requisite number of candidates from each tribe was obtained, not by voting, but by sortition, and from them nine were chosen by lot.

The fourth century also witnessed the application of the method of election by lot to every office of state, except those which, like the strategia, required special abilities or technical knowledge. But though any man might be a candidate for magistracies thus thrown open, every man had to submit to an inquiry (*δοκιμασία*) into his fitness to hold office.

This period in the growth of the Athenian constitution is also characterised by the introduction of the system of paying citizens for their services as jurymen, and as members of the *boulê* and of the army. In order to diminish in some degree the extra demands thus made on the treasury, Pericles rendered the qualifications for the *civitas* more stringent. Clisthenes had admitted *νόθοι*, i.e., sons of an Athenian father and non-Athenian mother to the *civitas*; but in order to do so, he had had to intrust the registration of citizens to a special political organisation, the deme, because the old phratries would not enter on their registry any but children whose parents were Athenian both. Pericles now practically reverted to the pre-Clisthenean system: he enacted (B.C. 450) that the demes should only register as citizens sons born of an Athenian mother and an Athenian father.

The revolutionary changes effected at the end of the fifth century by the Four Hundred and the Thirty, are rather for the historian of Greece than for a handbook of antiquities, and will not be further mentioned here.

The constitution of the fourth century will be described in the following chapters: this period of development dates from the archonship of Euclides (B.C. 403), when peace was established between the contending parties, an amnesty made, and a restoration of the democracy agreed upon.

CHAPTER VI

ATHENS—(*continued*)

METICS, CITIZENS, DEMES, TRIBES

THE non-Athenian population of Athens consisted of slaves, whom we treat of elsewhere, and foreigners.¹ In Athens, as in other Greek states, the foreigner, unless there existed a treaty² between his own state and that in which he was residing, had absolutely no rights. He had neither a vote in the assembly nor the right to hold office. He could not enjoy the protection of the law-courts. He could not contract a legal marriage with an Athenian citizen.³ He could take no share in the national worship. He could not acquire real property within the state.⁴ But the growth of commerce irresistibly attracted many foreigners to a great commercial city such as Athens, and it was to the interest of Athens as much as of the foreigner that the relations between foreigners and citizens should be regulated by law. For the case of foreigners whose stay in Athens only extended over a few days it was not necessary for the law to provide; but it was necessary for the state to extend some protection to the foreigner who took up his abode in Attica, and who was therefore called a *metic*.⁵ It was necessary that he should be able to appeal to the law for some measure of defence, and therefore that he should be brought into communication with the magistrates, the assembly, the *boulê*,⁶ and the law-courts. Privilege of access to the law and its representatives might be granted by special decree of the state;⁷ or the foreigner, having no right of access to the Polemarch, say, might be introduced by a citizen who did possess the access to the magistrates. The position of the foreigner with regard to the magistrates was analogous to, and was regulated by, the analogy of the position of an Athenian citizen, not being a member of the *boulê*, to the *boulê*. Such a citizen might be admitted to the presence of the *boulê* by a resolution of that

¹ On the Metics see *Wiener Studien*, 1885, pp. 45–68. In Athens they were called μέτοικοι, elsewhere πάροικοι, κατοικέοντες, ξνοικοι, ξποικοι, πεδα-φοικοι.

² Ensuring him ἀσφάλεια, ἄδεια, ἀσυλία.

³ ἐπιγαμία.

⁴ ἐγκτησις γῆς καὶ οἰκίας, Dem. xxxvi. 6.

⁵ See note 1.

⁶ πρόσδοδος πρὸς τὸν πολέμαρχον, πρόσδοδος πρὸς τὴν βουλὴν καὶ τὸν δῆμον.

⁷ *C. I. A.* ii. 41, 42, 91.

body, or might be introduced by some member. The citizen who thus introduced the foreigner to the magistrates or the courts was called the *προστάτης* of the metic. On the one hand, it was not optional whether a foreigner should or should not have a *προστάτης*, but incumbent on him if he settled in Attica.¹ On the other hand, the service of the *προστάτης* to the metic consisted solely in procuring him access to the magistrates or courts: when introduced, the metic pleaded his own cause. In return for the privilege thus accorded to him, the metic incurred sundry obligations, some onerous, towards the state. He had to pay the metic-tax, or *μετοίκιον*, which amounted to twelve drachmæ for the metic and his family, or, if the head of the family were a widow woman, to six drachmæ, until one of her sons came of age. He had of course to pay in the transaction of his business the market-tolls, harbour-dues, &c., which the ordinary citizen had to pay. He had also to undertake some of the state burdens or liturgies which fell on wealthy citizens, if his means permitted him. Amongst these were the *choregia*, the *gymnasiarchia*, and the *hestiasis*, but not the *trierarchia* (Dem. xx. 18). If exempted from the burden of furnishing a trireme, he was nevertheless bound, in return for the protection afforded to him by the state, to do military service in defence of the state. He, like the citizen, was subject to the war-tax,² and if he did not pay a higher percentage than did the citizen, he seems to have paid on a larger proportion of his property. The "benevolences,"³ if we may so call them, which citizens paid to the state, were paid by the metic also, but were a matter of necessity with him, and not of choice, as with the citizen. Finally, there were certain liturgies which fell exclusively on the metics.⁴

From some or all of the burdens peculiar to the metic the foreigner might be relieved by a decree of the people in return for services rendered by him to the state. This exemption or *ἀτέλεια* might extend to the metic-tax, *μετοίκιον*,⁵ only, or to the liturgies;⁶ or total exemption, *ἰσοτέλεια*, might be granted. A metic thus totally exempted, *ἰσοτελής*, was placed as regards his obligations to the state on a level with the citizen. He continued, however, to be a metic, he still required a *προστάτης*, he was still incapable of voting, of contracting a legal marriage,

¹ A *γραφὴ ἀπροστασίον* might be brought against the metic who had no *προστάτης*. ² *εἰσφορά*, Dem. xxii. 54, 61.

³ *ἐπιδόσεις* in the case of citizens, *εἰσφοραί* in the case of metics (*C. I. A.* ii. 270).

⁴ The *σκαφηφορία*, *ὕδριαφορία* and *σκιαδηφορία*.

⁵ Dem. xx. 130, and *C. I. A.* ii. 27.

⁶ Dem. xx. 18.

of holding office, civil or religious, and of acquiring property, unless the power to exercise these rights, or any of them, was conferred on him by special decree. Citizenship might be conferred by a decree of the people, or inherited as a right. Foreigners who wished to be made citizens by a decree of the people,¹ could not claim to take out anything corresponding to "letters of naturalisation:" citizenship was conferred on them as a gift in return for services rendered² or goodwill shown towards the state.³ The decree conferring citizenship might be upset by an indictment for illegality,⁴ if the recipient could be proved unworthy of the privilege. In the fourth century, a preliminary decree of the people had to be submitted to a subsequent meeting of the people, to be voted upon,⁵ and even this vote might be upset in the same way as the decree. In the third century, the indictment was done away with, and candidates for the citizenship were submitted to a *dokimasia* or investigation conducted by a law-court of 501 dikasts under the presidency of one of the Thesmethetæ. The "made" citizen was allowed by the decree conferring the gift to choose what tribe, phratry, and deme he would belong to.⁶ He was not allowed to become an archon or to hold a priesthood. These were privileges confined to the sons of citizens, and therefore within the reach of his children, though not of himself.⁷

Citizens by birth were the children of an Athenian husband and an Athenian wife, or the children of an Athenian concubine.⁸ A legal marriage was one in which the father or guardian of the bride formally gave her to the bridegroom,⁹ and in which the husband introduced his wife to his phratry,

¹ And were hence called ποιητοί or δημοποίητοι, as distinguished from γένει πολῖται. Cf. Dem. xlv. 78.

² ὅτι ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς ἐστὶ περὶ τὸν δῆμον τὸν Ἀθηναίων, C. I. A. i. 59, ii. 51, &c. Cf. (Dem.) lix. 89.

³ εὖνοια πρὸς τὸν δῆμον.

⁴ γραφὴ παρανόμων

⁵ τοὺς δὲ πρυτάνεις τοὺς τὴν εἰσιούσαν πρυτανείαν πρυτανεύοντας δοῦναι περὶ αὐτοῦ τὴν ψῆφον τῷ δῆμῳ εἰς τὴν πρώτην ἐκκλησίαν, C. I. A. ii. 243.

⁶ The decree usually was that he should εἶναι or γράψασθαι φυλῆς καὶ δῆμον καὶ φρατρίας ὧν ἂν βούληται. Apparently some phratries he was excluded from, as sometimes to this formula is appended κατὰ τὸν νόμον or ὧν οἱ νόμοι λέγουσιν.

⁷ (Dem.) lix. 92 and 106, and Poll. viii. 85.

⁸ παλλακὴ ἣν ἂν ἐπ' ἐλευθέροις παισὶν ἔχῃ, Dem. xxiii. 53. It was not necessary that the concubine should be ἐγγυνηή, (Dem.) lix. 118, 122; nor in all phratries that the adopted child should be an Athenian citizen, *Attische Process*, ed. Lipsius, p. 543; nor that the father should always swear that the child was ἐξ ἐγγυνητῆς, Andoc. *Myst.* 127.

⁹ The giving or betrothing was ἐγγύησις; the person in whose "hand" the bride was, was her κύριος. In the case of an heiress, ἐπικληρος (i.e.

and gave to his phratry a banquet of religious import.¹ Before, however, the children of such a marriage could enjoy their citizen rights, it was necessary for them to be accepted as members of a phratry and a deme.

Amongst the Athenians, as amongst the Teutons, we find that there existed besides and between the tribe and the *genos* or *mægth*, an intermediate association, the phratry, corresponding to the *pugus*. The members of the phratry as of the *genos* were, or were supposed to be, descended from a common ancestor. How count was kept in early time, especially before the invention of writing, we do not know. In historical times no attempt was made to do more than keep a register of the existing members of the phratry, and to insist that new members should be the sons of members whose names were on the list. The name of the festival which the phratry held, *Apaturia*, indicates that the members of the phratry, the phratores, were supposed to be the descendants of a common ancestor.² On the third day of this festival, called the *κουρεῶτις*, the father had to present his child for admission to the phratry.³ Admission was by ballot, but action at law could be taken in case of rejection on insufficient grounds. A child not admitted to a phratry was illegitimate, and was excluded from inheriting more than the bastard's portion.⁴ There was therefore reason, and also temptation, for the presumptive heirs of a man's property to attempt to exclude an illegitimate, or even a legitimate child from the phratry. On the other hand, there might be, and apparently were, in some cases, temptations for a man to introduce a child and swear that it was his, when it was not his. If no adverse vote were recorded against the child, its name was enrolled on the phratry list⁵ and the child became so far qualified to inherit. When a childless husband wished to adopt a son, he had to introduce him and to obtain the assent of the phratry in the same way. It would seem, however, that an adoptive son might be introduced at other times than at the *Apaturia*.

a bride having neither father nor brother), having more than one male relation to whom she might be married, the archon betrothed the *ἐπίδικος ἐπικληρος* after *ἐπιδικασία*.

¹ This banquet was *γαμηλία*, τοῖς φράτερσι γαμηλίαν εἰσήνεγκε κατὰ τοὺς ἐκείνων νόμους, Isæus viii. 18; cf. Dem. lvii. 43, 69.

² Ἀπατούρια = ὀπατόρια (cf. Hom. A, 257, κασίγνητον καὶ ὄπατρον).

³ The Greek is εἰσάγειν εἰς τοὺς φράτερας, Dem. xxxix. 4, xliii. 13, lvii., 54 or ἐγγράφειν εἰς τοὺς φράτερας, Dem. xxxix. 4.

⁴ This was called *νοθεία*, and might not exceed 1000 drachmæ,

⁵ κοινὸν γραμματεῖον or φρατερικὸν γραμματεῖον.

The demes¹ constituted by Clisthenes were originally 100² in number, but in course of time came to number about 190. When first constituted, each deme consisted of all the inhabitants of the area comprised in the new deme, afterwards it consisted of the descendants of the original demesmen. A man by change of residence did not cease to belong to his father's deme: he might acquire property in another deme, but he did not thereby become a member of that deme: his domicile was still in the deme to which he belonged by birth. On the completion of his seventeenth year, the young Athenian who wished to enjoy citizen rights had to present himself, or be presented, to the assembly of the demesmen, who thereupon voted whether he should be accepted as a member of the deme or not, and if the vote were in his favour his name was entered on the deme's list³ as a demesman by the demarch; but if it became necessary for the citizen subsequently to establish at law that he was a member of the deme, the list was not regarded as evidence: it was necessary to have the testimony of demesmen who voted on the occasion. Once accepted as a member of his deme, the Athenian had the right to attach the name of his deme to his own personal name: his legal style and title consisted of his own name, his father's, and that of his deme. As being a member of a deme, he became a member of the ecclesia, though it was not usual, or even possible for him to exercise this right at once, as he had to serve until the age of twenty amongst the Ephebi. Admission to the deme also brought with it the right to accept bequests, and in the case of orphans the control of their property. It also brought corresponding duties: the new citizen became liable to military service, and, if his wealth were sufficient, to liturgies. The new-made demesman became subject to the law directly, and no longer through his father or his *κύριος*, and he also could represent his own case in the law courts. It was necessary for adoptive sons also to

¹ On the demes see *La Vie Municipale en Attique* by B. Haussoullier (Thorin, Paris). In the way of inscriptions, *C. I. A.* i. 2, 79, ii. 163, 571-589; *C. I. G.* i. 93, 103, should be studied. Demosthenes *c. Eubul.* gives an interesting picture of the internal working of a deme.

² Hdt. v. 69.

³ The name of this list is *ληξιαρχικὸν γραμματεῖον*. The word *λῆξις* properly means "drawing by lot;" the order in which cases came on was decided by lot, hence *λαγχάνειν δίκην*, "to obtain an action." But *λῆξις* was applied especially to actions touching heritages, hence *λῆξις τοῦ κλήρου*, an action to recover a heritage. By extension *λῆξις* comes to stand for the heritage itself; and the *ληξιαρχικὸν γραμματεῖον* is a list of those who came into possession of their *λῆξις* or heritage.—*Vie Municipale*, p. 13.

obtain admission into the deme of their adoptive father, even if they were already members of another deme. In this case, too, the assembly of demesmen balloted whether the adoptive son should be accepted or rejected. The practice of adoption opened the gate to fraudulent admission to the deme: it was quite possible for a person not legally qualified for adoption to bribe a demesman to go through the ceremony of adopting him, and to corrupt the members of a small deme to wink at his admission into their body. To such an extent did this process of corruption prevail, that at times it became necessary to revise the deme's list and to strike off the names of those who had obtained fraudulent admission. In a revision,¹ the name of each *soi-disant* member was voted on separately: if accepted, the name was allowed to stand; if rejected, the owner was relegated to the ranks of the Metics, but had an appeal to the Thesmothetæ and Heliasts. But if he failed to make out his case on appeal, he was sold into slavery.

The most important officers of the deme were the demarch and the treasurers,² who were elected annually, subject to a dokimasia at the beginning, and to an examination of their accounts³ at the expiration of their year of office. Their duties consisted primarily in the management of the finances of the deme. The deme might possess property in land and derive some income from its rent; but the amount of real property owned by a deme does not seem to have been great. A larger income seems to have been earned by money-lending: capital was relatively scarce in Attica, and the rate of interest was high—12 per cent. was considered a moderate rate—a deme therefore might add considerably to its revenue by lending money. The chief source of income, however, was the tax levied on citizens who, not being members of the deme, yet possessed property within the deme.⁴ More interesting than the revenue account of the deme is the expenditure. There were practically only two heads of expenditure in ordinary times: the engraving of decrees, the cost of complimentary crowns, &c., and expenditure on sacrifices, public worship, and religious festivals. Nothing could show more clearly the fundamental difference between a deme and an English municipal borough. Although the demes of Clisthenes were designed as

¹ διαψήφισις, the person rejected was ὁ ἀποψηφισθεὶς or καταψηφισθεὶς.

² ταμίαι

³ By a εὐθυνος, a λογιστής, and ten συνήγοροι, with appeal to the ἀγορά.

⁴ Such inhabitants were called ἐγκεκτημένοι—Dem. l. 8—and the tax ἐγκτητικόν.

political and administrative divisions, they speedily assimilated themselves to the religious associations which played so large a part in the private life of a Greek citizen. The revenues of the deme, inconsiderable by the side of those of an English town or county council, were devoted mainly to the cult of the various local and national gods. Nothing apparently was spent on the roads, on improvements, sanitary or otherwise, nothing on education, and there were no poor rates.

Although the amount of power intrusted to the demarch differed in different demes, on the whole it was practically inconsiderable: as regards finance, it was the assembly, the agora itself, usually, which determined the terms on which the deme's land or capital should be lent. The demarch, in executing the resolutions of the agora, was bound down by the most precise instructions, had to refer again to the agora if cases not foreseen presented themselves; and even if a certain amount of discretion were allowed in carrying out the decrees of the assembly, the demarch was still limited by the treasurers and other officials associated with him. So, too, although the demarch was the representative of the deme in any lawsuits to which the deme was a party, he was assisted or controlled by legal coadjutors,¹ and sometimes superseded by representatives appointed by the agora. He did indeed summon and preside over the agora, but the amount of control he exercised over its proceedings depended on his personal character and influence; his office did not bring power with it. In his relations with the state, the demarch was circumscribed as much as in dealing with the agora. As his presence was necessary if a creditor wished to seize the goods of a debtor, the demarch became a name of terror to impecunious debtors—witness Strepsiades in the *Clouds*.² He had also to see that when a death occurred in his deme the body was duly buried and the deme purified from pollution. As the list of Athenians qualified to attend the ecclesia³ was but a copy of the lists of the various demes, the demarch, in whose charge the deme's list was, thereby came in contact with the state officials; but the demarch could neither insert nor remove a name from the deme's list. What amount of discretion he exercised when ordered by the state to furnish a list of persons in his deme liable to serve on board ship we do not know. But in the mobilisation of the army it was the taxiarchs who, according to Trygæus in the *Peace*,⁴ pressed the

¹ σύνδικοι.

² *Clouds* 37, δάκνει με δήμαρχός τις ἐκ τῶν στρωμάτων.

³ πῖναξ ἐκκλησιαστικός—Dem. xliv. 35.

⁴ 1186 ταῦτα δ' ἡμᾶς τοὺς ἀγροίκους δρῶσι· τοὺς δ' ἐξ ἄστεως ἦπτον.

poor country-folk and favoured the townsmen. In short the demarch sacrificed a large amount of his time to the interests of his deme, but did not exercise in virtue of his office any corresponding control over the affairs of the deme. If, then, there were found candidates for the post, it was partly because the position was one of dignity: the demarch represented the deme on various solemn and important occasions, and offered sacrifice in the name of the deme. But above all the office was a stepping-stone to political power: it placed the holder *en évidence*, and increased his chances of obtaining political office by making him known. At the same time it was in itself a piece of political experience and training. The demarch learnt how to preside over an assembly; he became familiar with the management of the finances of a public body; he was brought into contact with state officials in the discharge of their official duties; and as a magistrate having the power to inflict a small fine,¹ he acquired experience which would be useful to him in any other magistracy.

The control of the deme's affairs lay with the assembly of the demesmen, and not with any of the officials of the deme. The agora itself managed its own finances, regulated its own deme's list, called its officials to account, awarded crowns, complimentary decrees, exemption from taxation. But though the agora exercised the right of drawing up its own deme's list in the first instance, its decisions in this matter could be and were overruled by the state, by the Heliasts. Finally it is to be noticed that though the agora of the deme nominally consisted of all the demesmen, it really was attended by a minority of the members of the deme, just as the ecclesia, though nominally consisting of all the citizens, fell into the hands of a minority. In the case of some demes the quorum was as small as thirty, and it may be imagined that in so small a body it was easy for a clique to obtain the exclusive control of the affairs of the deme. If the demarch exercised any power, it was because he was nominated by the dominant clique, or because he managed to form a clique of his own.

As constituted by Clisthenes, the φυλαί,² or tribes were ten in number, and each φυλή comprised ten demes; but as the demes became more numerous, the phylê came to include more than ten demes each, and in B.C. 306, the number of tribes

¹ ἐπιβολὴν ἐπιβάλλειν.

² For the Phylæ the following inscriptions should be studied: *C. I. A.* ii. 172, 553-559, 562, 564, 565, 567.

was increased to twelve. Though designed for political purposes, the tribes were framed as religious associations: each tribe was named after a local hero. These heroes had their temples and lands attached to them, which constituted the property and supplied the revenues of the tribes. The phylê, like the deme, had its assembly or agora and its officials¹; and, as in the deme, so in the phylê, the agora managed the affairs of the tribe, and allowed its officials little or no discretion in the execution of its instructions. More important, however, than the administration of the revenues of the tribe were its political duties. Each phylê furnished fifty members to the *boulê*, who were chosen by lot from the members of the tribe, in such a way that the demes in the tribe had a representation on the *boulê* proportional to their population. The phylê also afforded the territorial divisions on which the military system was based: each tribe furnished a regiment of hoplites and a division of cavalry. Each phylê elected its own taxiarch or regimental commander, when the strategi ceased to be elected by the several tribes. For the purposes of the navy, the territorial division, however, was not the phylê, but the divisions of the tribe, the trittyes. The *τριτῦς* seems to have taken its name from the most important deme situated within its boundaries, and it was the business of the various demarchs to see that the trittys provided its due and proper proportion of oarsmen to the fleet.

The bonds for keeping a phylê together and for making it feel its corporate existence would have been feeble, especially as the demes constituting a phylê were situated in three different districts (trittyes), had not the tribes been wisely associated with the amusements of the people. At the various religious festivals, lyric and otherwise, the tribes competed for the prize with each other. The expense of providing a chorus was indeed borne by some individual citizen, but the chorus competed in the name of the tribe, and the victory redounded to the glory of the tribe. Such a liturgy as that of providing a tragic chorus was a considerable burden, and if discharged with signal honour to the tribe was rewarded: the tribe might vote a complimentary decree to the member who had thus brought it honour, and it might decree that he should henceforth be exempt from liturgies. It was in the agora of the tribe that it was settled who should undertake the various liturgies, the choregia, gymnasiarchia, and hestiasis, but how the question was settled exactly we do not know. Possibly if more candidates

¹ οἱ ἐπιμεληταὶ and a *ταμίης*.

than one were forthcoming, the agora decided between them by vote ; while if none presented themselves, the phylê can scarcely be supposed to have had the power to compel a man to undertake the burden ; indeed we find that tribes from want of wealthy members had to allow the liturgies to fall. Finally, in addition to the regular officials elected by the tribe, there were various extraordinary officials¹ whom it had to appoint when any public work was assigned by the state to the phylê for execution. The management of the affairs of the phylê must have fallen more exclusively into the hands of a small and active minority of the members, even than did those of the deme ; for whereas the agora of the deme did meet in the deme, the agora of the phylê, which was rather a political than a local organisation, met in Athens.

CHAPTER VII

ATHENS (*continued*)

THE MAGISTRATES IN GENERAL

THE magistrates of Athens may be divided into ordinary and extraordinary. The ordinary magistrates were those, whether appointed by vote or lot, whose appointment lasted for a year, and whose functions were determined by the constitution. Extraordinary magistracies were those created by a decree of the people to perform some special function. Such were the superintendents of public works, and officials appointed by the phylê, in pursuance of a decree of the people, for the execution of some particular state business.

All magistrates, whether ordinary annual magistrates, or specially appointed, were intrusted with the power to inflict a fine not exceeding a specified maximum on persons who refused them the obedience required for the discharge of their official duties.² If the case was one too serious to be met by the infliction of this penalty, the magistrate, in the exercise of his jurisdiction,³ could put the offender on trial. It was also his

¹ Such as the *τειχοποιοί*, *ταφροποιοί*, and *τριηροποιοί*.

² The power to inflict this fine, *ἐπιβολὴν ἐπιβάλλειν*, belonged to the demarch as well as state officials, but the ordinary officials of the deme and the phylê had no *ἡγεμονία δικαστηρίου*.

³ *ἡγεμονία δικαστηρίου*: on this see below, the chapter on The Judicial System.

duty to conduct the trial of all who violated the laws which he was appointed to administer. The duties thus entailed on him will be fully described in the chapter on Legal Procedure. Here we need only note that the magistrate had no such power as that of an English judge: he did not sum up, he could not determine what evidence was and what was not admissible, he did not decide points of law. He did not actually usher the witnesses in, but he exercised little more control in this matter than the herald whom he ordered to call them in. He counted the votes of the dikasts and announced the result, and discharged other duties of merely formal significance.

Military and financial officials, the strategî, hipparchs, phylarchs, and taxiarchs, superintendents of public works, Hellenotamiæ and financial officials were elected by show of hands on the Pnyx not earlier than the end of February. The strategî and Hellenotamiæ were elected in such a way that as a rule each phylê had a member on the board. The taxiarchs and phylarchs were elected by the several phylæ. At the same time the archons and other magistrates were selected by lot, as also were the members of the *boulê*. Pluralism was not allowed: no one might simultaneously hold two offices. Even re-election was forbidden, except in the case of the *boulê*, to which a man might be elected twice, and military offices, to which he might be elected several times. If he was not debarred by these restrictions, it was competent for any citizen who wished to obtain one of the appointments, which were made by lot, to send in his name to the Thesmothetæ, and the selection was confined to those names. Substitutes were also selected in case the persons first chosen should by death or otherwise vacate their office prematurely. The mode of election was that in the fifth century the demes, in the fourth century the tribes, each nominated a certain number of candidates from whom the requisite officials were chosen by lot. The demes, however, proved corruptible, and their power of nomination was transferred to the tribes; and eventually sortition was substituted for nomination, so that there was a double process of drawing lots: each tribe used sortition to select the candidates it had a right to send in, and sortition was again applied to the candidates thus sent in. Although the election of magistrates might take place early in the year, the magistrates did not enter on office until the month Hecatombæon (July)—if then. Between election and admission to office the magistrate-elect had to submit to an official investigation into his qualifications for the office he

had been provisionally appointed to. This investigation was called the *dokimasia*.¹

All magistrates, whether elected by lot or by vote, by the whole people or by the separate phylæ, were submitted to a *dokimasia* before entering office. The Thesmothetæ, and therefore probably the three superior archons, were, like the members-elect of the *boulê*, brought before the *boulê* of the current year, and there questioned by the *πρόεδρος*, the president of the *boulê*, for the time. The questions put were not designed to ascertain whether the candidate was specially qualified for the functions of his particular office, but whether he was a citizen,² had performed his military and religious duties properly, and in all probability whether he had attained the age of thirty years, which was required of magistrates and members of the *boulê*. It was also probably competent for any member of the *boulê* to bring to its notice anything in the previous life of the candidate which might be held to disqualify him, as for instance that he had in his youth given utterance to oligarchical or tyrannical sentiments, and then the *boulê* investigated the charge. If charges were not made, or were refuted, the candidate was approved,³ otherwise rejected: in either case the decision of the *boulê* might be upset by the subsequent *dokimasia* held by a law court, over which the Thesmothetæ presided. No other magistrates besides the archons had to undergo a double *dokimasia* before the *boulê* and before a court. Whether elected by vote or by lot they were examined before a law court, but not first examined by the *boulê*.

Even when the magistrate-elect had successfully passed through the ordeal of the *dokimasia* and entered on office he did not escape from the most minute and jealous supervision. At the first regular meeting of the ecclesia in each of the ten prytanies into which the official year was divided, it was the business of the archons to ask the people whether the various magistrates had discharged their duties in a fit and proper manner, and take a show of hands⁴ on the question. The

¹ On the *dokimasia*, see Meier und Schömann, ed. Lipsius, 236 ff.

² In early times it was necessary for an archon-elect to be not only the son but the grandson of Athenian citizens: subsequently it sufficed if he were the son even of a "made" citizen. Before the *crabontate* was thrown open to all four classes, the candidate was asked whether he possessed the requisite property qualification, subsequently *εἰ τὰ τέλη τελεῖ*, i.e., paid his taxes.

³ To pass the candidate was *δοκιμάζειν*, to reject him, *ἀποδοκιμάζειν*.

⁴ *ἐπιχειροτονία*. The members of the *boulê* might be suspended by an *ἐκφυλλοφορία*, so called from the leaves used by the *boulê* as voting papers.

strategi might be recalled from abroad. If the vote of the people went against the magistrate he was liable to be suspended, and tried before a court of Heliasts; and when his period of office had expired the magistrate had to give an account of his proceedings¹ to the proper officials: until he had done so, he could not leave the country or make any disposition of his property which might prejudice the claim of the state to indemnify itself for any loss it had sustained at his hands. In the fourth century B.C., the officials whose business it was to receive the accounts of the magistrates were ten λογισταί, ten συνήγοροι and ten εὐθυνοί (with their assessors), appointed by lot from the tribes.² Every magistrate, within a certain period from the end of his term of office, had to hand into the *logistæ* either an account of all money received and paid by him, or a statement that he had received no money.³ He was also bound to afford to the *logistæ* and *synegori* any information which they might require from him for the elucidation of his accounts. Further, the *logistæ* invited by herald any citizen who had any complaint to make against the magistrate to do so. It is not to be marvelled at if a system of this kind led to much intrigue and corruption. Threats of false charges were made for the purpose of extorting money; frivolous charges might be brought for annoyance; a guilty magistrate intrigued to evade giving an account of his magistracy by deferring and delaying, or escaped by the collusion of the *logistæ*. No system excludes the unworthy from office entirely, but tossing up for your magistrates probably excludes them less successfully than other systems, even if a *dokimasia* is employed. It must also have required a tolerably thick skin and an ardent thirst for small distinction to carry a man through all the disagreeables entailed by a *dokimasia*, a *cheirotonia* monthly, and a *εὐθυνα*, all to hold an office such as that of archon.

If a citizen, in reply to the invitation of the *logistæ*, brought

¹ The official formula is λόγον διδόντων . . . πρὸς τοὺς λογιστὰς καὶ εὐθύνas διδόντων. Λόγος refers to pecuniary accounts, εὐθύναι to the discharge of his official duties. On the *Euthyna*, see Meier und Schömann, ed. Lipsius, pp. 112-117, 257-269; Schöll, *De synegoris atticis*; Jena, 1876; Inscriptions, *C. I. A.* i. 32, 34, 226, 228, 273; ii. 444, 446, 469, 470, 578. The speeches of Demosthenes and Æschines *de falsa legatione* were delivered in the course of a trial of a γραφή περὶ τῶν εὐθυνῶν.

² In the century before, that is in the fifth, we find thirty *logistæ*, sometimes called simply οἱ τριάκοντα, but their relation to the ten of the fourth century is mysterious. In the fifth century there were *euthyni*, as well as the thirty *logistæ*.

³ Until he had done so and had been discharged he was ὑπεύθυνος. If he failed to do so he was liable to a γραφή ἀλογίου.

a charge against the retiring magistrate, he had to bring a formal suit in the law courts against him.¹ As examples of such charges we have accusations of embezzlement of public money, bribery,² or false ambassadorial reports.³ In any case, whether the examination by the *logistæ* and *synegori* was favourable or not, whether a private accuser was forthcoming or not, the ex-magistrate could only get his final discharge from a law court of 501 members, appointed for the purpose. It was part of the jurisdiction or *hegemonia* of the *logistæ* to preside over this court, while the *synegori* probably here took legal action on any irregularities which had been discovered in the ex-magistrate's accounts. The *εὔθυνοι*, in all probability, had duties, such as the recovery of fines inflicted by magistrates; and the recovery of penalties from ex-magistrates was only one branch of their work, which extended over the whole area of administration and was not limited to the *euthyna*.

It is to be noted that the *hegemonia* of the *logistæ* did not extend to the *strategi* and military officials: they had to render their accounts to a court under the *hegemonia* of the *Thesmo-thetæ*. Finally, even when the ex-magistrate had passed the examination of the *logistæ* and had subsequently been discharged by the law court, his troubles were not at an end: for a certain number of days the *εὔθυνος* appointed by the tribe to which the ex-magistrate belonged, sat along with his two assessors to receive any complaint which any citizen might have to make, and to bring it to the notice of the proper authorities, if he thought fit.

It was permitted some magistrates, the three superior archons, the *εὔθυνοι*, *Hellenotamiæ*, and possibly others, to appoint assessors to assist them in their work. These assessors or *paredri* were subject to a *dokimasia* and an *εὔθυνα*. In the way of paid officials there were secretaries,⁴ assistant-secretaries,⁵ heralds, and others, who all seem to have had a bad reputation. As many or most of the magistrates had no technical qualifications for the posts they held and the legal jurisdiction they had to exercise, it is not to be wondered at if the secretaries, in virtue of their superior familiarity with state business, exercised considerable influence. The fact is evidently recognised by the enactment eventually made to forbid a man acting as assistant-secretary twice to the same magistracy. Magistrates were pro-

¹ Such a suit was called in general a *γραφὴ περὶ τῶν εὐθυνῶν*, but the individual accuser had to specify the offence, e.g., *κλοπὴ τῶν δημοσίων χρημάτων*.

² *δῶρων*.

³ *παραπρεσβείας*.

⁴ *γραμματεῖς*.

⁵ *ὑπογραμματεῖς*.

tected by the law from insult and assault in the discharge of their duties, but the law could not, and did not, prevent contempt from openly expressing itself when it is felt by a sufficiently large proportion of the community.¹

CHAPTER VIII

ATHENS (*continued*)

THE MAGISTRATES

ORIGINALLY nothing more than the commanders of the tribal regiments, and subordinate to the archon polemarch, the strategi² came to be the most important officials in the state. In addition to their command of the army, they came to conduct the foreign policy of Athens, while as guardians of the state in time of peace³ as well as of war, they were responsible not only for keeping open supplies of food from abroad,⁴ but for protecting the state from treasonable attacks on the part of her own children. When we add to these powers the jurisdiction which they exercised in the law courts in all the many proceedings which arose out of their official action in mobilising the troops and levying the war-tax, in punishing desertion and maintaining the defences of the country, we shall form no mean opinion of the power wielded by the strategi. The danger is that we may form too high an opinion: we have to inquire—and the inquiry is “both interesting and instructive”—what were the actual powers of the strategi as opposed to their formal powers. In no other respect is a democratic form of government more severely tested than in its relation to the foreign and war departments. In no other department is it more necessary that the servant of the state should be allowed a free hand within the proper limits, and nowhere else is it more difficult to determine what are the proper limits.

The strategi were subject to a *δοκιμασία* and to a *εὔθυνα*. With the form of the latter we have not here to deal, as we

¹ Xenophon (*Mem.* iii. 5, 16) speaks of people οἱ καὶ ἀγάλλονται ἐπὶ τῷ καταφρονεῖν τῶν ἀρχόντων.

² On the strategi, see *Les Stratèges Athéniens*, par Am. Hauvette-Bernault, Paris: Thorin, 1885. Inscriptions: *C. I. G.* 178, 179; *C. I. A.* i. 40, 55, 64; ii. 12, 40, 44, 55, 62, 64, 69, 71, 90, 109, 112, 115, 119, 121, 273, 302, 331, 334, 443, 804, 808, 809, 811; iv. 27, 51, 61, 71, 49, 179.

³ Thuc. ii. 24.

⁴ Dem. i. 17, 20, 58.

have already described it in the last chapter. We have now to investigate the spirit in which it was worked and the practical effect it produced. In the first place, this method of calling the strategi to account at the end of their year of office was no mere form. The list of generals thus brought to trial is long enough to show this without any other proof. The list begins with Miltiades, the victorious general of Marathon, and is continued through the names of Themistocles, Cimon, Pericles, Phormio, the brilliant commander in some of the early operations of the Peloponnesian war, Paches, Thucydides the historian, Alcibiades, Timotheos, in B.C. 373 to the end of Athens' existence as an independent state. Besides these names there are those of many other less known generals, and doubtless the list that we can make by no means comprehends all the strategi who were accused at the *εὔθυνα*. The names we have given are, however, enough to show that in some cases the Athenian people were bad masters, and in some cases had bad servants. But the effect of the system cannot be measured merely by the trials that took place justly or unjustly under it: whether the punishment of bad generals did the state good in any proportion to the evil wrought by the unjust accusation of faithful servants is a question which may perhaps be debated. What is beyond the possibility of doubt is the injurious effect which the fear of accusation had on generals in the conduct of their campaigns. That this must have been the effect of such a system scarcely needs actual proof; we may, however, point to the express testimony given by Thucydides to the share this system had in producing the disasters in the Sicilian campaign, which practically decided the Peloponnesian war against the Athenians. Nicias dared not raise the siege of Syracuse for fear of the accusations which would be made against him at the *εὔθυνα* if he did so. The very sailors who were the loudest to complain of the sufferings which the continuance of the siege entailed upon them, would have been the very first to accuse him on their return to Athens for having raised it; while the people who judged the generals would, in complete ignorance of the actual facts of the campaign, be determined in their judgment simply by the assertions of the most persuasive orators.¹ The Athenian democracy would no more sanction a retreat which they had not decreed themselves² than the French democracy, and Nicias apparently had not that appreciation of the value which mere words have with

¹ Thuc. vii. 48.

² Thuc. vii. 48.

the people that enabled Lazare Hoche to save his head by executing not a retreat but a retrograde movement.¹ To modern ideas a system which allows the troops at the end of a campaign to bring accusations against the general who has commanded them and to sit in judgment on him, seems monstrous. It must, however, be remembered that war was not so technical and scientific in classical as in modern times. It was not so monstrous then to take the opinion of the mass of citizens, who had all of them some experience in warfare, on the simple details of the straightforward campaigns of those days, as it would be now, and here, to submit the conduct of a scheme elaborated by a specialist in the art of war to the criticism even of educated laymen. Again, if it seems preposterous and ludicrous to us that an Athenian from the rank and file should ask his commander about his plan of battle with as much confidence that he would get a reply as if he had asked his opinion on the weather, we must remember that this utter absence of subordination was due not only to the democratic equality of the citizen-soldier with the citizen-general, but still more to the smallness of the citizen body: a citizen could have a personal acquaintance with a much larger proportion of his fellow-citizens than is possible or conceivable in a modern state. When, however, all allowances have been made for the circumstances under which the system of the *εὔθηνα* was worked, it must be admitted that it was not such as to develop subordination amongst the soldiery or self-reliance in the general. Nor is it possible to maintain that the system of trial was a good one: the trial of the generals after the battle of Arginusæ suffices to show that a tribunal was required which was less directly exposed to gusts of passion than was an assembly which, under the influence of ungovernable temper, refused to be ruled even by the laws and constitution of its own making. Red-tape has its recommendations.

When citizen armies had been displaced by mercenary troops, it might be thought some of the defects attaching to the system of the *εὔθηνα* would disappear. As a matter of fact, the inherent faults were developed still more strongly. Citizens who had themselves served under arms had some, however little, experience in the matters which at the *εὔθηναί* of the strategi they might be called to sit in judgment upon. Citizens who

¹ Callistratos on the other hand was as discerning as the Frenchman: finding that the tribute was intolerable to the allies under the name of *φóρος*, he called it *σύνταξις*, with the happiest results. See Theopompus *ap. Harpocr. s.v. σύνταξις*.

employed mercenary troops had not even that elementary qualification for the tribunal they filled. During the earlier period there were some, it might be many, citizens who had taken part in the campaign under criticism, and who were to some extent eye-witnesses of the facts which the court had to pronounce upon. In the time of the mercenaries, there was not even this guarantee that the facts of the case would or might come to the knowledge of the court. It became necessary for a general to be supported by a powerful orator in the ecclesia if he wished to be not absolutely defenceless against the attacks to which an unsuccessful general was inevitably exposed, and from which a successful officer was not free. The number of accusations seems to increase in this period; and we find that the strategi had, under the working of this system, become so utterly demoralised as to endeavour to purchase immunity at the hands of the people by bringing accusations against their fellow-generals. Punishment is even less satisfactory than payment by results. We have seen that the strategi were pretty certain to be called to account for any false step which they might take, whilst exercising the powers intrusted to them. We have now to see what amount of latitude and discretion the ecclesia allowed to them in the discharge of their duties.

The first duty of a general is to raise troops: at Athens it was only by a decree of the people that the citizens could be called to arms, as it was only by a decree of the people that war could be declared. It might happen under very extraordinary circumstances that, by a special decree of the people, the generals were allowed to raise the amount of troops they themselves thought necessary for their military operations, but ordinarily it was the ecclesia which determined the number or the age of the citizens who should be called out. If all citizens of a certain age were called to arms the strategi had no choice as to the quality of their troops; if on the other hand the ecclesia simply determined the number of men to be summoned, the strategi were allowed to choose those whom they thought most fit for service, and this gave them an opportunity for favouritism and for oppression. Even greater powers of annoyance, if the generals chose to use them for the purpose of annoyance, were placed in the hands of the strategi, when they exercised the right of nominating the four hundred citizens liable to the burden of the trierarchy.¹ The importance of the strategi is clearly shown by the fact that they had the right to

¹ Thuc. ii. 24.

convoke (through the prytaneis) special meetings of the ecclesia, and that their business took precedence of other agenda. In the dealings of Athens with other states also the strategi filled a position of importance: we find them negotiating and concluding the capitulation of cities, armistices, conventions, &c. But here again we find that the people were jealous of intrusting power to their servants: the ratification of matters of foreign policy was reserved by the ecclesia for itself. The general made his report to the assembly, but the ecclesia negotiates the alliance in question. Compacts and conventions made by the strategi alone might be and not unfrequently were simply disregarded by the ecclesia. In the matter of finance the strategi were confined strictly to their own department and did not exercise any control over the general financial policy of the state. Even in their own department they were sharply looked after: the amount of money to be expended on a campaign was voted by the ecclesia, and if during a campaign the general needed further supplies they had to be separately voted by the assembly. The levying of the war-tax, when voted, was conducted by the strategi, and the working of the system by which vessels were provided for the navy was also in their hands. Further the contributions from the allies, which after the time of Alcibiades became the one source from which a general could hope to get pay for his troops, were raised by the strategi. Here there was scope for dishonesty on the part of the generals, and all the rigours of the *εὐθυνα* were necessary. But here, where the *εὐθυνα* might have been invaluable, it seems to have broken down, not from any indisposition on the part of the Athenians to do justice on their generals or to protect their allies, but from the fact that the opportunities for extortion were various enough to include many means for evading the law. The jurisdiction of the strategi extended to a large number of cases—to such offences as refusal to serve when duly summoned,¹ desertion from the ranks² or from the fleet,³ absence without due and sufficient reason from ship-board at the time of an engagement,⁴ moving from one rank to another without orders in time of battle,⁵ desertion to the enemy,⁶ throwing away one's shield,⁷ and all acts of cowardice generally. In all these cases, however, the strategi had nothing like martial law at their disposal; they had to bring the offenders before a civil court. At the trial of these offenders, as also in the trial

¹ ἀστρατεία.² λιποστράτιον.³ λιποναύτιον.⁴ ἀνανυμάχιον.⁵ λιποτάξιον.⁶ αὐτομολία.⁷ ῥίψασπις.

of all cases arising out of the apportionment by the strategi of the burden of the war-tax and the trierarchy, the strategi did indeed exercise jurisdiction ; but it was of the same exceedingly limited nature as that of the archons and all other magistrates in Athens.

At the beginning of their history the strategi seem to have been equal among themselves and to have been each equally competent to perform any of the duties that fell to the collegium, while the presidency of the board was enjoyed by them in rotation. After what we have already learned as to the way in which the ecclesia limited the discretion of the strategi in the discharge of their duties, we shall not be surprised to find that, instead of always leaving the strategi to divide their work among themselves in the way in which they thought most advantageous, the people not unfrequently determined, for instance, when a campaign was to be undertaken, how many and which strategi should be despatched.¹ On such occasions the ecclesia might also determine that one strategus should occupy a position of superiority over those of his colleagues who were sent out with him.² In time of great danger, the assembly would make one strategus superior to all his colleagues ;³ and whereas, as a rule, the amount of power conceded to the strategi was very narrow, the people might extend the latitude within which the strategus was allowed to use his own discretion.⁴ Finally, between B.C. 334 and 325, the functions of the ten members of the board were specialised, and a candidate was chosen, not to be a strategus at large, but to discharge the particular functions attaching to the special post which he was chosen to fill.⁵

As the strategi ceased to be mere commanders of the tribal regiments, the military command of the hoplites of the ten tribes was transferred to the taxiarchs. The command of the whole cavalry of the state was in the hands of two hipparchi ; under the hipparchi were the ten phylarchs. All these officials were elected by vote—the taxiarchs and phylarchs, one from each tribe ; the hipparchs from the whole body of citizens.

The most ancient officials of finance were, as the meaning of their name indicates, the *κωλακρέται* ; their business originally,

¹ Thuc. vi. 8 ; vii. 16.

² This is conveyed in such formulæ as *πέμπτος αὐτός, τρίτος αὐτός*. Cf. Thuc. i. 61 ; ii. 79 ; iii. 3, 19 ; iv. 42.

³ He is called *δέκατος αὐτός*.—Thuc. i. 116 ; ii. 13.

⁴ Such power (and not superiority to the other strategi) is intended in the word *αὐτοκράτωρ*. In the Sicilian expedition—Thuc. vi. 8, 26—all those generals were *αὐτοκράτορες*. Cf. also Thuc. ii. 65, and Xen. *Hell.* i. iv. 20.

⁵ See below, Book VIII., chapter ii.

in prehistoric times, was to cut or divide the limbs of the animals offered in sacrifice.¹ This duty must be referred to a time when, as in Homer, the people paid no money-taxes of any sort, but made gifts in kind to their rulers. Such gifts were received by the *κωλακρέται*, who also divided the meat thus offered amongst the magistrates when they assembled in the prytaneum. When in course of time gifts ceased to be made in kind, the *κωλακρέται* continued to provide for the meals given by the state at the prytaneum, but did so from the fines inflicted by the magistrates. They also came to receive the *ναυκραρικά*, which were levied for the purposes of the fleet, in early times. The office continued to exist in the fifth and fourth centuries and to provide for the payment of the *dikasts*. The board of ten *ἀποδέκται*, selected by lot, one from each tribe, was instituted by Clisthenes, but as instituted seems to have been an inferior board, intrusted only with the receipt of debts owing to the state. In the fifth century the principal financial officials were the Hellenotaniæ, the Treasurers of the Goddess (Athene),² and a board constituted in B.C. 435, and known as the "Treasurers of the other Gods."³ The Hellenotaniæ were primarily officials of the Athenian Confederation, but their funds were frequently employed for purely Athenian purposes. The Treasurers of the Goddess were ten in number, appointed by lot from the class of the Pentacosiomedimni. The "Treasurers of the other Gods" were also ten in number, and appointed by lot. Their treasures, like those of the Goddess' Treasurers, were stored in the building called *opisthodomos*.

In B.C. 403 the *Apodektæ* seem to have had their sphere enlarged: in the presence of the *boulê* they received not only debts to the state, but the tribute, the war-taxes, tolls, &c., and from them seem to have made payment to the various spending departments. At the same time the two boards of the Treasurers were united. This arrangement, however, was given up subsequently, and then again resumed. The importance of the *Apodektæ* was considerably diminished in the fourth century by the appointment of a minister of the Theoric Fund;⁴ and in about B.C. 320, when the two boards of Treasurers were again united, the *Apodektæ* seem to have ceased to exist.

¹ *κωλακρέται* from *κῶλα* and *κείρω*.

² *ταμίαι τῆς θεοῦ*, or in full *ταμίαι τῶν ἱερῶν χρημάτων τῆς Ἀθηναίας*.—Inscriptions: *C. I. A. i.* 32, 117, 140, 188, 273, 299, 324; *ii.* 2, 17, 61, 612, 642, 643, 652, 653, 667, 730, 733.

³ *ταμίαι τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν*.—*C. I. A. i.* 32, 194-225.

⁴ ὁ ἐπὶ τὸ θεωρικόν.

The importance of the minister of the Theoric Fund in the fourth century was due to the fact that at this time the surplus of the public revenue, which in better days had been devoted to military purposes, was diverted to the Theoric Fund and to the amusements of the people. About B.C. 339, however, the minister of the Theoric Fund ceased to exercise the influence over the general finance of the country which he had wielded during the time of Eubulus (B.C. 354-339). The surplus of the revenue was once more, on the motion of Demosthenes, devoted to the defence of the country; and the control of the financial policy of the country was in the following year placed in the hands of a financial minister,¹ who was intrusted with a general supervision of the public income and expenditure. At first, probably, this was an extraordinary post, and not a regular appointment. Eventually (after the time of the *Ath. Pol.*, probably B.C. 306) this official came to form one of the regular administrative officers of state: he was elected by vote, held office for four years, and was not eligible for re-election. As the surplus of the public revenue was devoted to military purposes, the financial minister had necessarily to work in conjunction with the Military Treasurer,² and eventually came to be subordinate in importance to him. Even during the period of his greatest power, he was not allowed an entirely free hand: he was checked by a sort of controller,³ who assisted at the receipt of money, and rendered an independent account of all moneys received to the ecclesia every prytany.

Finally, we have to mention the *πράκτορες*, whose duty it was to recover the fines inflicted by the magistrates, and the *πωληταί*, who sold up people who did not pay their taxes, state-debtors, Metics who did not pay their metoikion; they also farmed out the state mines and state property generally, as well as the tolls, and saw to the execution of inscriptions and other public work.

The extensive powers which the board of the nine archons⁴ exercised before the time of the democracy, when the government of the state was in the hands of the archons, were gradually withdrawn from the board, as the democracy grew, and the people in the ecclesia and the law courts undertook to govern itself, and itself to administer justice. This decline in the power of the archons is connected with the change in the mode

¹ ὁ ἐπὶ τῇ διοικήσει.

² ταμίης τῶν στρατιωτικῶν.

³ ἀντιγραφεὺς τῆς βουλῆς or ἀντιγραφεὺς τῆς διοικήσεως.

⁴ On the archons, see Meier and Schömann, ed. Lipsius, p. 55 ff., and Daremberg and Saglio, *Dictionnaire des Antiquités*, s.v.

of their appointment from election by vote to selection by lot ; though, whether the decline of the archontate was the cause or the result of their election by lot, we have not sufficient information to say. It is, however, well to note that, whereas in the fourth century B.C., and during the last sixty years of the fifth century, no politician of importance is known to have acted as archon, we find that as late as the beginning of the fifth century, statesmen such as Themistocles and Aristides did not disdain to serve as archons. We are safe, therefore, in ascribing considerable powers to the archons as late as the commencement of the fifth century. After that time, and more particularly in the time of the orators, their most important functions were religious and judicial : how slight their real power as presidents of the law courts was is apparent from what we have already said as to the jurisdiction of magistrates generally. As a board the archons acted together but rarely ; the only case in which the nine archons jointly and as a collegium exercised jurisdiction was that in which they brought before a court those magistrates who had been suspended from office by the people at the ἐπιχειροτονίαι. They further presided jointly at the election of the strategi, taxiarchs, hipparchs, and phylarchs, at the selection by lot of the 6000 dikasts and of the ten athlotheta, and lastly they assisted in superintending the voting in the ὄστρακισμός. The power of sentencing to death those exiles who returned without authority belonged, not to the nine archons, but to the Thesmothetae.

The president of the board was the first archon, *the archon par excellence*, who was known as the eponymos, because his name stood at the head of the various lists of names issued during his year of office, such as the list of young men enrolled for the first time as citizens, and as liable to military service. It fell to his duty to act as guardian to heiresses and orphans, to protect the fatherless and widows, in a word, to regulate family relations when it was necessary ; for the functions of the archon, whose tribunal was in the Agora, near the Eponymoi, were principally judicial ; and as ἡγεμὼν δικαστηρίου he exercised jurisdiction in all cases, private and public, which arose from family matters, and which were brought against a citizen. The obligations entailed by marriage or by divorce (ἀπολείψεως, ἀποπέμψεως) afforded matter for complaints, such as of cruelty (κακώσεως), or with regard to maintenance (σίτου), and, except during the existence of the Eisagogeis, to dowries ; the relation of son to father might give rise to a complaint (γονέων κακώσεως) ; and any member of the family, by his insanity or criminal

idleness, might make himself the object of a complaint (*παρανοίᾱς* or *ἀργίας*). In all these cases the offender is a member of the family, and the cases consequently come before the archon. When, however, the offence, though against the family, is conceived as committed by a stranger to the family, as in the case *μοιχείας*, the matter does not come under the cognisance of the archon, except when the family has lost its natural head, and then orphans, widows, wards are entitled to lay complaints before the archon in case of injury or fraud (*κακώσεως ἐπικλήρων, ὀρφανῶν, χηρενουσῶν γυναικῶν ἐπιτροπῆς, μισθώσεως οἴκου*). From this it naturally follows that the archon's competence extended to all trials arising out of matters connected with the inheritance of property (*ἐπιδικασίαι*, or *λήξεις κλήρων* and *ἐπικλήρων*). This completes the account of the archon's principal judicial functions; there remain, however, instances in which the archon appears as exercising jurisdiction in trials, such as for perjury or violence, which have no connection with the rights of the family. It seems probable that if out of a trial about some family matter there arose prosecutions for perjury, subornation, violence, refusal to give evidence, or to produce documents or property, or to divide the property (*ψευδομαρτυριῶν, κακοτεχνιῶν, ἐξούλης, λιπομαρτυρίου, εἰς ἐμφανῶν κατὰστασιν, εἰς δατητῶν αἵρεσιν*), these prosecutions were brought before the archon, as being incidental to and a part of the main trial. The analogy—that of the paragraphe which was tried before the magistrate under whose jurisdiction the case itself fell—which makes it probable that the subordinate trials were brought before the magistrate who tried the main case, is scarcely enough of itself to warrant us in concluding with Perrot (p. 255) that the subordinate trials were allowed to block the main case, and thus allowed to be used for purposes of obstruction, but the circumstances of the case make the inference probable. As the archon was permitted to take cognisance of offences not strictly falling under his jurisdiction, if they were incidental to a trial in which he presided, so, although he was not competent to try *φάσεις* generally, yet those which related to fraudulent guardians or injured wards came within his sphere. Further, the archon, in accordance with the ordinary rule, exercised judicial functions in all suits connected with his ritual duties, such as *διαδικασίαι χορηγῶν*, complaints against the choregus or against foreigners who took part in the Chorus; but although he had the power to inflict fines on those who created disturbances in the festivals which he superintended, the right of punishing offences against

the sacred and religious character of the festivals appertained not to him but to the Thesmothetæ. Finally, if the archon were competent to assure to citizens some of their personal rights, his jurisdiction extended not to all those rights but at the most to the *status libertatis*, which for citizens was the subject of a *δίκη ἐξαιρέσεως*.

The archon's other duties were religious, and consisted in the superintendence of the great Dionysia and Thargelia, and in the organisation of the choruses for the Dionysia, Thargelia, and eventually, though not originally, for the Lenæa, as well as of the choruses sent to Delos and elsewhere. He was assisted in his direction of the Dionysia by ten elected *ἐπιμεληταὶ τῆς πομπῆς τῷ Διονύσῳ*, and in his other duties by two *πάρεδροι* chosen by himself. The archon appears also to have had the management of the calendar.

The king-archon, who in antiquity was usually styled *ὁ βασιλεύς* simply and whose tribunal was situated in the *βασίλειος στοά*, near the temple of Zeus Eleutherios, was the second of the archons. Representing the same feeling as the *rex sacrorum*—the feeling that a ritual once established must be perpetuated—the basileus inherited the religious functions of the kings, and his jurisdiction, accordingly, applies solely to offences against religion. Thus, charges of impiety (*ἀσεβείας*) and a like nature came before him, as also did disputes (*διαδικασίαι*) between various families or members of the same family as to the right to a priesthood, between priests, or between priests and laymen, as to prerogatives or emoluments (*γέρα*). Many offences, further, which we regard as committed against society were from the Athenian point of view offences against religion, and therefore fell within the cognisance of the basileus. Such, for instance, were prosecutions for murder (*φόνον καὶ ἀψύχων δίκαι*), poisoning (*φαρμάκων*), attempted homicide (*βουλεύσεως*), intentional wounding (*τραύματος ἐκ προνοίας*), incendiarism (*πυρκαϊᾶς*) and *ἀμβλώσεως*. According to a Solonian law, revived during Lysander's siege of Athens, tyrannis was an offence to be tried before the basileus. The other duties of this archon were religious, and consisted in the supervision of the mysteries at Eleusis, the Lenæa, Anthesteria, Arrephoria, and athletic contests (*ἀγῶνες γυμνικοί*). At the Anthesteria, his wife, the *βασίλισσα*, or *βασίλιννα*, represented the spouse of Dionysus. His duties at the mysteries, in which he was assisted by four *ἐπιμεληταὶ τῶν μυστηρίων*, elected by the people, two from the families of the Eumolpidæ and Kerukes, and two from Athenian citizens at large, would make it necessary for him to

be one of the initiated. The election of the Gymnasiarchs for all festivals was in his care ; he had the sacred places of the city under his protection, and all trials arising out of the already mentioned matters of ritual which were under his superintendence, naturally came within his hegemony. The basileus, like the archon, was supported in his judicial duties by two *πάρεδροι*, selected by himself.

The third archon, whose tribunal was in the Lyceum, bore the name of polemarch. Originally, as his name imports, the commander-in-chief, he in that character represented the state in those relations to foreigners which in antiquity were, if not the sole, at any rate the most usual relations between one state and another ; and although in course of time he was stripped of his military functions, he retained the judicial functions which as time went on were necessitated by peaceful intercourse with strangers, and by the presence and residence of foreigners in the city. The character of his judicial hegemony is indicated by Aristotle in a passage quoted from the *Ath. Pol.* by Harporation (*s.v.*, *πολέμαρχος*) ὅσα τοῖς πολίταις ὁ ἄρχων ταῦτα τοῖς μετοίκους ὁ πόλεμαρχος (*sc. εἰσάγει*). As it was the duty of the archon to protect a citizen who was injured in his family rights or in his rights of succession, so the polemarch was appealed to by any foreigner—isoteles or proxenos as well as Metic—who wished to establish at law his claim to such rights against either a citizen or another foreigner. This, however, does not exhaust the jurisdiction of the polemarch. A foreigner might be a party to many other law proceedings than those in which his family or successorial rights were involved ; and although no public action was withdrawn from the proper court and tried before the polemarch because a foreigner was one of the parties to the action, yet in all private cases, except those relating to mines or commercial matters (*δίκαι μεταλλικαί, ἐμπορικαί*) and *δίκαι ἀπὸ συμβόλων*, the polemarch had jurisdiction when a foreigner was the defendant. So, too, a Metic accused of not complying with the decision of any magistrate was proceeded against, not before that magistrate, but before the polemarch (*κατεγγνᾶν, διεγγνᾶν*). Further, if a Metic failed in any of his legal duties he was accused *ἀπροστασίον*, or if having been a slave he was after his enfranchisement charged with neglecting his duties to his late master, he was accused *ἀποστασίον*, or if he wished to establish his freedom he instituted a *δίκη βλάβης* or an *ἀφαίρεσις εἰς ἐλευθερίαν* before the polemarch. Lastly, it was before the polemarch that Proxeni established their right to various privileges, private (*ἐγκτησις*) and public (*ἀτέλεια*,

προεδρία), accorded by the state to them. His other functions were exercised in matters of ritual: he superintended the sacrifices in honour of Artemis Agrotera, Enyalios, Harmodius and Aristogeiton, and the celebration of the ἐπιτάφια in honour of those who fell on the field of battle. According to the Scholiast on Dem. *in Tim.* 20, the polemarch had to look after the education of the children of those who had fallen in war; and from Lys. *c. Alcib.* ii., § 4, D. 169, he may for some time have retained jurisdiction in the case of certain military offences. Like the first two archons he was assisted by two πάρεδροι.

The evil consequences which might have ensued from throwing open the archonship to all citizens, and that by lot and not by election, were met by reducing the discretionary powers of the officer to a minimum, and leaving him little but formalities and technicalities. This residuum, however, implied a legal knowledge which might or might not be forthcoming in any particular archon; and to meet the case of its not being forthcoming, the first three archons were provided with assessors or πάρεδροι to assist them. Each of these three archons was compelled to elect two πάρεδροι, but was allowed to choose for the post those persons whom he wished, and generally selected a relation or friend on whom he wished to confer a favour. The πάρεδροι were subject to the δοκιμασία and εὔθυνα, and might be dismissed for misconduct before the expiry of their year of office. The functions of the assessors are not expressly stated, and probably were never defined, but depended on the amount of authority which the archon chose to allow them. In the case of an archon who was unequal to his duties the assessors would practically do the work; in other cases such work would fall to them as the multiplicity of the archon's duties prevented him from himself performing. The Thesmothetæ had no assessors. They might choose σύμβουλοι to advise or assist them; but these σύμβουλοι did not constitute an ἀρχή as did the πάρεδροι, and had in fact no existence in the eye of the law. Amongst the six Thesmothetæ there might be some who were incompetent, but the majority were probably equal to their work, and consequently the need for πάρεδροι would not make itself felt.

The six remaining archons were called Thesmothetæ, and formed a board (συνέδριον) whose tribunal was the Thesmosion. Their functions were purely collegiate at all times. The archons in the time of Solon were intrusted with almost complete jurisdiction, but in the course of political changes, fresh boards and

officers came into existence, and in their turn were intrusted with jurisdiction. This growth of new institutions possessing powers of jurisdiction could only proceed at the expense of the judicial powers of the archons, and especially of the Thesmothetæ; and as the encroachments on the archons' powers, like the growth of the encroaching institutions, proceeded on no systematic scheme, the judicial domain left to the Thesmothetæ presents but little system or regularity. The principle that the hegemony of the Thesmothetæ included all proceedings in which the prosecutor alleged the interests of the state to have been injured (Bancke, *De Thesmothetis Atheniensium*, Breslau, 1844) is indeed an internal principle of classification, but is inadequate, for the jurisdiction of the Thesmothetæ, although it did comprehend the majority of such cases, did not embrace them all, while on the other hand it did include some, though not many, private cases. We must be content then with the external classification that those cases fell to the Thesmothetæ, which were not appropriated to some other magistracy. This mode of classification, at first sight unsatisfactory, is at least true, and has the merit of indicating the historical process by which the powers of the board of Thesmothetæ came to be what they were. Almost every form of public law proceeding will be found to be represented in the actions which came before the Thesmothetæ. The dokimasia of the orators, of the recipients of citizenship, and of the magistrates, at least as far as they came before a law court, were introduced by the Thesmothetæ, while the euthynæ of the strategi, apagoge, endeixis, and phasis, were all forms of trials which came before the Thesmothetæ. In probolai, when the demos had decided against the accused, they introduced the matter to the court; and they presided in court when the *boulê* or *ecclesia* sent an *eisangelia* to court for decision. The following public processes are expressly mentioned as coming before the Thesmothetæ:—*γραφαὶ ἀγραφίου*, *ἀδίκως εἰρχθῆναι ὡς μοιχόν*, *βουλεύσεως* (in the sense not of murder, or intent to murder, but of illegally removing one's name from the list of debtors to the state), *δεκασμοῦ*, *δώρων*, *ἐταιρήσεως*, *κλοπῆς* (both *κλοπή δημοσίων χρημάτων* and other *γραφαὶ* and *δίκαι κλοπῆς*), *μοιχείας*, *συκοφαντίας*, *ὑβρεως*, *ψευδεγγραφῆς*, and *ψευδοκλητείας*. To these M. Caillemer, in the *Dictionnaire des Antiquités* (s.v. *Archontes*, p. 387), adds, *ἀγράφου μετάλλου*, *ἀδικίου* (Poll. viii. 88), *ἐξαγωγῆς*, and *προαγωγείας*; but with the exception of *ἀδικίου* which is not mentioned in the passage he refers to, he gives no authority in support of them. The following private

actions are all that can be ascribed to the hegemony of the Thesmothetæ: δίκαι ἐμπορικαί, μεταλλικαί, ἀπὸ συμβόλων, κακηγορίας, and ψευδομαρτυριῶν (whether the perjury had been committed before the Areopagus or in cases tried before the Thesmothetæ). Other private cases, corresponding to the Roman *obligationes ex contractu*, came, not before the Thesmothetæ, but before the Fourteen. With reference to the δίκαι ἀπὸ συμβόλων, it is to be noticed that an inscription of the beginning of the fourth century (*C. I. A.* ii., n. 11) shows they were at that time brought before the polemarch. Fränkel's attempt (*Die Attische Geschworenengerichte*, p. 41) to show that the Thesmothetæ then had jurisdiction in such cases when an Athenian was one of the parties to the suit, is, as Lipsius indicates, a *non sequitur* from an incorrect translation of the inscription in question. There remain to be mentioned certain functions of greater interest and more importance exercised by the Thesmothetæ. First may be noticed that from which they took their name, the revision of the laws. At the first regular ecclesia of the year the question was considered whether new laws were desirable or whether the old would suffice; and it was the express duty of the Thesmothetæ on this occasion to propose the abrogation of such laws as on previous examination they had found to be inconsistent with other laws. If the meeting voted that new laws were desirable, the Thesmothetæ gave such publicity as they could to the alterations which they proposed, and in the second regular meeting held after the one already mentioned under the presidency of the Thesmothetæ, the question was considered whether the adoption of these changes was desirable. If the changes were voted desirable, a court of Nomothetæ was appointed to effect the changes. A second case of importance in which the Thesmothetæ appear is that of σύμβολα (Fränkel, p. 42). All proposed treaties with another state, after they had been discussed in the ecclesia, must, in order to be concluded, be brought before a court of heliasts, which, under the hegemony of the Thesmothetæ, had the power of accepting or rejecting the proposed treaty. Further, the Thesmothetæ managed the daily selection of dikasts by lot, assigned the various magistrates their courts, and appointed days for the hearing of the various cases. Fourthly, the Thesmothetæ presided in the trials, Εὐνίας, δωροξενίας, and of those who were accused of attempting to overthrow the constitution (καταλύσεως τοῦ δήμου). According to M. Cailleur (*loc. cit.*) trials for treason (προδοσίας), fraudulent attempts to deceive the people (ἀπατήσεως τοῦ δήμου), and falsification of the currency

(νομίσματος διαφθορᾶς) came under the hegemony of the Thesmothetæ, but he does not give his authorities. The power of pronouncing sentence of death against those exiles who returned without permission belongs not to the nine archons but to the Thesmothetæ.

The Eleven¹ were charged with the unpleasant duty of seeing that sentences of death were duly and legally carried out, and that torture, when ordered, was applied by the public executioner. The prisons were under their charge, consequently they had to detain in custody criminals caught *flagrante delicto*, and to try cases arising out of such detention.

The streets of Athens were under the charge of the ἀστυνόμοι to a certain extent. It was the duty of the ἀστυνόμοι, ten in number, to see that the streets were kept clean, to see that persons walked about decently clad, and to exercise a supervision over the flute and lyre players. The markets were under the control of ten ἀγορανόμοι, who maintained order therein, exacted the market tolls and dues, and prohibited fraud. Weights and measures were kept to the just standard by the μετρονόμοι. As far as bread was concerned, however, false measure was checked by the σιτοφύλακες (originally ten in number, but afterwards thirty-five), who also kept an account of all corn imported into Athens, in order that the state might possess the information necessary to control the price of corn in time of need. The corn dealers were prevented from exacting starvation prices for bread, by the appointment of σιτώναι on occasion, who at the cost of the state sold corn at a low price to the poor. With a view to staving off a dearth in the supplies of grain, there was a board of ten harbour officials,² whose duty it was to see that at least two-thirds of every cargo of corn landed in Attica went to Athens. There was also another board of harbour officials,³ in whose care the war-ships were placed. The designs for war-ships were made under the supervision of one board, the building was supervised by another. The roads were maintained by five ὁδοποιοί; temples kept in repair by a special board of ten. The water-supply of the city—by means of springs and underground conduits—was in the care of a special official elected by vote for a term of four years. Under the head of magistrates appointed to execute definite commissions we need do no more than mention the superintendents of the

¹ Officially οἱ ἑνδεκα, popularly ἐπιμεληταὶ τῶν κακούργων, erroneously νομοφύλακες.

² ἐπιμεληταὶ ἐμπορίου.

³ ἐπιμεληταὶ τῶν νεωρίων.

various public works undertaken from time to time,¹ special legal commissioners, such as the *ζητηταί*, who investigated the celebrated mutilation of the hermæ; financial commissioners, such as the *πορισταί* and *ἐξετασταί*.

CHAPTER IX

ATHENS (*continued*)

THE BOULÉ AND THE AREOPAGUS

THE Council of the Five Hundred, created by Clisthenes, may be regarded as a committee of the ecclesia, elected annually and by lot from amongst those citizens in full possession of their civic rights, who, not having previously served more than once, were nominated by their demes for the post. All members of the *boulé*² were members of the ecclesia, and there was no qualification of property or birth to exclude any member of the ecclesia from becoming a member of the *boulé*; the only restriction was that candidates must be thirty years of age at least. Fifty members were chosen from each tribe, and consequently, when the number of the tribes was increased to twelve, the number of the *boulé* was raised to 600, and at the same time fifty other names were selected by lot from each tribe, in order that substitutes might be forthcoming, if the first man was rejected at the dokimasia or vacated office prematurely. Every member was subjected to a dokimasia before entering office by the retiring *boulé*, but probably not to a euthyna on quitting office. Bouleutæ were exempt from military service during their year of office, received pay to the amount of a drachma a day (or, according to the *Athenian Constitution*, five obols), had a place of honour in the theatre, wore a chaplet as a mark of office, and might collectively receive a crown from the people in testimony that they had discharged their senatorial duties satisfactorily.

If there was much business which the ecclesia by its size was

¹ ἐπιστάται τῶν δημοσίων ἔργων.

² On the *boulé*, see Daremberg et Saglio, *Dictionnaire*, s.v.; Busolt, *Griech. Altth.* 164-169; J. W. Headlam, *The Lot*; Inscriptions: *C. I. A.* i. 32, 52, 57, 59, 64, 301; ii. 17, 40, 44, 49, 51, 52, 54, 57, 59, 61, 64, 66, 109, 114, 121, 124, 190-93, 222, 226-230, 299, 329, 375, 417, 459, 809, 811; iv. 22, 27, 94.

disqualified from doing, and which it therefore delegated to its grand committee, the *boulê* itself was also much too large a body to prepare its own business. It was therefore necessary for the *boulê* to appoint a committee of its members to sit from day to day, to perform current business, and to prepare the business of the full meeting of the *boulê*. These committee-men were called prytaneis, and the fifty members of each tribe served as prytaneis for a tenth part of the year (which period was called a prytaneia), in an order fixed by lot at the beginning of the year. The convocation of the *boulê* and of the ecclesia lay with the prytaneis, who also prepared the agenda paper.¹ The chairman of the prytaneis or ἐπιστάτης was chosen by lot every day from amongst the prytaneis, in the fifth century B.C., and was not eligible for re-election. The epistatês was president of the ecclesia as well as of the *boulê*.

In the fourth century it apparently became necessary for the prytaneis to delegate some of their duties. Their epistatês therefore, as often as there was a meeting of the *boulê* or ecclesia, would appoint by lot, from among the bouleutæ who did not belong to the tribe serving as prytaneis, nine proedri; and one of these nine was appointed by lot to be the epistatês of the proedri. To these proedri and their epistatês were delegated all those duties which it had been the business of the prytaneis to perform at a meeting of the ecclesia or *boulê*; that is to say, the proedri acted as chairmen. It was their duty to announce what was the question laid before the meeting for discussion, to see that order was maintained, to ascertain the results of a division, to dissolve the meeting, and generally to regulate its proceedings. The prytaneis, on the other hand, under their epistatês, did all the work which lay outside of and was preliminary to the actual meeting: they sat "in permanence" in the Tholos, and convened the meetings; they drew up the agenda for the ecclesia and *boulê*; and to them heralds, envoys, and the bearers of despatches presented themselves.

The most important official of the *boulê* was the clerk,² a member of the council, who in the fifth century B.C. was elected from among those bouleutæ not serving at the time as prytaneis, and was changed every prytaneia. He had charge of the state archives, which were kept in the Metrôon; his signature was

¹ πρόγραμμα.

² γραμματεὺς τῆς βουλῆς, or in full, ὁ κατὰ πρυτανεῖαν γ. τ. β.

necessary to make a decree of the people formally complete ; he read out the documents which had to be produced before the ecclesia. Towards the end of the first half of the fourth century, the office of clerk to the *boulê* became annual, and another clerk, the clerk of the law,¹ chosen from the prytaneis, relieved the clerk to the *boulê* of some of his duties. There was also a third clerk, whose sole duty was to read documents to the *boulê*. He may perhaps be the "clerk of the city" mentioned in Thucydides (vii. 10), and the "clerk to the *boulê* and demos"² mentioned in inscriptions. The clerks had an assistant, and the officials of the *boulê* included treasurers to the *boulê* (*C. I. A.* ii. 61), who were themselves bouleutæ.

The *boulê* assembled daily, except on feast days and unlucky days, at the summons of the prytaneis. The meetings were held usually in the Bouleuterion, though on occasion elsewhere, and were ordinarily open, the public being separated from the bouleutæ by a barrier only. When secret deliberation was necessary, "strangers" were made to withdraw. Apparently it was competent for any member to "spy strangers." Distinct from the liberty, allowed as a rule to all and sundry, of listening to debates in the *boulê*, was the power to communicate with the council. This privilege might be decreed by the people, otherwise a non-member of Senate had to be introduced to "the bar of the house" by a bouleutês. The proceedings of the *boulê* commenced with prayers. The members did not sit in political or party groups, but from B.C. 410 onwards, according to tribes, the prytaneis, and subsequently the paredri, having a special place near the tribune from which members addressed the house. The method of conducting debates was probably the same as in the ecclesia.

The area of the *boulê's* business was wider than that of the ecclesia, for whereas all the business of the latter body had to pass through the hands of the bouleutæ, and be made the subject of a resolution on the part of the *boulê*, before it could come to the ecclesia, some of the decrees of the ecclesia were committed for execution to the *boulê*, and occasionally, though rarely, the ecclesia handed a matter of importance over to the *boulê* to be settled finally by it, and without further reference to the ecclesia.³ Ambassadors from foreign states approached

¹ *Ar. Ath. Pol.* 54.

² γραμματεὺς τῆς βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ δήμου, or simply γραμματεὺς τοῦ δήμου.

³ The *boulê* is in such cases and for such matters then called αὐτοκράτωρ and κύριος.

the ecclesia through the *boulê*; officials made their reports or applications to the *boulê*, and might be summoned to appear before the *boulê*. The limits within which the council was free to act independently, and without the subsequent sanction of the ecclesia, were strictly defined by law, and included only detail work, not the laying down of a policy. It is in this sense that the finances of the country were intrusted to the *boulê*. Its supervision over this department only extended to such formalities as sitting whilst payments were made into the treasury, or whilst the treasures of the goddess and the other gods were formally handed over by one board of treasurers to their successors, or to such comparatively trivial business as causing debts to the state to be got in. Its control was confined to such subordinate though still important work, as determining the rates at which the taxes should be farmed out, or public work undertaken by contractors. It is sometimes said that the *boulê* managed the high financial policy of the state, taking counsel on the ways and means by which the annual expenditure of the country was to be provided for, and fixing the amount of the tribute to be paid by the allies; but the former statement (based on a vague expression in the Pseudo-Xenophontean *Athenian Constitution*) is difficult to reconcile with the facts as known to us; and the latter is only a half-truth, for though the amount was fixed by the *boulê*, it had to be ratified by the demos.

The *boulê* also was responsible for the execution of much of the work done in a modern state by the War Office, and the Admiralty, and a Board of Works. It was charged with the duty of causing the necessary number of new war-ships to be laid down and constructed every year, and with the maintenance of the naval arsenals in an effective condition. It was also responsible for the mobilisation of the fleet in time of war. The cavalry were at all times under its especial care, as were also the public buildings and temples.

Finally, we have to mention the judicial power of the *boulê*. For the enforcement of obedience to its order, it had the power of inflicting fines not exceeding five hundred drachmæ in amount. If the offence was, in the opinion of the *boulê*, one which would not be adequately punished by this penalty, the case was remitted, usually to the Thesmothetæ, who brought it before a law court. The legal powers of the *boulê*, however, could be set in action not only by a member of the council itself, but by any citizen qualified to bring public accusations, who laid an information before the *boulê*. The technical name for this information was

εἰσαγγελία,¹ and from the time of Euclides, probably the charges which might be made the subject of an information were classed by law under the three heads of revolutionary designs, treason, and corrupt public speaking. Before the time of Euclides, however, the law was probably less definite, and included generally and vaguely all misdeeds not specially provided against in the laws of the land.² Even after the closer definition of the law as it existed in the fourth century, there was scarcely an offence of any kind which the ingenuity of accusers was not capable of twisting into a treasonable action within the meaning of the law. As regards the mode of procedure adopted by the *boulê*, the accuser had to lay his information in writing before the prytaneis or proedri. If the *boulê* thought the charge one that called for investigation, it proceeded to fix a day for examining the matter further. If on further examination, and after hearing both parties, the *boulê* acquitted the accused, the matter dropped there; otherwise the *boulê* on a subsequent day deliberated whether the offence would be adequately punished by the infliction of the fine not exceeding five hundred drachmæ which it was in the power of the *boulê* to exact. If the offence were too serious to be met by that penalty, the case, sometimes with a note of the penalty which the *boulê* thought ought to be exacted, was handed over to the Thesmothetæ to be brought before a heliastic court, where it was dealt with according to the ordinary procedure of the law courts.

A conflict or deadlock between the two chambers, the *boulê* and the ecclesia, could hardly occur; the *boulê* was but a committee of the ecclesia in effect, and only transacted such business as was delegated to it, and only with the powers usually intrusted to a committee. In all the business of the ecclesia the *boulê* had indeed the initiative, but the ecclesia had the sole power of decision. A matter once settled by the ecclesia was not remitted to the *boulê* for confirmation. It is to be remembered, however, that though the *boulê* as a body ceased to have any voice in the fate of the proposal which they sent down to the ecclesia, yet the bouleutæ were all members of the ecclesia and as such had the right of supporting the resolution of the council with all the influence and oratorical power they possessed. On

¹ On the εἰσαγγελία, see Hager, *Quæstionum Hyperidearum*, Leipzig, 1870, and *Journal of Philology*, iv. (1872) p. 74 ff. The pseudo-Dem. speech against Euergus and Mnesibulus deals with an εἰσαγγελία.

² κατὰ καινῶν καὶ ἀγράφων ἀδικημάτων. The *boulê* was also competent in the matter of the *apagogê*, *endeixis*, *phasis*, and *μήνυσις*.

the other hand, the *boulê* as a body could only pass resolutions, which resolutions it was for the ecclesia and the ecclesia alone to ratify or reject. The ecclesia as a body did not submit to any very material limitation of its powers in parting with the right of initiative. True it is that nothing could come before the ecclesia but through the *boulê*; and it might be imagined that the *boulê* could strangle at birth any proposal which it thought unfit to be brought before the people, that it was in a position absolutely to block a piece of proposed legislation by simply refusing to make any proposition with regard to it to the people; but in point of fact the *boulê* exercised no more influence on legislation than the archons exercised on the cases which they prepared for the dicasteria. Just as the archon was bound to bring before the law courts any case which was drawn up in accordance with the forms of law, so the *boulê* had no power of discretion, but was bound to enter on the agenda of the ecclesia any proposal which any one sent in to it for that purpose, provided the resolution was correct in form. Doubtless even in these limited powers there was latent a possibility of obstructing the action of the ecclesia, and if the *boulê* had wished it could have used them. But the *boulê* did not wish to use them. On the contrary the *boulê* was regarded as the bulwark of the democracy; it enjoyed the flattering but inconvenient privilege of being the first object of all attacks made by the oligarchical and revolutionary party on the democracy, and the honour of being the first institution to be restored by the people when the democracy once more gained the upper hand. We must, however, be on our guard against attributing to the mere forms of the constitution what really belongs to the spirit in which it was worked. If the two chambers worked harmoniously, it was because the *boulê* was in effect but a committee of the ecclesia. If no jealousy of the *boulê* was felt by the people, it was because the *boulê* was built neither on property, privilege, nor birth. If the democracy was proud of its *boulê*, it was because every member of the democracy was eligible, and many were eager for the honour of entering it. Nor must we forget to credit the principle of selecting the bouleutæ by lot with the advantages it procured for the constitution. If it was somewhat dangerous to throw open what at the time was the most powerful body in the constitution to citizens taken at random, at any rate, the annual employment of the lot prevented any one party from enjoying or at least from counting on the exclusive control of the *boulê* for more than a year.

Like the Roman Senate, the Council of the Areopagus¹ consisted of ex-officials. Consisting of well-born and wealthy citizens who had served as archons, this council possessed a practical power in early days which was not strictly defined in theory, and was, owing partly to this want of definition and partly to the individual influence of its members, very extensive. According to the *Athenian Constitution*, in the time before Solon the Areopagus actually appointed the archons and the other magistrates. It is not surprising, therefore, that the council in early times should have had also the power of hearing and deciding on complaints against the magistrates, or that it should have undertaken to decide, on appeal, whether the laws had been violated. In those days and with the powers just described, the Areopagus was in a very intelligible sense the guardian of the laws and the constitution.

According to the *Athenian Constitution*, the first encroachment on the powers of the Areopagus was made by Draco, who transferred the election of archons from it to those citizens who were qualified to serve the state as hoplites; but in all probability the first and more serious blows dealt against this institution proceeded from the hand of Solon. He took from it the right of electing the archons; and though he left nominally untouched the council's vague power of "superintending the laws," by instituting an appeal to the law courts, he must have withdrawn a very considerable number of matters from the superintendency of the Areopagus. Still it retained power to inflict fines and imprisonment; and, above all, charges of conspiracy against the state were reserved by Solon for its judgment. From the time of Solon the reputation and the influence of the Areopagus declined. So far from being able to call the archons and other magistrates to account, the Areopagus itself was made by Solon accountable to the law courts, or dicasteria, that is to the dicasts, who were ordinary citizens; and the members of the Areopagus (which still consisted of ex-archons) were elected no longer by co-optation but by the people. Still, as long as the archons were officially the greatest magistrates of the state, and were individually men of wealth and good birth, this council of ex-archons was capable of dominating the constitution. From the time of Solon to the battle of Salamis, however, the Areopagus did not discover its

¹ On the Areopagus, see Daremberg et Saglio, *s.v.*; Philippi, *Areopag. und Epheten*. Its title is ἡ ἐξ Ἀρείου πάγου βουλή or ἡ ἐν Ἀρείῳ πάγῳ βουλή; that of the Five Hundred, ἡ βουλή οἱ πεντακόσιοι, or simply ἡ βουλή.

latent power. But just before the battle of Salamis, when the generals despaired of the state and gave the word for a *sauve qui peut*, the members of the Areopagus provided, out of their personal means, the funds necessary to hold the fleet together. Owing to their action the battle of Salamis was fought and Greece was saved. The moral influence thus gained by the Areopagus was such that for some time the council dominated the constitution and practically governed Athens.

As a factor in practical politics the Areopagus is usually said to have been cancelled by Ephialtes and Pericles. What is undoubted is that after the time of the latter the Areopagus had no political power. It is also certain that in the time of Ephialtes and Pericles the Areopagus was deprived, in form, at any rate, of certain functions; but what those functions were is uncertain. The political influence of the Areopagus after the battle of Salamis was due to the character and position of its individual members. But the character and social status of the Areopagites must have declined, when the archons, from whom the council was recruited, were no longer drawn exclusively from the wealthiest class of the community. Again, when the archontate was thrown open to all citizens, all the duties of the office requiring statesmanship were withdrawn from the archons. Thus, by the time of Ephialtes and Pericles, the Areopagus no longer consisted of statesmen of commanding personal qualities and social status, and therefore probably no longer enjoyed the moral influence which it worthily exercised at and after Salamis. Probably also, having lost that power, it clung all the more desperately to those powers which, if they were to be taken away from it, could be annulled only by some constitutional change, and not merely by the withdrawal of public confidence. The chief of those powers we may imagine to have been "the guardianship of the laws." What this guardianship was may perhaps be inferred from the duties of the "guardians of the laws" (*νομοφύλακες*), to whom, it seems reasonable to suppose, the guardianship, previously performed by the Areopagus, was now transferred. The guardians had to defend the existing laws and to see that new legislation was in harmony and accordance with the constitution of the country. This duty it is that may have been taken away from the Areopagus, owing to the action of Ephialtes, Pericles, and (according to the improbable story in the *Athenian Constitution*) of Themistocles.

In the end, the only power remaining to the Areopagus was precisely that which, in the *Eumenides*, Æschylus besought

the people of Athens to leave to the Areopagus, the power of trying cases of wilful homicide, poisoning, and arson (as involving the wilful taking of human life); and this is the power which, on one view, was the oldest function of the Areopagus, and the pre-historic germ out of which all its later powers grew.

CHAPTER X

ATHENS (*continued*)

THE ECCLESIA

THE ecclesia,¹ or popular assembly of Athens, was composed in theory of all the legitimate Athenian citizens who had attained the age required by law, and had not been disfranchised. The age required by law was eighteen years, but in practice the young citizen was detained on military duty amongst the ephebi for two years, and therefore could not exercise his right to attend the assembly until he was twenty years of age. A citizen might be disfranchised, in the sense of being prohibited from attending the ecclesia, as a penalty for not having paid his debts to the state, for striking or insulting an archon, for desertion from the army, for immorality, and other offences. In practice, the assembly was composed of the town population, inasmuch as the inhabitants of the country demes could not afford frequent journeys to Athens, and as it was only on extraordinary occasions that notice of meetings was sent round the country. The size of an ordinary meeting was less than 6000 citizens, as that was the number prescribed by law as necessary only for certain extraordinary business.

To exclude unqualified persons from the meetings was the duty of six officials called *lexiarchi*, and a board of thirty members of the *boulé*. The former board had in its hands the register of citizens qualified to attend the ecclesia, framed from the deme registers. When the *lexiarchi* had satisfied themselves as to the identity of the citizen who presented himself for admission to the ecclesia, it was the duty of the thirty *bouleutæ* to give him a ticket, which enabled him subsequently to obtain the pay which the state gave to a certain limited

¹ On the ecclesia, see Schömann, *De Comitibus Atheniensium* (1819); Thumser's ed. of Hermann, pp. 504 ff., and the 'Αθ. πολ.

number of citizens for attendance at a meeting of the ecclesia. It was also the business of the lexiarchi, not only to exclude the unqualified, but to whip in a sufficient number of qualified citizens to the meeting. Having closed all the streets leading to and from the market, except that which conducted to the place of assembly, with the aid of the archers in the paid service of the state, they drew a rope across the market-place, and swept into the assembly all the loungers thus netted in the market, and then they fenced in the meeting with wicker fences.

In the fifth and fourth centuries the ordinary place of assembly was the Pnyx (the situation of which is still a matter of dispute), while for purposes of ostracism, and perhaps for all similar business (i.e., *privilegia*), the agora was used. In later times the Pnyx continued to be used for elections, but the custom grew of meeting for other business in the theatre. Meetings were held in the Peiræus when naval matters were under discussion.¹

The meetings of the ecclesia may be divided into ordinary and extraordinary. The latter were of course irregular, and were summoned only in emergency. Of ordinary meetings, four were held in each prytaneia in the fourth century. In earlier times it is probable that only one meeting was held in each prytaneia. The increase in number is doubtless due in part to the growing amount of work that had to be done; but it is also undoubtedly due in part to the growing desire of the ecclesia to manage by itself all the business of the state: every duty and every piece of power which "democratic jealousy" withdrew from the officers of state had to be taken up by the ecclesia. Of the four ordinary meetings held in each prytaneia, one, the "sovereign" assembly, was specially devoted to necessary business, such as the consideration of the food supply and the safety of the country, to a statement of confiscations and vacant inheritances, to routine business, such as taking votes on the official conduct of the magistrates, and to the introduction of impeachments (*εἰσαγγελίαι*) before the people.² At another meeting in the prytaneia, the first place on the list of business was reserved for petitions, *e.g.*, the introduction of proposals to rehabilitate disfranchised citizens, and to remit

¹ Dem. *De Falsa Leg.* p. 359.

² In the sixth prytany of the year, some extra business was taken at this, the sovereign (*ἡ κυρία*), ecclesia, viz., a vote whether there was any need to apply the ostracism; complaints against professional accusers; and against those who had failed to redeem engagements made to the people.

debts to the state. At the other two meetings, questions (not more than three) touching foreign policy, the same number of questions of ritual, and not more than three secular subjects might be discussed. Of course, at any of the four meetings, when the fixed programme had been disposed of, other business might be introduced.

Although four ordinary meetings were held in every prytaneia, neither the first nor any other meeting was held on the same day in every prytaneia. No meetings were held on feast days or unlucky days; and as these were scattered irregularly over the Athenian calendar, it was impossible that there should be any fixity in the day of the prytaneia, or the day of the month on which, say, the first meeting or any other meeting of the prytaneia should be held. It was therefore necessary that the prytaneis should give written notice of a meeting five days beforehand, and at the same time publish an agenda paper. Extraordinary meetings¹ might probably be held at short notice, the citizens being notified in such cases by a herald.

Payment for attendance at the ecclesia seems to have been introduced shortly before the production of Aristophanes' play, the *Eccleziastusæ*,² probably about B.C. 390. Originally the amount as fixed by Agyrrhios was one obol; Heraclides raised it to two, and subsequently it was raised by Agyrrhios again to three; and by the time of Aristotle it was as much as nine obols for a "sovereign" assembly, and a drachma at other times. Probably the total amount which might be expended by the state in payment for a single meeting was fixed by law, and members who came late received no pay.³ As it is inevitable that the expression "payment of members" should call to mind the ideas associated with the payment of members of modern legislative assemblies, it is desirable to point out some of the differences between the ancient and the modern use. The modern paid member is paid by the year, and enough to keep him for a year. The Athenian ecclesiast was paid by the meeting, and probably the meetings did not average more than one a week, so that even if he got a day's wages he only got it once a week. But he did not get even a day's wages. A slave's labour was estimated to cost three obols a day, an average free labourer made nine, and a fairly good labourer made fifteen obols⁴—the ecclesiast at the most six or nine. Next, the salary

¹ σύγκλητοι ἐκκλησίαι, also called κατάκλητοι, because it was necessary to send a special summons to bring in the country voters.

² See line 304.

³ Ibid. 389.

⁴ See Daremberg and Saglio's *Dictionnaire*, s.v. Ekklesia.

of the modern paid member ceases when he loses his seat, and he is likely to lose his seat when his party loses power; it is therefore his pecuniary interest to keep his party in if possible, to keep his own seat anyhow, and to delay an appeal to his constituents as long as possible. The Athenian ecclesiast's pay was not conditional on his voting with his party—if there were such a thing; his pay constituted no temptation to him to vote one way rather than another. He had no constituents. He had no paymasters. There is no direction in which he could conceivably have been warped by the receipt of pay, even if that pay had been sufficient. But it was an inadequate compensation for the loss of a day's work; and that it failed to attract many is shown by the fact that to get a good attendance at a "sovereign" assembly a higher sum had to be offered. Again, the ecclesiast represented no one but himself; and his pay did not depend on his professing to hold certain views because his constituents held them. In fine, his payment should be compared rather to the expenses allowed to witnesses in a modern court of law, than to the payment of professional politicians.

Proceedings began early in the morning, notice having been given shortly before the commencement by the elevation of a signal¹ near the place of meeting. When the members had assembled, sacrifice was offered, and the herald read a curse upon orators who should speak under the influence of bribery or corruption. The prytaneis announced that the sacrifices were propitious, and that there were no omens in the way of thunder, lightning, hail, rain, eclipses, or earthquakes to prevent the meeting from being held. Then, under the presidency of the prytaneis, or of the proedri (who were selected by lot at this stage of the proceedings by the chairman of the prytaneis), the business was proceeded to. As nothing could be brought before the ecclesia which had not first been submitted to the *boulê*, the first thing was to read the probouleuma of the *boulê*. From the numerous inscriptions which contain decrees of the *boulê* and demos, and which were inscribed by order of the state and at the public expense, it is possible to form a fairly good idea of the form in which these extracts from the minutes of the *boulê* ran. Such an extract began: "Resolved by the *boulê*."² Then followed the name of the tribe which furnished the prytaneis³ at the time, the name of the clerk to the *boulê*,⁴

¹ Ar. *Thesm.* 277: τὸ τῆς ἐκκλησίας σημεῖον ἐν τῷ θεσμοφορείῳ φαίνεται.

² ἔδοξε τῇ βουλῇ.

³ (Πανδιονίς) ἐπρυτάνευε.

⁴ (ὁ δεῖνα) ἐγραμμάτευε.

and that of the chairman.¹ Then comes, "Moved by so and so," with the name of the mover.² The terms of the motion which follows naturally varied with the matter of the motion. If the proposal was to confer a vote of thanks on some benefactor of the city, it might run somewhat in the following form: "Whereas so and so has rendered such and such services to the city, it hath been decreed by the Senate³ that the *proedri* for the time being bring him before the *demos* at the next *ecclesia*⁴ and communicate to the *demos* the resolution of the *boulê*; that the *boulê* resolves that he receive a vote of thanks,"⁵ and so on. When this *probouleuma* had been read, it was the business of the *epistatês*, presiding over the *ecclesia*, to ascertain whether the meeting would accept the resolution of the *boulê* as it stood without discussion,⁶ in which case the resolution was entered on the minutes of the *ecclesia*, with the note prefixed, "Resolved by the *boulê* and *demos*," the date of the *ecclesia* either being added or substituted for that of the resolution of the *boulê*. If on the other hand it was resolved to debate the motion, the herald was directed to proclaim that the motion was open for discussion, which he did by inquiring in the consecrated form, "Who wishes to speak?" According to the law of Solon, the right of speaking first was reserved for citizens over fifty years of age, but in later times this restriction on the order of debate was dropped. The citizen who accepted the herald's invitation indicated his intention of speaking by putting on a chaplet of myrtle. A speaker, however, might be sus-

¹ (ὁ δεῖνα) ἐπεστάτει.

² (ὁ δεῖνα) εἶπε.

³ E.g. C. I. A. ii. 562: δεδόχθαι τῇ βουλῇ· ἐπειδὴ ὁ ταξίαρχος τῆς Κεκροπίδος φυλῆς Βούλαρχος Ἀριστοβούλου ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς γεγέννηται.

⁴ E.g. C. I. A. ii. pp. 400 ff.: ἐψηφίσθαι τῇ βουλῇ προσαγαγεῖν αὐτοὺς εἰς τὸν δῆμον τοὺς προέδρους οἱ ἂν λάχωσιν προεδρεύειν εἰς τὴν πρώτην ἐκκλησίαν.

⁵ E.g. C. I. A. ii. 55: γνώμην δὲ ξυμβάλλεσθαι τῆς βουλῆς εἰς τὸν δῆμον, ὅτι δοκεῖ τῇ βουλῇ ἐπαινέσαι μὲν αὐτόν.

⁶ This is the explanation or rather the conjecture of Harpocration, *s.v.*, *προχειροτονία*. Modern writers, however, are divided as to the meaning of the word. On two points in connection with it they are indeed unanimous: (1) it implies that a vote was taken without discussion; (2) the vote was taken at the beginning of the meeting. But what was voted on is disputed. According to the view in the text, the object of the *προχειροτονία* was to get through formal or non-contentious matter at once. According to the other view, *προχειροτονεῖν* means to vote precedence. At each of the four ordinary meetings there were certain matters (enumerated above) which were ordinarily the first to be submitted to the house; and, as in the inscriptions, the word *προχειροτονεῖν* is only used in connection with these matters, it is conjectured that the vote was taken (when taken) on the question whether some other urgent matter should be debated before them.

pended from addressing the meeting, if any member alleged that he had committed an offence, the penalty of which was disfranchisement, and that he (the objector) proposed to submit him in due course of law to a dokimasia before a heliastic court. There were also other restrictions on license in debate, according to the "inserted law" (as corrected by Schömann), in the speech of Æschines against Timarchus (§ 35): for instance the speaker was forbidden to speak twice on the same motion, or to wander from the question, or to discuss two different proposals simultaneously. It was also forbidden to interrupt the speaker, to insult or abuse him. No one might endeavour to address the assembly whilst the proedri were putting a proposal to the meeting. The epistatês was to be free to discharge his duties as he thought fit, without being either exhorted by cries or physically hustled. In the absence of any interruptions of this kind it was open to any member to support or oppose the motion, to move its rejection altogether, or to propose amendments or riders. It was but natural that the bouleutes who had proposed the original motion in the *boulê* should also move its acceptance in the ecclesia. There was, however, nothing to prevent him in the course of the debate from moving an amendment to his own motion, if he thought it advisable; for instance, to sacrifice part of his motion in order to secure the ratification of the remainder. It was also competent for any member of the ecclesia to move that the *boulê* be instructed to lay a probouleuma on a given subject before the next or some other specified meeting of the ecclesia. It is, however, not probable that such a motion could be made at the good pleasure of any speaker who chose to propose it, and without reference to the motion before the meeting. The epistatês presiding over the meeting had the power to reject any motion or amendment which he thought out of order, though he was liable to a legal prosecution for the exercise of his discretion on this point. What sort of amendments were considered admissible we do not quite know, but in all probability they had to be real amendments, having to do with the subject of the original motion. There was probably little temptation to smuggle through some proposal which had nothing whatever to do with the matter of the motion, as has occurred in some acts of the British Parliament; and from the instances preserved to us by inscriptions, it seems probable that it was only in connection with the business laid before the ecclesia by the *boulê*, that the former could instruct the

latter to lay a further probouleuma before it at some subsequent date. It is obvious that this power of instructing the *boulê* as to what business it should bring before the demos was in effect an encroachment on the constitutional prerogative of the *boulê*, in virtue of which it alone had the right of initiative in legislation. Under the limits, however, which the demos seems to have observed, the encroachment was not one of any great import, and it is to be noted that it is in all probability not until after the time of Euclides that even this encroachment became known. After the time of Euclides we find inscribed decrees of the *boulê* in which the council nominally exercises its right of initiative, but while preserving it in the letter, abandons it in fact. We find, for instance, a bouleutes proposing in the *boulê*: "Whereas certain ambassadors have made certain representations, it hath been voted by the *boulê* that the proedri appointed by lot to preside at the next ecclesia do introduce them to the demos, and communicate to the demos the resolution of the *boulê*: that the *boulê* resolves that the demos, having given audience to the ambassadors, and having heard all who wish to speak, take such measures as seem to it best." Sometimes the *boulê* did not leave the demos quite so much width of choice: it instructed the proedri to lay before the demos two alternative courses to choose between. It is a plausible conjecture that when the *boulê* thus remitted a subject to the demos without any proposal of its own, the majority of the *boulê* could not have been in favour of making any proposal the subject whatever, but that yet it was constrained to lay the matter before the people, and, if constrained, then constrained by an instruction from the ecclesia to bring forward a probouleuma. On inscriptions we sometimes find a probouleuma of this kind followed by the decree of the people on the matter. Such a decree is headed by the date, and the note "resolved by the people," while in the motion itself it not unfrequently happens that it states, "whereas so and so, it hath been resolved by the dêmos," &c. Sometimes the probouleuma was not entered on the inscription; it then includes merely the resolution of the people. It also happened in the same way, as we have already seen, that the probouleuma of the council, when it contained a definite proposal which was accepted in its entirety by the ecclesia, was sometimes incorporated in the decree of the demos without any alteration in the terms of the *boulê's* resolution, even when those terms mention only the vote of the *boulê*. A resolution or amendment might either be given in by the mover in writing, or

be put into writing for him by the clerk. Hence, as there seems to have been no very rigid tradition as to the exact terms in which a proposal was to be made, we find in inscriptions considerable variety. Sometimes the terms of the motion expressly indicate whether the proposal was made in the *boulê* or in the *ecclesia*, sometimes not; sometimes whether the amendment is an amendment to a proposal made by the *boulê*, or by some independent speaker, sometimes not. Add to this that as the office of clerk was not a permanent one, there was much latitude for individual taste in the form in which a resolution of the *boulê* and *demos* was drawn up from the minutes of the two bodies, and we have a completely satisfactory explanation of the variety which meets us in the inscribed decrees of the *boulê* and *demos*. On the whole, however, it may be safely said that with the advance of time there was a growing tendency to a more elaborate style in the decrees. Before the time of Euclides a decree contains the name of the archon, thus fixing the year, the name of the clerk to the *boulê*, a statement that the decree is a resolution of the *boulê* and *demos*, the name of the tribe from which the *prytaneis* for the time being were drawn, of the chairman of the *ecclesia*, and of the mover of the motion. After the time of Euclides, inscribed decrees bear in addition the number of the *prytany*, the day of the *prytany*, and of the month in which the *ecclesia* was held, and even a specification of the place in which the *ecclesia* met. We also find in this period the distinction between decrees of the people based on definite proposals of the *boulê*, and decrees based on *probouleumata* which referred the matter to the *ecclesia* without any expression of opinion on the part of the *boulê*.

When all who wished to speak had spoken in the *ecclesia*, the motion or amendment was put to the assembly by the *epistatês*, who had the right also to refuse to put a motion which he considered illegal. The vote of the assembly was taken by a show of hands, first for, and then against the motion. A count was only taken when the voting was close enough to require it. A ballot was taken only when the vote was one affecting an individual, as in the case of ostracism. In such cases there were two urns, one for the ayes and one for the noes to deposit their votes in. The *epistatês* announced the result of the ballot, and then dismissed the assembly by the voice of the herald.

The *ecclesia* was not a legislative assembly. No resolution

of the *boulê* and demos was valid which was in conflict with any existing law; and the share which the ecclesia took in legislation was but slight. Once a year, at the beginning of the year,¹ and once only might the ecclesia debate the question whether the laws of the land required any additions or amendment.² When this question was put to the assembly³ it was competent for any member to argue that a certain law required alteration or abrogation; if he succeeded in convincing the ecclesia he was given leave to lay his proposal before the *boulê*. The would-be legislator had also to publish his bill, together with any existing law which was affected by it, near the statues of the Eponymous heroes,⁴ and to have both read by the clerk at the next two meetings of the ecclesia, so that every citizen might have the chance of becoming acquainted with them.⁵ If he had succeeded in the meantime in convincing the *boulê* also, a resolution in favour of his proposal was laid by it before the ecclesia at the following meeting of the ecclesia.⁶ The bill, it is supposed, was then debated again,⁷ and might be rejected. But though the ecclesia thus exercised the right of veto on legislative proposals, it did not possess the power of making such proposals into law. If the bill met with the approval of the ecclesia, all the assembly could do was to refer it to the heliasts. From the body of the heliasts a certain number, which varied according to circumstances, and was chosen afresh every year by this (the fourth) ecclesia, was

¹ On the 11th Hecatombaion, the first ecclesia in the year and one of the few meetings which was held on a fixed date.

² ἐπιχειροτομία νόμων.

³ According to the inserted law in Dem. xxiv. 20-23, the existing laws were submitted to the vote in four groups: οἱ βουλευτικοί (i.e., laws relating to the *boulê*); οἱ κοινοί (which is not very intelligible); οἱ κείνται τοῖς ἐννέα ἀρχουσι, and those relating to the other ἀρχαί.

⁴ Dem. xxiv. 25.

⁵ Dem. Lept. 485, § 94.

⁶ This would be the fourth and last ordinary meeting in the prytany: τὴν τρίτην ἀπέδειξαν ἐκκλησίαν (Dem. xxiv. 25) means the third not counting the first.

⁷ This is an inference from the statement twice made by Demosthenes in the passages quoted in the last two notes, that the object of publishing the proposed legislation, at the Eponymi and in the intervening ecclesiæ, was ἵν' ὁ βουλόμενος σκέψηται, κὰν ἀσύμφορον ὑμῖν κατῖδη τι, φράση καὶ κατὰ σχολὴν ἀντείπῃ. Schömann, however (*De Com. Att.* 255), thinks the object was to enable all citizens having objections to make them, not at the fourth ecclesia of the prytany, but before the court of the Nomothetæ. If this be the right view, then the proposer of a new law had to convince the *boulê* before the first ecclesia. Whether the *boulê* had a real power of veto, or was bound to bring before the ecclesia every law proposed to it, is doubtful.

chosen to act as Nomothetæ. Before them the mover of the proposed law had to argue his case, while synegori (five in number), appointed by the ecclesia, defended the old laws affected by the proposal. Thus the old law was put upon its trial, the case was argued out before the court, on whose decision it rested whether the old law should be abrogated and the new law enacted or not. Thus it was a law court which possessed the ultimate power of enacting laws at Athens. It was before the Nomothetæ too that the Thesmothetæ annually¹ had to bring laws which seemed to them to conflict with one another, or to prescribe different modes of treatment for the same thing.

Elaborate as the process of legislation was in the fourth century B.C. (for in the fifth a law probably could be made by a resolution of the *boulê* and demos without further formality), still further safeguards were created to protect the country against unconstitutional legislation: the mover of an unconstitutional proposal, whether a law or a resolution, a psephism of the *boulê* or of the demos, whether it was unconstitutional in form or in content, whether the proposal was accepted or rejected, exposed himself to an indictment for illegality. The contents of a psephism were unconstitutional if they conflicted with an existing law; those of a proposed law, if the mover had not previously obtained the abrogation of any old law or laws with which his bill was at variance. It is quite in accordance with all that we know of the Athenian law courts, and of the extent to which, in the absence of a trained judge to control them, the jurors allowed themselves to be influenced by wholly extraneous considerations, if we find that in indictments for illegality the speakers insist at great length on the injurious nature of the law or psephism which they charge with illegality. But it seems doubtful whether the law recognised inexpediency as a ground for an indictment for illegality. At the same time the law, even when adhered to strictly, afforded considerable latitude: a proposal to confer citizenship on a foreigner might be attacked as unconstitutional and illegal, inasmuch as the law demanded that the recipient of citizenship should be worthy of the gift—a demand which it was in every case possible to maintain had not been complied with. A psephism might be attacked as illegal in form if it were not based on a *probouleuma* of the council, or if, without permission previously obtained from an assembly of six thousand citizens, it proposed

¹ This is the annual *διόρθωσις νόμων*.

to relieve a disfranchised man or a public debtor from his disabilities or liabilities. A law was liable to the charge of illegality if the forms prescribed by the constitution and described in the previous paragraph were not complied with, or if being a law in the interests or to the damage of a single person it had not been approved by an assembly consisting of at least six thousand citizens.

The indictment for illegality, owing to the manner in which it could be brought to bear against a psephism, became a powerful political weapon and a potent means of obstruction. The passing of a psephism might be obstructed by any one who chose to rise and affirm upon oath (*hypomosia*) that it was his intention to indict the proposer of the psephism for illegality. Whether there was any provision by which obstruction of this kind could be checked in case of urgency does not appear. If the resolution had already been voted upon and accepted by the people, it was still open for any citizen to state his intention of bringing an indictment, and the psephism could not come into operation until the case had been duly tried. The trial was conducted according to the ordinary forms of Attic law, and the penalty, if the accuser made good his case, was assessed by the court when it had heard what penalty the accuser on the one hand proposed should be inflicted, and what on the other hand the condemned person proposed as being adequate.

The ecclesia, like other popular assemblies, showed a tendency to extend the sphere of its powers. This tendency was partly due to an increase in the amount of work which properly fell to the share of the ecclesia, and was consequent upon the growth of the country and the development of more complex conditions in social and political life. It was, however, still more the consequence of a species of political gravitation, in virtue of which the more or most powerful element in a constitution attracts to itself yet greater powers. In Athens, it was at the expense of the magistrates that the popular assembly increased in power; and this may be ascribed partly to the suspicion which democracy usually exhibits towards its servants, when it does not fall into the opposite excess of adulation, and partly to the impossibility of reasonably intrusting much responsibility to officials chosen by lot. On the other hand, it is to be noted that there was a tendency on the part of the ecclesia to relieve itself of some of its labours, and to devolve its judicial powers on to the law courts, and the execution of its resolutions on to the *boulé*.

It will be well to mention first amongst the powers of the ecclesia, that of electing all magistrates who were chosen by vote, and not by lot, as this is an important difference between it and the popular assemblies of modern Europe. In the next place, for the same reason, it is important to state once more that though in the fifth century B.C. the ecclesia together with the *boulê* made laws, in the fourth century B.C. the ecclesia ceased to be a proper legislative assembly : legislation was far from being so important a function of the sovereign body in Athens as it has been of Parliament in England since the time of George II. Questions of foreign policy, of peace or war, the contracting of treaties and alliances, were debated and finally decided in the ecclesia. With the actual conduct of war the ecclesia interfered so far as to decide how many generals, and which, should be intrusted with a given campaign. A statement of the public revenue was submitted to it every prytany ; it voted money away, and it decreed the imposition of extraordinary taxes. The judicial powers of the ecclesia call for a separate paragraph.

We have already seen that it was competent for any citizen to lay an information (*eisangelia*) before the *boulê* to the effect that revolutionary or treasonable designs were meditated by a certain person or persons, or that an orator had been guilty of corrupt speaking. It was also open to the accuser, if he preferred, to lay the information, through the prytaneis, before the ecclesia. If, after hearing the accuser and the accused, and probably any other citizen who chose to speak, the assembly resolved to take action upon the information, it might either remit the charge to a law court, with instructions as to the penalty to be inflicted if the accuser made out his case, or it might have the matter brought by a *probouleuma* before it for trial, in which case the trial must take place in an ecclesia numbering at least six thousand citizens.

Whereas, in the case of informations laid against traitors, the ecclesia might try the charges itself if it thought fit, in the case of charges against sycophants or against those persons alleged to have desecrated the sanctity of certain festivals, the demos exercised no such power ; but if it thought the allegation (*προβολή*), made out, it remitted the case for trial to the ordinary law courts. The allegation had to be made in writing, and handed in to the prytaneis, who were constrained to bring all such cases arising out of a festival before the next ecclesia held after the festival. The assembly heard both the accuser and the accused, and then pronounced its opinion. If it decided

against the prosecutor, he might let the matter drop, or he might carry the case before a court of law. If the assembly decided in favour of the prosecutor, then when the case came before a law court, the hand of the prosecutor was doubtless greatly strengthened.

CHAPTER XI

ATHENS (*continued*)

FINANCE

ATHENS can scarcely be said to have had a financial system. For this there are two very obvious reasons: there was no permanent executive, and there was no one minister or board with power to control all items of public expenditure and to supervise the income of the country. To this we must add that, with the exception of Pericles and Lycurgus, Athens did not produce a financial genius.

The absence of a permanent executive has its advantages: the evils of bureaucracy are avoided; there are no vested interests which have to be consulted at the cost of the country; the reformer is not clogged and defeated by the dead weight of the permanent and practically irresponsible officials of his department. But against these advantages must be set grave disadvantages: there is no continuity in methods, objects, or policy; there is no accumulation of experience to relieve a competent minister from wasting his time on matters of detail when he should be maturing principles of policy, or to save a weak official from the grosser blunders of inexperience. It need hardly be remarked that of all departments the treasury is that which can least dispense with orderly, business methods, and a continuous policy.

A still more serious defect in the conduct of Athenian finance was the want of centralisation. There was no one official whose business it was to consider the financial condition of the country as a whole, and there was no attempt to make a periodic estimate of the financial position of the state. Various sums or sources of revenue were assigned, not annually but until further notice, to various departments; no attempt was made to prescribe or enforce economy on those departments: if there happened to be a surplus in any department, it was paid

into the treasury, whence it could be drawn by a simple decree of the *boulê* and demos, unless it chanced that there was a law in force directing that all surpluses should be devoted to the national defence or to national amusements as the case might be. Nothing in the nature of a budget, of an attempt to annually estimate the probable income of the country for the forthcoming year and to adjust the national expenditure accordingly was made at Athens. In an ordinary way the expenses which the state had to meet consisted in the pay of the dikasts, ecclesiasts, bouleutæ, and magistrates; in the cost of maintaining public works and ways; in the payment of the Scythas, who acted as police; in the cost of public defence and public amusements. On the other hand, the ordinary income of the country consisted in the sum obtained by annually farming the tolls, taxes, mines, lands, and buildings; in the tribute of the allies (while it lasted), in the fees and fines exacted in the law courts, and in the indirect form of liturgies. To a very considerable extent the income of the country was subject to charges the amount of which was fixed once and for all by law: thus, the amount of pay which the bouleutæ and the ecclesiasts were to receive was fixed by law; the fees and fines obtained in the law courts were set aside for the pay of the dikasts; the charge for the repair of public buildings and streets was also permanently fixed; while the expense of public festivals and amusements was to a certain extent met by the citizens who acted as choregi, gymnasiarchs, and hestiatoures. Thus the largest amount of the public income was placed by law out of the reach of inconsiderate and hasty decrees of the *boulê* and demos. The weakness of the arrangement lay in the rigidity of the system. The amount raised by farming the tolls, taxes, mines, &c., of the country probably varied every year, but the charges on the public income were fixed by law and could not be adjusted to circumstances. The sums left for the financial reformer to operate with or for the demagogues to waste in largesse to the people had to be sought in the surpluses which remained when these fixed charges on the public income had been met. At one time the party of prudence would succeed in voting the appropriation of the surpluses to purposes of national defence; at another the party of extravagance would persuade the demos to devote them to providing its poorer members, not merely with the money necessary to obtain a seat in the theatre, but with money wherewith to enjoy themselves at other festivals as well.

In this contest for the surpluses from the various depart-

ments, the absence of any annual estimate or budget undoubtedly played into the hands of the party of extravagance. It was the custom of the demos to have the accounts of the various departments laid before it every prytany, and thus a perpetual temptation to vote away money was placed in the way of the ecclesia. The only way to remove the temptation was to convert the needs of the war department into a permanent charge. It was indeed quite possible in theory to appropriate every surplus, by a decree of the *boulê* and demos, to military purposes; but every surplus would have to be the subject of a separate decree, and practically the party of prudence was liable to be defeated on every division taken. On the other hand a permanent charge on the national income could only be made on the instruction of the demos by the Nomothetæ, and such a permanent charge was inviolable in the same way and to the same extent as a law sanctioned by the Nomothetæ; that is to say, any attempt to divert money so appropriated to other purposes by a decree subjected the proposer of the decree to an indictment for illegality, and the decree itself could be prevented from taking effect by the same means. A law altering the use of the surplus could only be proposed at the ecclesia, which was once a year devoted to legislation, and then only subject to the concurrence of the *boulê*, the recommendation of the ecclesia, and the ratification of the Nomothetæ.

The power of the purse therefore did not rest exclusively with the *boulê* and demos conjointly or singly. Fixed annual charges on the public income could only be imposed by a process, subject to the same safeguards as legislation itself. On the other hand, the *boulê* and demos could by a simple decree vote any sum away in any manner for any object they chose, if there was the money in the treasury. In the next place, it is to be noted that when a certain sum had been by law devoted annually to a certain purpose, say the public defence, it was by simple psephismata that the *boulê* and demos apportioned out the sum, say, between the army and navy, unless the person or official to whom the money was due was to be paid directly.

If the amount obtained by farming the tolls, taxes, mines, &c., of the state, though nominally settled by the *boulê*, was really determined by politico-economical causes beyond the control of the *boulê*, on the other hand the *boulê* and demos exercised considerable power over the raising of extraordinary revenue. The invitation to private citizens to offer "benevolences" to

the state was issued by a decree ; the war-tax was imposed by a simple decree ; the liturgy of the choregia was voted in the same way. The tribute paid by the allies was not liable to be increased by a mere decree : by a process analogous to that of legislation, the ecclesia had first to vote that re-assessment was needed, then at a subsequent assembly commissioners were appointed to assist the *boulê* in making the alterations necessary, and even then any state might appeal to a court of dikasts, before whom arguments for and against the alteration were heard, and by whom the matter was finally decided.

In a time of extraordinary prosperity, such as that immediately before the Peloponnesian war, when the tribute from the allies more than sufficed for all the demands of national defence, it was possible to incur extraordinary expenditure on public works ; and the same thing was possible when Lycurgus, a really great financier, obtained control to some extent, and for some little time, over the finance of the state. Under similar circumstances it was possible to form a reserve fund for the emergencies of war, or to pay off the debts incurred by the state. In time of war, the expenditure on the army and navy might be indefinitely increased, and it lay with the *boulê* and demos to raise the necessary additional income. This might be effected by the imposition of the war-tax, and the liturgy of the trierarchy, and by inviting benevolences. The reserve fund might be drawn upon, if it existed, and finally, if all other resources had been exhausted, the state might borrow. But although a national debt was not unknown to Athens, it differed considerably from the national debts of modern states. A modern state borrows from any one who chooses to lend, and undertakes to pay the stipulated interest on the money so borrowed, though not necessarily to repay the sum borrowed at any given date. This system obviously implies the existence of a large amount of capital in the hands of private lenders, and of confidence in the power and disposition of the state to adhere to its bond. In Athens, however, there was not enough capital available in the hands of lenders to meet the demands of the state ; and government was not stable enough to inspire a belief in its credit. Under these circumstances, it was natural that the state, when it wished to raise a loan, should have recourse to the only capitalists who could lend money in sufficient quantities, and at the same time were willing to lend at a rate of interest below that of the money market. The capitalists in question were the gods. The national debt of Athens was mainly in the hands of the patron goddess of the state, though

some was held by other gods. The goddess Athene and the other gods derived their income from land belonging to the temples and offerings, amongst the most important of which latter was the sixtieth part of the tribute paid by the Hellenotamiæ to the treasurers of the goddess, and tithes of property confiscated by the state. These revenues were much greater than the expenditure on the cult and ritual of the goddess and the other gods, and the annual surpluses, when accumulated, might be borrowed by the state. The power to draw on the treasures of the gods and on the reserve funds (if any) laid up by the state rested indeed with the *boulê* and demos, who by a decree could direct the treasurers to pay out any given sums; but a check was imposed upon recourse to either, by the fact that pains and penalties were threatened against any person who proposed to touch these treasures. The first step, therefore, to be taken by any citizen who wished to move that a draft be made on these moneys, was to obtain an indemnity against the legal consequences of his motion. Such an indemnity could only be granted in an assembly at which at least six thousand citizens were present, and could not be granted at the same *ecclesia* as that at which it was asked. When the indemnity had been granted, it was not until the following *ecclesia* that the motion to appropriate the treasure could be made. Thus, although the pains and penalties did not prevent the moneys from being used, they did ensure some degree of deliberation before they were used, and prevented a snatch vote from determining a matter of the highest importance. It now remains for us to examine the various items of expenditure and income more particularly.

We will begin with the expenditure on administration under this head. The most important items were the pay of the *dikasts*, *ecclesiastæ*, and *bouleutæ*, the archons, the various clerks and lower officials, and the *Scyths* or police. The origin and history of the system of paying citizens for attendance at the *ecclesia* have already been given in the chapter on the *ecclesia*; the amount eventually reached the sum of six obols for an ordinary and nine for a "sovereign" *ecclesia*. The pay of a *bouleutes* was five obols, which at first appears less than that of an *ecclesiast*; but the latter was only paid by the meeting, whereas the *bouleutes* probably was paid every day in the year. The same consideration also applies to the pay of the archons (four obols each per diem). The pay of the *dikasts* amounted in all to a greater sum than that of the *bouleutæ* or the *ecclesiastæ*: from B.C. 425 it was three obols a day, and must have

come to at least seventy-five talents a year. The probable total of the pay for the ecclesia cannot be attained : for the bouleutæ it may have been about thirty talents.

A second item of expenditure was the money expenses on feasts. Under this head there are three items at least to distinguish : first, there were the animals which were slaughtered in honour of the gods, and consumed by the poorer worshippers ; next, there were the dramatic, lyric, athletic contests, &c., which also were religious in intention as well as gratifying to the human spectators ; third, there was the money (*θεωρικόν*) which, from about B.C. 410, was distributed at all the great festivals as well as at the Dionysia and Panathenæa, in addition to free tickets for the theatre amongst the poorer citizens, in order that they might properly enjoy the holiday. The theoricon was two obols a day when first introduced by Cleophon, and eventually, under the management of Eubulus, the whole of the state's surplus was annually devoted to it.

We have next to consider the expenditure on the army and navy. The cost of these two departments may be classed under the two heads of permanent and extraordinary. The permanent expenditure went in paying the cavalry, which cost about forty talents a year, in building and repairing ships and fortifications, in maintaining the ephebi (who each received four obols a day) and paying their instructors, in pay to the officers of the kleruchiai and the 400 guardians of the docks. Further, under the permanent expenditure caused by war, we have to include the education and maintenance of orphans whose fathers had been killed in war, and the support of those citizens who had been disabled in war. This last provision finally was extended to citizens otherwise rendered incapable of earning a living, and thus developed into a regular form of poor relief—originally at the rate of one obol a day, and finally two obols.

The extraordinary expenditure on these departments occurred in time of war, when the citizen-troops had to be called out and the fleet to be equipped. The knights then received an extra drachma per diem, and the infantry received from four to six obols for pay and keep. The war-ships, which in time of peace were kept high and dry in sheds, had to be put in seaworthy condition, fitted up, and launched.

Turning now to income, we have first the tolls and taxes. The tribute paid by the allies was the most important source of income during the existence of the First Delian Confederacy, and eventually it brought in as much as 800 or 900 talents

annually. A similar source of revenue, which also was only temporary, was an *ad valorem* toll of ten per cent. on the freight of every ship that passed through the Bosphorus.

In the fourth century B.C. the state, not having these sources of income to draw upon, was thrown upon its internal revenues. Amongst these the first and most important was the pentekostê, a tax of one-fiftieth or two per cent., levied on every article of commerce that was landed or loaded in the harbours of Attica. The total received by the state from this source in the course of a year is given on one occasion as thirty-six talents. In addition to this there were harbour-dues (ἐλλιμένιον) of a nature not precisely known; an octroi (διαπύλιον) on all things brought into Athens for sale in the market; and a hekatostê or one per cent. tax, and a tax on sales (ἐπώνιον), about which nothing is known for certain. To these we must add the μετοίκιον, or poll-tax of twelve drachmæ per head, to which the Metics were subject, and which may be calculated to have amounted, *e.g.*, in B.C. 309, to twenty talents. The μετοίκιον did not give the Metic the right of trading in the market: if he wished for that, he had to pay a further tax (ξενικὸν τέλος).

As for state domains and royalties, the state probably had but few houses and farms to let, as its custom was to sell confiscated property. On the other hand, it either owned all mines, or if not all, then it required a royalty of five per cent. on the working of those which belonged to private owners.

If the law courts were responsible for part of the state expenditure, they also provided part of its revenue. The fines and confiscations which were inflicted on the condemned, the sums which had to be paid by the accuser who failed to prove or proceed with his accusation, the court fees which had to be deposited at the commencement of a suit, and the small fines which every magistrate had the power of inflicting—all flowed into the public treasury.

The next item of income we have to consider is that consisting in the permanent λειτουργίαι. All the wealthiest citizens, *i.e.*, those whose income was more than two talents, were liable to be called on, in a certain order, to perform the λειτουργία, or duty of choregus, or gymnasiarch, or hestiator. The duty of a choregus was to provide a chorus for the dramatic and lyric contests held at the Panathenæa, Dionysia, Thargelia, Prometheia, and Hephæstia. The cost consisted in paying and maintaining the chorus during its preparation for the competition, providing its costumes, and paying a chorodidasculus to train it. The gymnasiarch's liturgy con-

sisted in paying and maintaining the competitors in the torch races held at the Panathenæa, the Hephæstia, the Prometheia, and the festivals, in honour of Pan and Bendis. The hestiator had to entertain the members of his tribe at the Dionysia and Panathenæa; and if he was married his wife entertained the women at the Thesmophoria.

The trierarchy was a liturgy which was not permanent, but was imposed only in time of war. The duties of a trierarch are explained in more detail in the Book on War; here they may be briefly stated to have consisted in putting a war-ship, supplied by the state, into condition for active service, and maintaining it in a state of efficiency for the space of a year. Originally each trierarch had to fit out one trireme. About B.C. 405 two citizens were allowed to divide the burden between them, thus forming a syntrierarchy. In B.C. 357 a different system was introduced, modelled on the plan of the *εἰσφορά*, which will be described in the next paragraph: the 1200 richest citizens were formed into twenty navy boards or *συμμόριαι*, each board consisting of sixty members, and presumably representing an equal amount of property. Each board had to fit out a certain number of triremes in case of war; and each board accordingly divided its members into as many groups (*συντέλειαι*) as it had to provide ships—the larger the number of ships, the smaller the number of members in each group. Now as each *synteleia* had to equip one ship, and contained the same number of persons, the result was that the poor man paid as much as the rich. Demosthenes, therefore, carried a reform, probably in B.C. 340, by which the amount paid by each member of a symmory was proportional to his taxable property.

An extraordinary source of revenue was drawn upon—mainly in time of war—when the state invited voluntary contributions (in money or kind), which were called *ἐπιδόσεις*. The war-tax proper, however, was the *εἰσφορά*. This was not an income-tax but a tax upon property; the proceeds were devoted solely to carrying on the war which necessitated the tax. It was imposed by a decree of the *boulê* and demos, and probably special leave (*ἄδεια*) was required before the proposer could with impunity even suggest imposing it. In the fifth century it is probable that the Solonian property classes were the basis on which the tax was assessed, and that members of the richer classes paid more than those of the poorer. It is also probable that movable property as well as landed estate was taken into account in deciding which property class a man belonged to. Each tax-

payer assessed himself, but his assessment was revised by a board of surveyors, ἐπιγραφεῖς. In spite of this revision, however, it would seem that in practice nobody paid on the whole of his property. At any rate, in 378 B.C., when the mode of levying the eisphora was readjusted, the law openly recognised that a citizen was to pay taxes only on a certain fraction of his whole property, which fraction was called his τίμημα or taxable capital; and the wealthier a man was, the larger was the fraction on which he had to pay. The wealthiest class of all (consisting of the 300 richest citizens) paid on one-fifth of their estate. Demosthenes belonged to this class, and during the ten years of his minority, his estate paid what would be equivalent to a modern income-tax of 4d. in the pound for each of the ten years.¹ The mode in which the eisphora was levied, by the law of B.C. 368, was this: the strategi divided all who were liable to the tax into a certain number of groups or symmories, the total amount of taxable capital belonging to the members of any one symmory being probably equal to that belonging to any other. Each symmory had to pay a certain (probably equal) amount of eisphora; and every member of each symmory had to pay a fraction of the amount due from his symmory proportionate to his taxable capital. Originally a state tax-gatherer collected the amount thus determined from the tax-payers. Subsequently a fresh arrangement was made by which each deme appointed one of its members to advance to the state the total amount due from his deme; this payment in advance, and the obligation to pay it, was called προεισφορά. The man on whom this liturgy was imposed had then to get back the sum he had advanced from his fellow demesmen. At a later time it was the bouleutæ who selected the citizens who should perform this duty. Finally, it was imposed on the three hundred wealthiest citizens in the whole country.

The writer of the *Athenian Constitution*, which goes under the name of Xenophon, regards it as characteristic of the Athenian democracy that its government was in the hands of the Thetes, the class who had no taxable capital, who could not afford to arm themselves as hoplites, and to whom the pay for attendance at the ecclesia and the law courts was a consideration. We may accordingly regard the lower classes of Athenian society as consisting of the Thetes, while the Zeugitæ and Hippeis

¹ That is to say, he paid on an average $\frac{18}{100}$ of a mina every year; and his income at the ordinary Attic rate of 12 per cent. would be 108 minas. See c. *Aphob.* i. 825, § 37.

composed the middle class, and the Pentacosimedimni the upper class. If now we inquire to what extent each of these classes bore the burden of taxation, it appears that the lower classes were exempt from the war-tax (for it was raised on capital, and they had none) and from all liturgies; it was only reached by indirect taxation, and even so, only so far as it consumed imported goods; but the goods imported into Attica were, with the exception of corn, mainly luxuries, and the imported corn, even when it had paid duty, was so cheap as to bring down the price of home-grown grain. The middle class, on the other hand, paid indirect taxation and the war-tax in proportion to their capital, and were liable to the liturgy of the trierarchy; while the upper classes paid all these taxes, and in addition had to perform the regular or encyclical liturgies of the choregia, gymnasiarchia, and hestiasis. Thus the Athenians took as the basis of their system of taxation the principle that he who has more ought to pay more. It remains to inquire whether in the application of this system fairness was observed. First, the test whether a man had more was his property, not his income; and this was in all probability substantially a just test in Athens, for the number of persons in receipt of a salary, and who therefore enjoyed an income without possessing capital, was presumably insignificant. Next, when unfairness in the distribution of the burden did occur, as happened when the rich had the power of distributing the burden of the trierarchy, and used their power to relieve themselves at the expense of others, remedial legislation could be obtained, as it was obtained by the reforms of Demosthenes. Further, in the case of liturgies, the law itself provided a remedy which was known as *ἀντίδοσις*: any citizen, who was called upon to perform a liturgy and thought some other citizen better able to afford it had been unjustly passed over, might summon that citizen either to undertake the liturgy or exchange properties with him. If the offer was declined, the matter came before a law court, to decide which of the two was the better able to undertake the burden.

The Athenian state did not itself collect its own taxes. The one exception—the *eisphora*—ceased to be an exception on the introduction of the *proeisphora*. In the case of the liturgies, the state simply ordered one of its citizens to provide a chorus, or a trireme, or whatever it might be, at his own expense. In the case of the war-tax, the state again simply directed a citizen to pay into the treasury the sum due from a symmory, and left him to get it back from the members of the symmory. All

other taxes and tolls were farmed: the state sold the right of collecting a tax to the highest bidder. Thus the Athenian mode of collecting the revenue was absolutely simple: no army of tax-gatherers was needed, there was no wondering how much a tax would produce, and the state's accounts were so simplified that "leakage" was too easily detected to be attempted. But there were drawbacks. Liturgies must have fallen much more heavily on citizens who performed them with an eye to the public good than on those whose single object was to save themselves expense. The fleet suffered especially from trierarchs who scamped their work; and the mobilisation of the navy was seriously hindered by the system of antidosis. The rich man on whom was imposed the duty of collecting the war-tax, indemnified himself liberally for his trouble. And, as for the system of farming the taxes, the labour of collecting a tax must, under any system whatever, be paid for by the state; but in addition to this the "farmer," in the farming system, has to make his profit—at the cost of the state.

CHAPTER XII

THE GOVERNMENT OF ATHENS

To the modern reader, familiar with a state of things in which power is exercised by the majority in a representative assembly, and by certain officials elected by that majority, and in which consequently political parties exist for the sake of obtaining a majority and getting into office, the term "government" is apt to imply "party-government." It may therefore be well, now that we have examined the organs of government in Athens, to inquire whether Athens was at any time familiar with government by party.

Now there certainly were political parties in Athens. At the beginning of things, in what is called in the newly discovered *Athenian Constitution* "the first constitution," there were at Athens as at Rome the two parties of those who had all the political power, and those who had no political rights. Then when the people had risen in revolt, and by the arbitration of Solon had been admitted into the constitution, there continued to be party divisions. Indeed, by this time there had come to be not two but three political parties, *e.g.*, the Eupatridæ, the Agræci, and the Demiurgi, or the parties of the

Shore, the Mountain, and the Plain, contending for political power. Then their struggles for office were brought to an end by the action of Pisistratus in making himself tyrant; and after the expulsion of the Pisistratidæ, we find once more that the number of contending political parties is two, the upper classes, led by Isagoras, and the people, led by Clisthenes. Each leader apparently called extra-constitutional forces into play, when he could not obtain power in a constitutional manner: Clisthenes invoked those Athenians who were still outside the constitution, and promised fuller powers to those whose political rights were restricted; while Isagoras invited the armed assistance of the Spartans. Victory remained with Clisthenes, who employed his triumph, not as Pisistratus, to make himself tyrant, but to give Athens a democratic constitution. Under this constitution the division into two political parties continued; and the oligarchs or upper classes were led by Miltiades and the democrats by Xanthippus. Their rivalry was presumably conducted on constitutional lines for objects which the constitution allowed to be aimed at. But when the council of the Areopagus, by its patriotic conduct of affairs in the Persian wars and its triumph in the battle of Salamis, became the dominant power in the constitution, then the political contest centred round the powers of the Areopagus; and as the aim of the democratic party was to effect a reform of the constitution for which no constitutional method was provided, the struggle again became revolutionary rather than an ordinary party struggle for power and place, and was waged on unconstitutional lines—assassination on the one side, and force on the other. The Areopagus was stripped of its power by Ephialtes and Pericles; the Peloponnesian war began, and during its continuance party-divisions were on the absorbing question of peace or war, Nicias first, and after him Theramenes leading the upper classes or oligarchs, the peace party; whilst the democrats, who were fighting in the interests of democracy throughout Greece, were the war party, and were led, after Pericles, by Cleon, then by Cleophon, and then by undistinguished demagogues.

From even this hasty sketch of political parties in Athens before the fourth century, it will be clear that at certain periods political struggles at Athens were very different from the party contests of modern times. The latter are directed towards obtaining a party majority by legitimate methods for constitutional ends. In Athens, however, before Solon, constitutional agitation was impossible: the politically disinherited

members of the community could only obtain admission to constitutional rights by the use or the threat of force—their difficulty was not to obtain a majority (there was already a majority), but to induce the minority to part with some of the political power which was vested entirely in the minority. After the time of Clisthenes, the same unconstitutional methods for unconstitutional ends continued to be used, but now it was no longer the people but the oligarchs who organised themselves into a revolutionary party. By the constitution of Clisthenes, and the overthrow of the Areopagus, the oligarchs were as effectually excluded from all possibility of governing the state as the $\pi\lambda\eta\theta\omicron\varsigma$ had been excluded from political power under the “first” or pre-Solonian constitution; and from the time of Isagoras the oligarchical party was apt to conduct treacherous, traitorous negotiations with the enemies of the state, in the vain hope of thereby revolutionising the constitution, and so regaining the political ascendancy which they had lost. Thus, although in a modern country a political party may adopt a policy which aims at changes in the constitution, and can only carry that policy into effect by force or the threat of force, still that is something very different from what we mean in the ordinary way by party government, the legitimate competition of political parties on constitutional lines for place and power.

Nevertheless, government by party was not unknown at Athens, as is clear from the *Athenian Constitution*. The writer of that work describes, in c. 13, the state of things after Solon’s legislation: there were three political parties, the Eupatridæ, Agræci, and Demiurgi; they competed with each other to fill up the archonships with members of their own party, and the office of *the* archon was the stronghold which each party specially endeavoured to obtain for itself; finally, to prevent the deadlocks which were continually recurring, the number of archons was raised to ten, and it was arranged that five archons should always be Eupatridæ, three Agræci, and two Demiurgi. From these facts the writer draws the inference that the archon was the magistrate who then possessed the greatest power; and his inference commends itself as correct, for one of the conditions of government by party is that the people should not themselves govern, but should delegate the power of government to some person or body elected by them. When this condition is fulfilled, political parties have a constitutional object to aim at, and may legitimately organise themselves for the purpose: in a word, government by party is

possible, for the constitution gives the power of government to the party which can secure a majority.

It seems then that the idea of party government was intelligible at Athens to a writer of the fourth century B.C., and that it was in all probability the actual form of government immediately after the reforms of Solon. We may now take a step farther, and may be sure, that as long as the power of governing the country was placed by the constitution in the hands of any official or board of officials, party organisations and party struggles would be directed towards obtaining that office. Now by the fourth century, the archons, as we have seen in a previous chapter, had lost all real powers as a judiciary, and retained only formal authority and routine work, which involved not much more responsibility than attaches to an usher in a law court. As for their political powers, there is nothing whatever to lead us to suppose that they had any in the time of the Peloponnesian war; and it is not improbable that they had lost them all, or nearly all long before; for from 487 B.C. onwards, the archons were chosen no longer directly by the people (but by a combination of sortition and election), and it is not likely that the supreme power of the state would be placed by the democracy in the hands of officials over whose election it had no direct control from B.C. 487, and no control whatever in later times, when the appointment was by sortition alone.

Since then the archons, at some time or other, lost the political power which, shortly after Solon's reforms, had been so great that Damasias, having been elected archon, continued to stick to the post till he was forcibly expelled, the question arises, To whom was this political power transferred? Who governed Athens when the archons ceased to govern? In answer to these questions, it has been sought to show that in the second half of the fifth century B.C. and throughout the fourth century B.C., the strategi were the government of Athens. The strategi came to be elected officials about the same time as direct election ceased to be used in the case of the archons; the political powers of the strategi certainly increased as those of the archons decreased; there was one member of the board of strategi who is conjectured to have been superior to the rest, and who may at this time have been, as the archon was in the time of Damasias, "the magistrate who possessed the greatest power;" and finally we find that the men who actually directed the policy of Athens, such as Pericles and Nicias, were strategi. In fine, the board of strategi were the ministry, and the

στρατηγὸς αὐτοκράτωρ was the prime minister. They were elected for a year. During their year of office they governed the country, and the party which put them into office was in power for the year.

The discovery of the Ἀθηναίων πολιτεία has, however, rendered this view untenable. The powers of the strategi in the fourth century B.C., as there described, are not of the vague kind which the theory requires: they are precisely defined, the ecclesia determines precisely which strategus shall undertake what duties; and above all, the board, instead of having a free hand for a year, was liable to be pulled up once a month. "The appointment of these officers is submitted for confirmation each prytany, when the question is put whether they are considered to be doing their duty. If any officer is rejected on this vote, he is tried in the law court, and if he is found guilty, the people decide what punishment or fine shall be inflicted on him; but if he is acquitted, he holds office for the rest of his term." (Kenyon, c. 61.) A board of officials, who are instructed by the ecclesia exactly what they are to do, and are promptly prosecuted if they are suspected of not doing it, can hardly be called a government or compared to a modern "ministry."

We still are in need of an answer to the question, To whom were transferred the powers of government such as the archon of the time of Damasias enjoyed? But inasmuch as they certainly were not transferred to the board of strategi, we may be confident they were not transferred to any other officers of state, for the ecclesia allowed even less discretionary powers to the other officials, who were chosen by lot, than to the strategi, who were elected by the ecclesia itself. Now we have already seen that the judicial powers which were originally exercised by the archons were by degrees and eventually wholly absorbed by the dikasts, over whom the archons nominally presided; in the same way the members of the ecclesia came by degrees to instruct the strategi in what they were to do, and so absorbed almost entirely such discretionary powers as the strategi may originally have had. What is true of the strategi is *a fortiori* true of the other and less important officials: in all matters requiring the exercise of discretionary power they took their orders from the ecclesia—mere routine work was all that was left otherwise to them. Hence it was that their election could safely be left to the arbitrament of the lot. In fine, all the decisions which in a modern parliamentary state would be taken by the ministry or government were at Athens settled by

a vote of the ecclesia.¹ Thus the ecclesia delegated a minimum of power even to the strategi, the most important of its official boards, and that minimum of power only for a minimum of time. In Rome the consuls had no power as against the Senate, because the consuls held office for a year only, whilst the Senate went on for ever. How much less then could the strategi gain or exercise power when they held office, not for a year but from month to month, and only on condition of good behaviour, *i.e.*, of behaving as the ecclesia wished?

The ecclesia then was as absolute as the House of Commons in England would be, if it were the only estate of the realm, and its resolutions had the force of law. The ecclesia was the sole source of power, and it delegated none which could be used against it or which could give to an official independent power. In a word there was at Athens, in the fourth century, no office the possession of which gave to the party holding it the power of governing the country, as the archonship gave to Damasias and his party in early times. But this does not of itself prove that government by party was unknown. There were certainly political parties, and if any one or any combination of them held together for any length of time, and habitually voted together, that party would for that time govern Athens. In the Peloponnesian war, one party, the war-party, did as a matter of fact hold together and control the policy of Athens for many years. "War-party," however, is not perhaps the best term, for the party in question was the democratic party, and the policy of the party happened to be war. Now the democratic party existed long before the Peloponnesian war; indeed, the author of the *Athenian Constitution* designates even Solon by the semi-official title (*προστάτης τοῦ δήμου*) which was given to its recognised leader. We must recognise therefore that under appropriate conditions a party might hold together and act together in the ecclesia for generations; and as long as it did so, it governed Athens, and its leader bore some resemblance to a prime minister. And here it may perhaps be well to consider some of the resemblances and some of the differences between the *προστάτης τοῦ δήμου* and a prime minister.

To begin with some small points: *προστάτης τοῦ δήμου*, or "leader of the people," was a designation given only to the

¹ See on this point Mr. J. W. Headlam's convincing arguments in his valuable work, *Election by Lot at Athens*, to which I am indebted for this and some other points in this chapter.

chief of the democratic party. The chief of the aristocratic party had no corresponding designation. Next, the popular leader was *προστάτης τοῦ δήμου*, whether a majority of the ecclesia voted with him or against him. Again, there was no post or office of *προστάτης* created by law; there was no legal process of appointment. In the same way, in England there is no office of prime minister known to constitutional law, and consequently no legal appointment to the post, any more than there is to the post of "leader of the opposition." A man remained *προστάτης*, as a man remains prime minister, just so long as he retains the confidence of his party.

So much for minor points. We have now to consider the more important point of the relations existing between each kind of leader and his party, what control the leader could exercise over his party, and what control the party could exercise over its leader. In the latter respect the *προστάτης* and the premier were in much the same position: both were under a patent obligation to produce a policy which met the wishes of their followers, or else their followers would no longer follow. In both the ancient and the modern instance, the party has only one weapon as against its leader, viz., to vote against him. But when we come to examine the armoury of the two leaders, we find that the weapons which the *προστάτης* could use to check or punish a revolt are not to be compared with those at the disposal of a prime minister. In other words, the instruments of party discipline which modern civilisation has discovered were practically unknown in Athens. This difference between the position of the *προστάτης* and that of the premier has its root in the fundamental difference between the ecclesia and a modern parliament. A parliament is a representative body; the ecclesia was not. A place in Parliament is an object of ambition; hence the first hold which a premier has over a follower who shows signs of recalcitrance: the party organisation can be used to prevent the re-election of the offending member. Next, election is expensive, and the premier having (by custom) the power of dissolving whenever he thinks fit, has the power of inflicting what is practically a money fine on his followers if they are insubordinate, besides exposing them to possible exclusion from the next Parliament. But above all, the member of Parliament is induced to vote with his party and follow his leader, because he knows that, little as he may get from his own side, he will get nothing from the other: to defeat the government is to cause it to resign, to bring about a dissolution, and perhaps to be excluded from

power for the next six years. Now the Athenian ecclesiast was not influenced by any of these considerations. Not being an elected representative, he could not be turned out of his seat by a dissolution or be kept from re-election by any party organisation. Above all, if he voted against his leader and caused his leader's psephisma on any question to be lost, he did not thereby bring about a dissolution or do anything which tended to exclude his party from power. On one item of the day's programme the *προστάτης τοῦ δήμου* might carry his motion, on the next be defeated, on the third be successful; but he did not pass therefore thrice from power to opposition and back again, nor was the government turned out or brought in again.

Thus the *προστάτης* had not the resources for keeping his party together which a modern minister has at his command; and other causes which tend to strengthen the bonds of a modern party were unknown at Athens. The ecclesia was not, like a parliament, a legislative assembly; consequently, the ecclesiast who was interested in one legislative proposal had no inducement to support a piece of legislation in which he had no interest, because his party would go to pieces if he did not support it, and so his own bill stand no chance of becoming law. Again, there were no executive posts to which an ambitious man might aspire, if he distinguished himself by party services; and finally, there was no "Spoils system," as in the United States, by which it became the pecuniary interest of the rank and file to stick to their party through thick and thin.

Thus, though there was nothing at Athens to prevent a party from governing, if only it would vote steadily together, there were none of the inducements of modern times to make the party hold together. And yet, in the fifth century B.C., at any rate, one party did hold together and govern for years—and those years were not the least glorious in the history of Athens. Throughout that century there were two, and only two political parties, the democrats and the aristocrats; and yet where there were so few inducements to a party to preserve its unity, we might have reasonably expected that there would be as many different groups as there were different questions to be settled by the ecclesia—there is no reason apparent why people should take the same view of one question (say Free Trade) because they happen to agree on another totally different question (say the Referendum). The explanation of the fact that in England we have—not as many different

groups as we have different political measures, but—two great political parties, is, according to Professor Sidgwick (*Elements of Politics*, p. 568), this: “The decisive impulse towards a permanently dual organisation of parties appears to be given by intrusting to the constituencies, along with the election of members of a central legislative assembly, the practical choice of the chief or leading members of the central executive.” But there was no such impulse at work in ancient Athens, and there is no such permanently dual organisation of parties in modern France or Germany. We must therefore, in order to explain the permanently dual organisation of Athenian parties in the fifth century, fall back upon the consideration (in the same writer’s words, p. 566), “that the most obvious division of interests is that between the poor and the rich; and that this must tend to coincide broadly with the division between the advocates of government by the people and the advocates of government by a highly educated minority.” The division between rich and poor being a lasting (if not an everlasting) one, may account then for the permanently dual organisation of political parties in England, and in the Athens of the fifth century. Nor is this explanation discredited by the fact that the same division did not in the fourth century, and does not in France or Germany produce the same dual organisation. With the latter two countries we have nothing to do, but the disappearance of the dual organisation from the Athens of the fourth century is accounted for by the fact that a party which is permanently in a hopeless minority becomes dispirited and ceases to act in opposition to the majority. Such a minority, when it has realised that its prospects are desperate, turns to unconstitutional practices and treasonable negotiations as surely as a majority which is denied its political rights resorts to force. And when these last desperate remedies have been sought in vain, the dispirited minority ceases to struggle. Now a minority may entertain hope of converting itself into a majority as long as it can resist the public opinion, the dominant sentiment, to which it is opposed. But it needs assistance if it is successfully to resist the dominant sentiment, and from Athens all the causes which in a modern country make for resistance were absent. Under a representative system public opinion has to act through its representatives, and hence its sway is not continuous or complete. In Athens its sway was direct and as uniform in its pressure as the atmosphere. In the large nation states of modern times, “variety of social conditions, of modes of life, of religious belief prove centres of resistance to

the dominant sentiment." In Athens the conditions of existence were so homogeneous that no centres of resistance could be formed. Finally, the smaller a community is the more tyrannical is public opinion; and Athens was small.

It is plain that the democratic reforms of Clisthenes, far-reaching as they were, could only have been carried because the democratic sentiment was at the time overwhelming in Athens. But it was the very conviction that it was irresistible which threw the aristocratic party into despair and drove its leader, Isagoras, into treasonable communications with Sparta. When these failed, and the democratic reforms of Clisthenes had been accomplished, the aristocratic party would, we may well imagine, have disappeared and party government would have come to an end, as it did by the beginning of the fourth century, if the aristocrats had not discovered in the Council of the Areopagus an unexpected stronghold of conservative opinion. This reinforcement gave the conservative party hope, and encouraged it to perform its functions as a constitutional party, in a constitutional manner, because it enabled it to cope with the opposite party with some prospect of moderate and reasonable success. But the Areopagus was the last chance of the conservative party—and, we may add, of the democratic party too, for when the former was banished from practical politics, the latter could have no *raison d'être*, and as a party carrying on the work of government by party was bound to disappear too. Hence the period of the Peloponnesian war may be regarded in one way as being a period of party government, in another way as not. The moderate and patriotic conservatives, such as Nicias, continued faithful to the traditions of party action on constitutional lines, and offered a formal opposition to the dominant democratic party, which just provided an inducement to the democrats to hold together and not split up into perpetually changing political groups. But that this opposition was dispirited and hopeless, and that the active spirits in the aristocratic party had withdrawn their energies from the constitutional methods of party government, is shown by the intrigues which culminated in the establishment, by assassination and terrorism, of the Four Hundred and of the Thirty Tyrants. When these, the last despairing attempts of a party hopelessly incapable of coping by fair means with the dominant democratic sentiment, had failed, the conservatives as a political party, taking its share in the responsibility of governing the country, disappeared; and in the fourth century B.C., there was no longer a per-

manently dual organisation of political parties. Government by party no longer existed. Government by groups took its place. This was on the whole a consummation to be deplored.

The two-party system may be judged either by its results or by *a priori* considerations. Beginning with the latter, we may observe, first, that in a free country, if it is to be free, every variety of opinion must be allowed free expression: consequently the tendency of the majority to override and disregard the opinion of the minority is one to be resisted and corrected by the statesman, especially if the minority is one which from the nature of the case cannot hope to convert itself even occasionally into a majority, and yet is a permanent element in the composition of society. Next, it is essential to the well-being of a state not only that diversity of opinion should have free expression, but that diversity of opinion should be encouraged to exist. Public opinion may become a terrible instrument of oppression, therefore it is desirable that as many sources as possible should contribute to the formation of public opinion, in order that it may see a thing from all points of view before commending or condemning it.

These *a priori* considerations may seem at first to favour the system of government by groups rather than by two parties; but when they are applied to the question whether it is desirable that one of these two parties—when two great parties exist—should be reduced by constitutional changes to a position in which it is vain for it to hope to have its opinion listened to, then these *a priori* considerations tell in favour of maintaining the two-party system. And further, inasmuch as what is necessary to the existence of a political group is not merely expression, but effective expression of its opinion—*i.e.*, expression resulting in the realisation of the group's political object—it may well be the case that the group gets more by allowing itself to be more or less absorbed in one of two great parties, than it would get if its only competitors were other similar groups.

The test of experience is, however, more decisive in favour of the two-party system. The Englishman, at any rate, who compares the permanence and stability of his own system of government by two great parties with the perpetually shifting state of things in France, where government is by political groups, will have little hesitation in deciding in favour of the dual organisation of political parties. A comparison of Athens under the system of party government in the fifth century B.C., and the same country governed in the fourth century by groups, tends in the same direction. The former is the century of the Persian

wars, the latter of the downfall of Hellas. The political groups addressed by Demosthenes, and addressed in vain, did not deserve so well of their country as the great political parties to whom Aristides and the Areopagus appealed to oppose the Persians. In a word, the decisive consideration in favour of the two-party system is that without a permanent party no permanent policy is possible; and in a democracy you cannot have a permanent democratic party unless you have a permanent conservative party, threatening to take command if the democrats do not hold together.

But though the working of the Athenian constitution was such as in the end to make government by party impossible, yet as long as party government existed it was conducted with a total absence of all the drawbacks with which it is attended in modern times. The evils of party government are due to the fact that the interests of party tend to be put above the interest of the country. The member of a political party in modern times may be aiming at one of the offices of state which are assigned to the leading men of the party in power, and may thus have a paramount interest in bringing or keeping his party in; and if, as in the United States, the Spoils system prevails, the rank and file of the party workers may all have a direct pecuniary interest in the fortunes of the party. These corrupting influences were entirely excluded at Athens, because the state officials were not drawn from any one party, but selected by lot from the whole body of Athenian citizens. In the next place, even when the modern politician's motives are free from even the suspicion of pecuniary influence, he may yet in his devotion to his party vote for measures of which he does not approve rather than let in the other side. In Athens, as no party could be in office, and if it lost one motion was not thereby debarred from carrying the next, no citizen could be restrained from voting for what he thought best by the fear of thereby turning his party out of power. Again, all the energy which in modern times is expended on party organisation, on keeping the party united, gaining recruits, exciting party enthusiasm, organising a party propaganda, and choosing acceptable party candidates, was set free for the work of the state in Athens, because the elections, for the sake of which party organisation exists in modern times, were unknown. Finally, though the followers of the *προστάτης τοῦ δήμου* could not turn him out of office, if they thought he had betrayed the country, they could prosecute him in the law courts. The fate of Cleophon and Callicrates is instructive as recorded in the

Ἀθηναίων πολιτεία (c. 28): "It was Cleophon who first granted the two-obol donation for the theatrical performances; and for some time he continued to give it; but then Callicrates of Pæania ousted him by promising to add a third obol to the sum. Both of these persons were subsequently condemned to death; for the people, even if they are deceived for a time, in the end generally come to detest those who have beguiled them into any unworthy action" (Kenyon's trans.).

To sum up, then: throughout its history, the Athenian community was divided into the two classes of rich and poor. At the beginning, the poor were excluded by law (or rather custom), at the end the rich were excluded, by the spirit of the constitution, from the exercise of political power. Between these two periods, the division of society into the two classes of rich and poor found its expression in policies in the permanently dual organisation of political parties. Whilst government by party existed, it was conducted in a better and purer way than has ever been the case in the world since. When the majority were excluded from the benefit of the constitution, they used force as their remedy; when the minority was excluded, it first resorted to treason, and then by its withdrawal from the political arena it caused the substitution of government by political groups for government by political parties, with the result that a permanent and provident policy (*e.g.*, against Philip of Macedon) became impossible.

CHAPTER XIII

ATTIC LAW

LAWS FOR THE PROTECTION OF LIFE

THE purpose of this and the following chapters is to give a brief account of the principal laws of Athens for the protection of life and limb, the protection of property, the law of contracts, the laws regulating inheritance, marriage, and family relations, and laws for the protection of the state from internal foes. The laws of the constitution have already been dealt with implicitly in the previous chapters; and "sacral" law does not fall within the scope of the present book.

In the beginning, at Athens as elsewhere, there were no laws, but only customs; and the custom in any particular matter

was what "everybody" did under the same circumstances, *e.g.*, take vengeance, or accept *wer-geld* for the murder of a near kinsman. The state did not compel people to do what was customary, partly because there was no state, but mainly because the idea of doing anything unusual simply does not occur to the slaves of custom: their imagination is undeveloped. Eventually, however, breaches of the custom do occur; and, when the community's sense of what is fitting is very much shocked by them, the custom is enforced by the community. If the community habitually enforces its customs, we get customary law. What the custom is which regulates any given point, *e.g.*, the succession to a disputed inheritance, may not be known to every one: the younger men of the tribe, for instance, have to learn it from the elders. Hence the rise of a privileged class, possessing an exclusive knowledge of customary law. Hence, too, a danger that the privileged class may manipulate customary law in its own interests. At this stage of the development of law, the alphabet became known in Greece: custom was reduced to writing, codified (at Athens by Draco), and became law in the full and proper sense of the term.

The laws, originally inscribed on wooden tablets, *ἄξονες* or *κύρβεις*, and preserved in the Acropolis, were subsequently engraved on *stelæ* which were set up in public places, where any man who had to resort to legislation might read them and copy such laws as he required for his own purposes. If he intended to quote any law in the trial, he had to deposit a copy of it at the *ἀνάκρισις*, along with his other documentary evidence, in a box, which remained in the custody of the presiding magistrate, until the day when the trial came on. The litigant then, in making his speech, when he wished to cite the law in support of his argument, could call on the clerk of the court to read the extracts which he had put in at the *anacrisis*. In our copies of the orators, the points at which the speaker broke off, in order to allow the extracts to be read, are still marked *NOMOS*. Now, although at the conclusion of a trial the speech of a *logographos*, such as Demosthenes, would naturally be preserved by the person for whom it was written, along with all the documents of the case, for future use, if the matter should lead to further litigation; still the speech and the documents would be detached from each other, and when copies of the speeches of Demosthenes came to have a market value in virtue of their literary qualities solely, the divorce between the oration and the documents would probably in most cases become final. And yet sometimes we find the laws and other

documents inserted at length in a speech. What then are we to think of these *soi-disant* laws? In the majority of cases they are concoctions, constructed out of the hints given by the speech itself as to the contents of the laws referred to. Some of these interpolations show, by gross blunders, that the interpolator was very ignorant of the forms of Attic law. Others are constructed so carefully out of the indications given in the speech itself, that though their authority must always be inferior to that of the material out of which they have been constructed, they are convenient, because compact, for use. Others again have been so carefully constructed—if they are concoctions—that, even with a stone-record (*e.g.*, *C. I. A. i.* 61) of the actual law as a test, scholars can dispute whether they are genuine or concocted. Finally, some are demonstrated, either by internal evidence or by inscriptions, to be genuine. But if we were limited to genuine laws, no considerable corpus of Attic law could be constructed. Our knowledge of Athenian laws therefore depends, in the first line, on the orators, on the quotations direct and indirect which they make, and on the inferences, which are to be drawn from their conduct of the case they are arguing. That it is possible to present an account of Attic law as it was in the time of the orators is due mainly to the labours of Plattner, Meier, Schömann, and Lipsius in Germany, of M. Caillemer in France, and of Messrs. Kennedy, Wayte, and Sandys in England.

We begin with the laws for the protection of life. The original authorities from which we have to draw our knowledge of these laws are as follows:—

Εἰσι δὲ φόνον δίκαι καὶ τραύματος, ἂν μὲν ἐκ προνοίας ἀποκτείνῃ ἢ τρώσῃ, ἐν Ἀρείῳ πάγῳ, καὶ φαρμάκων, ἐὰν ἀποκτείνῃ δούς, καὶ πυρκαϊᾶς· ταῦτα γὰρ ἡ βουλὴ μόνα δικάζει.—*Ar. Ath. Pol.* c. 57.

Οἱ φονικοὶ τοὺς μὲν ἐκ προνοίας ἀποκτινύνοντας θανάτῳ καὶ αἰεφυγίᾳ καὶ δήμενσι τῶν ὑπαρχόντων ζημιοῦσι.—*Dem. Mid.* p. 528, § 43.

Οὐδέ γ', ἂν ὁ παθὼν αὐτὸς ἀφῇ τοῦ φόνου, πρὶν τελευτῆσαι, τὸν δράσαντα οὐδενὶ τῶν λοιπῶν συγγενῶν ἔξεστιν ἐπεξιέναι.—*Dem. Pantæn.* p. 983, § 58.

Τὸν βουλευσάντα ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ ἐνέχεσθαι καὶ τὸν τῇ χειρὶ ἐργασάμενον.—*Andoc. de Myst.* p. 46, § 94.

Ἄν μὲν τις ἀνδρὸς σῶμα τρώσῃ . . . αὐτὸς μὲν κατὰ τοὺς νόμους τοὺς ἐξ Ἀρείου πάγου φεύξεται τὴν τοῦ ἀδικηθέντος πόλιν, καὶ ἐὰν κατὰ τὴν ἐνδειχθεὶς θανάτῳ ζημιωθήσεται.—[*Lys.*] *Andoc.* p. 212, § 5.

Τῶν δ' ἀκουσίων καὶ βουλευσεως κὰν οἰκετην ἀποκτείνῃ τις ἢ μέτοικον ἢ ξένον, οἱ ἐπὶ Παλλαδίῳ (δικάζουσι).—*Ibid.*

Τὸν ἀλόντα ἐπ' ἀκουσίῳ φόνῳ ἔν τισιν εἰρημένοις χρόνοις ἀπελθεῖν τακτὴν ὁδὸν καὶ φεύγειν, ἕως ἂν αἰδέσχηται τινα τῶν ἐν γένει τοῦ πεπονθότος.—*Dem. Aristocrat.* p. 643, § 72.

Καὶ ἑὰμ μὴ 'κ προνοίας κτείνῃ τίς τινα, φεύγειν. δικάζειν δὲ τοὺς βασιλέας αἰτιῶν φόνου ἢ βουλευσεως τοὺς αἰὲ βασιλεύοντας τοὺς δὲ ἐφέτας διαγνῶναι.

Αἰδέσασθαι δ', εἰ μὲν πατὴρ ἢ ἡ ἀδελφὸς ἢ υἱός, ἅπαντας, ἢ τὸν κωλύοντα κρατεῖν . . . εἰ μὲν δὲ τούτων μηδεὶς ἢ, κτείνῃ δὲ ἄκων, γινῶσι δὲ οἱ πεντήκοντα καὶ εἰς οἱ ἐφέται ἄκοντα κτείνειν, ἐσέσθων δὲ οἱ φράτερες εἰ μὲν ἐθέλωσι δέκα, τούτους δὲ οἱ πεντήκοντα καὶ εἰς ἀριστίνδην αἰρέσθων. Καὶ οἱ πρότερον κτείναντες ἐν τῷδε τῷ θέσμῳ ἐνεχέσθων.

Προειπεῖν τῷ κτείναντι ἐν ἀγορᾷ ἐντὸς ἀνεψιότητος καὶ ἀνεψιού. συνδιώκειν δὲ καὶ ἀνεψιούς καὶ ἀνεψιῶν παῖδας καὶ γαμβροὺς καὶ πενθεροὺς καὶ φράτερας. . . .

Ἐὰν δέ τις τὸν ἀνδροφόνον κτείνῃ ἢ αἴτιος ἢ φόνον, ἀπεχόμενον ἀγορᾶς ἐφορίας καὶ ἄθλων καὶ ἱερῶν Ἀμφικτιονικῶν ὥσπερ τὸν Ἀθηναῖον κτείναντα, ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἐνέχεσθαι, διαγινώσκειν δὲ τοὺς ἐφέτας. τοὺς δὲ ἀνδροφόνους ἐξεῖναι ἀποκτείνειν καὶ ἀπάγειν ἐν τῇ ἡμεδαπῇ, λυμαίνεσθαι δὲ μὴ, μὴδ' ἀποινᾶν.—*C. I. A.* i. 61.

Ἐάν τις τινα τῶν ἀνδροφόνων τῶν ἐξεληλυθότων ὦν τὰ χρήματα ἐπίτιμα πέρα ὅρου ἐλαύνῃ ἢ φέρῃ ἢ ἄγῃ, τὰ ἴσα ὀφείλειν ὅσα πὲρ ἂν ἐν τῇ ἡμεδαπῇ δράσῃ.—*Dem. Aristocrat.* p. 634, § 44 *lex.*

Ἐὰν δὲ φεύγων φυγὴν ὦν αἰδεσίς ἐστιν αἰτίαν ἔχῃ ἀποκτείνειν ἢ τρώσαι τινα τούτῳ δ' ἐν Φρεάτου δικάζουσιν.—*Ar. Ath. Pol.* 57.

Κατὰ τῶν ἐνδεικνύντων τοὺς κατιόντας ἀνδροφόνους ὅποι μὴ ἔξεστί δίκας φόνου μὴ εἶναι.—*Dem. Aristocrat.* p. 636, § 51.

Ἐὰν δ' ἀποκτείνει μὲν τις ὁμολογῇ, φῇ δὲ κατὰ τοὺς νόμους, οἷον μοιχὸν λαβὼν ἢ ἐπὶ δάμαρτι ἢ ἐπὶ μητρὶ ἢ ἐπ' ἀδελφῇ ἢ ἐπὶ θυγατρὶ ἢ ἐπὶ παλλακῇ ἢ μὲν ἂν ἐπ' ἐλευθέροις παισὶν ἔχῃ.—*Dem. Aristocrat.* p. 637, § 55.

Ἡ ἐν πολέμῳ ἀγνοήσας ἢ ἂν ἄθλῳ ἀγωνιζόμενος, τούτῳ ἐπὶ Δελφίνῳ δικάζουσιν.—*Ar. Ath. Pol.* c. 57.

Ἐάν τις ἀμυνόμενος ἄρχοντα χειρῶν ἀδίκων κτείνῃ, ἀθῶον εἶναι.—*Orators passim.*

Καὶ εἰ μὲν φέροντα ἢ ἄγοντα βία ἀδίκως εὐθὺς ἀμυνόμενος κτείνῃ, νηποινεῖ τεθνάναι.—*Dem. Aristocrat.* § 60, and *C. I. A.* i. 61.

Ἐάν τις δημοκρατίαν καταλύῃ τὴν Ἀθήνησιν ἢ ἀρχὴν τινα ἀρχῇ καταλελυμένης τῆς δημοκρατίας, πολέμιος ἔστω Ἀθηναίων καὶ νηποινεῖ τεθνάτω.—*Andoc. de Myster.* p. 47, § 96.

"Ὅταν δὲ μὴ εἰδῇ τὸν ποιήσαντα, τῷ δρασαντι λαγχάνει. δικάζει δ' ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ οἱ φολοβασιλεῖς καὶ τὰς τῶν ἀψύχων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ζώων.—*Ar. Ath. Pol.* 57.

To convict a man, according to the English law, of murder, it is not necessary to prove that he intended to kill; it suffices to prove that he intended grievous bodily harm, or was aware that his act would entail grievous bodily harm on some one (not necessarily the deceased). According to Athenian law, however, to convict a man of the most criminal offence, viz., voluntary homicide (φόνος ἐκούσιος), it was absolutely necessary to prove the intention to kill. If the intent to kill were not established, the offence would only be involuntary homicide (φόνος ἀκούσιος). Thus though all cases of the Athenian "voluntary homicide" would be English murder, many offences which would be murder in England were involuntary homicides in Attica.

Athenian law recognised three kinds of voluntary homicide, viz., when death was caused by wounding, by poison, by arson. Voluntary homicide, in whichever way of these three caused, was the worst offence known to the law; the court which tried this offence was the Council of the Areopagus, and the sentence was death, and confiscation of the convict's property—if, that is to say, the accused determined to stand by the result of the trial, for it was permitted him, if he chose, before the end of the trial, to withdraw into exile, in which case his property was still confiscated and he himself became an exile for life.

The Athenian law applied the same distinction to cases of wounding as to cases of homicide: it distinguished them according to the intention of the doer. If the accused wounded without intent to kill, the offence was one of assault or violence (αἰκία or ὕβρις); but if with intent to kill, the offence (τραῦμα ἐκ προνοίας) was more serious than involuntary homicide, and almost as serious as murder: the court was again the Council of the Areopagus, and the sentence was banishment (whether perpetual or temporary is uncertain), and confiscation of the convict's property.

Involuntary homicide, i.e., unlawful killing without intent to kill, is an offence of which the gravity may vary considerably, according to the circumstances of the case: a man may perform an act fraught with danger to the life and limbs of others without indeed any design to kill, but with culpable and criminal indifference to the consequences of his action, or death may ensue from an act which no one could foresee would have such a result, e.g., the act of the merchant who cast away a

date-stone, thereby causing the death of the genie's invisible son. The latter class of acts is plainly much less criminal than the behaviour of a man whose intention is to kill, but who only succeeds in doing grievous bodily harm. It is therefore intelligible that for involuntary homicide Attic law prescribed a less severe sentence than for wounding with intent to kill: the latter was punished by the Areopagus with exile and confiscation, the former by the Palladion with exile only. It is, however, surprising that no heavier penalty was inflicted on the more culpable forms of involuntary homicide.

Thus far we have been dealing with cases in which the accused was charged with being the cause of the death or wounds, in the sense that he himself inflicted the wounds, struck the fatal blow, or administered the poison with his own hand. But there is another sense in which a man may be the cause of death or wounding with intent to kill: *qui facit per alium facit per se*. The man who hires or induces another to commit murder is himself the "intellectual author" of the crime, and is morally guilty. Hence Athenian law assigned to instigation (*Βούλευσις*) the same penalties as to the actual commission of the crime: instigation to an act causing and intended to cause death was punished by the Palladion with death and confiscation, in the same way that voluntary homicide was punished by the Areopagus; instigation to an act intended to cause death, but only resulting in grievous bodily harm, was visited by the Palladion with exile and confiscation, just as wounding with intent to kill entailed exile and confiscation at the hands of the Areopagus; finally, instigation to an act which caused, but was not intended to cause death, was punished, like involuntary homicide, by the Palladion with exile.

The Palladion also tried cases in which the offence was causing the death of non-citizens, viz., foreigners, resident aliens (*Metics*), freedmen (*Metics*), and slaves. What the penalty was is not known.

The same law which prescribed the penalties for unlawful homicide and for wounding with intent to kill also prescribed certain points of procedure. All such cases were to be instructed by and conducted under the presidency of the king-archon. Voluntary homicide and wounding with intent were to be tried by the Council of Areopagus; involuntary homicide and instigation thereto, as well as instigation to voluntary homicide and wounding with intent, were to be tried by the fifty-one Ephetæ, sitting at the Palladion. The duty of prosecuting

the homicide, voluntary or involuntary, was laid by the law on such relatives of the deceased as were related to him in a nearer degree than that of cousin, to wit, on father, brother, or sons. They were legally bound to give the murderer the formal warning in the market-place, which was the indispensable preliminary to prosecution; but in the rest of the prosecution they were to be joined by the deceased's cousins, cousins' sons, father-in-law, son-in-law, and *phratores* or clansmen. As the duty of prosecution was laid by law on the kinsmen of the deceased, so by law the right of forgiving the homicide and being appeased by him was accorded to them. But this right entitled them to forgive only the involuntary homicide, and him after trial only. Further, the father, brothers, and sons must be unanimous in the matter; and if the deceased left no near relatives, the Fifty-and-one were to choose, according to rank, ten of his *phratores*, with whom the right of forgiveness then rested. As to the nature of this forgiveness, it did not mean abstaining to prosecute—the only condition under which the next-of-kin could legally refrain from prosecution was if the deceased, before dying, forbade them to prosecute, and this forbiddal might apply to the voluntary as well as to the involuntary homicide. But the involuntary homicide, having been sentenced to banishment by the Ephetæ, might, by “appeasing” the next-of-kin, reduce his term of exile—even so much as to make it a merely nominal punishment.

The exile who, during his term of banishment (whether temporary, as in the case of the involuntary homicide, or permanent, as in the case of the voluntary homicide who fled his country without waiting for the verdict of the Areopagus), remained abroad, and observed the terms of his sentence, *i.e.*, abstained from appearing at the public games of Greece, and the Amphictionic gatherings, and the markets held on the borders of Attica, was granted a certain amount of protection. The convict who violated the terms of his banishment forfeited that protection. The man convicted of wounding with intent, or of homicide, voluntary or involuntary, who returned to Attica, might be arrested, or even killed, with impunity, though he might not be ill-treated or amerced; and those who gave information of his return, and thereby procured his execution, were protected by the law from that prosecution for instigation, *βούλευσις*, to which, according to Attic law, those who falsely procured a sentence of death were liable. On the other hand, the life of the exile who observed the terms of his sentence was protected by the law in exactly the same way as that of

any ordinary Athenian citizen; and the law further forbade any one to pursue or hale or molest the involuntary homicide as long as he remained abroad. Finally, the law accorded to the man who, being an exile for involuntary homicide, was charged with having committed another murder or with having wounded with intent to kill, an opportunity to clear himself of the fresh charge without waiting for his term of banishment to expire. Standing in a boat, he pleaded his defence before the Ephetæ, who sat in the court of Phreatys on shore.

Thus far we have been dealing with cases of unlawful homicide, voluntary or involuntary. But the Athenian law expressly recognised cases in which homicide was lawful, and the accused might admit the fact that he had, intentionally or unintentionally, killed the deceased, but plead that he had done so lawfully. Thus it was lawful, as we have seen, to kill or procure the execution of an exile who returned before his sentence expired. Again, it was lawful to kill an adulterer or a traitor plotting treason to the constitution of his country. If a man, in the act of defending himself against an illegal assault, happened to kill his assailant; or if in the games he killed a man by accident; or if in battle he killed a fellow-citizen, intentionally indeed, but thinking him an enemy, the killing was lawful. The court which tried cases of this kind was that of the Ephetæ at the Delphinion. If the court decided that the homicide was lawful, no punishment of course was inflicted; if that it was unlawful, then the sentence would be determined by the nature of the unlawful homicide—death and confiscation if voluntary, exile if involuntary.

To return to unlawful homicide, if the next-of-kin could not discover the perpetrator of the murder, he had to prosecute the implement; and the case was tried by the Ephetæ in the court of the Prytaneion, under the presidency of the king-archon and the tribe-kings. This court, according to the *Athenaion Politeia*, also tried animals. Perhaps, if Diana herself were not producible in court, her dogs, having devoured Actæon, might have been prosecuted by his next-of-kin in the Prytaneion.

Finally, the hand of a suicide was cut off and buried separately. In England also the body of a suicide was mutilated by law until 1832, by having a stake driven through it. The English practice had its origin in the belief that a suicide, unless mutilated, becomes a vampire. It is therefore an easy guess that the Athenian custom has the same origin.

CHAPTER XIV

ATTIC LAW (*continued*)

LAWS FOR THE PROTECTION OF THE PERSON

WE have now to consider the laws for the protection of the person, and first the laws against abusive language, which are to be inferred from the following passages:—

Κελεύει (ὁ νόμος) τοὺς λέγοντάς τι τῶν ἀπορρήτων πεντακοσίας δραχμὰς ὀφείλειν.—Isocrat. *c. Lochit.* § 3.

Κελεύουσιν (οἱ νόμοι) ἔνοχον εἶναι τῇ κακηγορίᾳ τὴν ἐργασίαν τὴν ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ ἢ τῶν πολιτῶν ἢ τῶν πολιτίδων ὀνειδίζοντά τινι.—Dem. *Eubul.* p. 1308, § 30.

Μὴ λέγειν κακῶς τὸν τεθνεῶτα.—Dem. *Leptin.* p. 488, § 104.

Ἄν μὲν τοίνυν ιδιώτης ὄντα τινὰ ὑβρίσῃ τις ἢ κακῶς εἴπῃ, γραφὴν ὑβρεως καὶ δίκην κακηγορίας ἰδίαν φεύξεται, εἰ δὲ θεσμοθέτην, ἄτιμος ἔσται καθάπαξ.—Dem. *Mil.* p. 524, § 32.

Ζημιοὶ (ὁ νομοθέτης) τὸν λέγοντα, εἰ μὴ ἀποφαίνη ὥς ἔστιν ἀληθὴ τὰ ἐρημένα.—Lys. *c. Theom.* ii. p. 367, § 30.

Ζῶντα μὴ κακῶς λέγειν πρὸς ἱεροῖς καὶ δικαστηρίοις καὶ ἀρχείοις καὶ θεωρίας οὔσης ἀγώνων, ἢ τρεῖς δραχμὰς τῷ ιδιώτῃ, δύο δ' ἄλλας ἀποτίνειν εἰς τὸ δημόσιον.—Plut. *Sol.* 21.

The tendency of quarrels is from words to blows; and Attic law made abusive language (*κακηγορία*) penal. There were certain offensive expressions, technically called “forbidden” (*ἀπορρήτα*), the use of which, under any circumstances, was subject to a penalty of 500 drachmæ, which probably went to the party injured. For instance, it was penal to reproach any citizen of either sex with the fact—even if true—that he or she sold things in the market: poverty was to be no reproach in Athens. In the next place, to speak evil of the dead, under any circumstances whatever, was to render yourself liable to a fine of 1000 drachmæ, of which half went to the state, half to the accuser. Thirdly, to abuse a magistrate entailed disfranchisement absolutely. In all three cases, however (save when poverty was the reproach), it was a good defence to prove that the epithet, forbidden but used, was true in fact. Finally, if a man used language, abusive (*λοιδορία*) indeed, but not “forbidden,” in public places, especially temples, law courts, public games, &c., he could not be prosecuted for abusive language (*κακηγορίας*), but he forfeited five drachmæ—three to the individual, two to the state.

Our knowledge of the laws of assault is based on the following quotations :—

‘Η δ’ αἰκία τοῦτ’ ἔστιν, ὅς ἂν ἄρξῃ χειρῶν ἀδίκων πρότερος.—Dem. *Eurg. et Mnesib.* p. 1151, § 40.

Τὸ τίμημα ἐν τοῖς νόμοις οὐκ ἔστιν ὠρισμένον ἀλλ’ ὁ μὲν κατήγορος τίμημα ἐπιγράφεται ὅπόσου δοκεῖ ἄξιον εἶναι τὸ ἀδίκημα· οἱ δὲ δικασταὶ κρίνουσιν.—Harp. *s.v.* αἰκίας.

Ἐάν τις ἄνθρωπον ἐλεύθερον ἢ παῖδα αἰσχύνῃ βία, διπλὴν τὴν βλάβην ὀφείλειν, ἐὰν δὲ γυναῖκα, ἐφ’ αἷσπερ ἀποκτείνειν ἔξεστιν, ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἐνέχεσθαι.—Lys. *Eratosth.* p. 34, § 32.

Ἐάν τις ὑβρίσῃ εἰς τινα ἢ παῖδα ἢ γυναῖκα ἢ ἄνδρα τῶν ἐλεύθερων ἢ τῶν δούλων ἢ παράνομόν τι ποιήσῃ εἰς τούτων τινα γραφέσθω πρὸς τοὺς θεσμοθέτας ὁ βουλόμενος Ἀθηναίων οἷς ἔξεστιν, οἱ δὲ θεσμοθέται εἰσαγόντων εἰς τὴν ἡλιαίαν τριάκοντα ἡμερῶν ἀφ’ ἧς ἂν ἦ ἡ γραφή, ἐὰν μὴ τι δημόσιον κωλύῃ, εἰ δὲ μὴ, ὅταν ἦ πρῶτον οἶόν τε. ὅτου δ’ ἂν καταγῶ ἡ ἡλιαία, τιμάτω περὶ αὐτοῦ παραχρῆμα (?), ὅτου ἂν δοκῇ ἄξιός εἶναι παθεῖν ἢ ἀποτίσαι. ὅσα δ’ ἂν γράφονται γραφὰς ἰδίας κατὰ τὸν νόμον, ἐάν τις μὴ ἐπέξελθῇ ἢ ἐπέξιών μὴ μεταλάβῃ τὸ πέμπτον μέρος τῶν ψήφων ἀποτινάτῃ χιλίας δραχμὰς τῷ δημοσίῳ. ἐὰν δὲ ἀργυρίου τιμηθῇ τῆς ὑβρεως, δεδέσθω, ἐὰν ἐλεύθερον ὑβρίσῃ, μέχρι ἂν ἐκτίσῃ.—Dem. *Mid.* p. 529, § 47.

From these passages it appears that the Athenian law offered two remedies for assault: if the person injured desired compensation, and considered that his assailant would be sufficiently punished by being mulcted in damages, he could bring a private action (*αἰκίας δίκη*). But if the offence seemed so outrageous as to require to be checked in the interests of the community, then a public action (*γραφὴ ὑβρεως*) might be instituted by the party injured, or by any other Athenian citizen in enjoyment of his full civic rights. The law seems not to have specified the amount, nature, or circumstances of the injury necessary to sustain the criminal action. There are indications that the orators thought the *animus injuriandi* essential to success in the criminal action, and not essential in the civic suit. What is certain is that the action for *ὑβρις* was a most serious step, and one which the ordinary citizen would not himself take, or (by his action as a dicast) encourage others to take, save under the gravest circumstances: hence no more practical difficulty was felt in distinguishing *αἰκία* from *ὑβρις*, than in distinguishing day from night, hard though it might be to say exactly where the one ended and the other began. In the majority of cases therefore the person assaulted had practically only one remedy, viz., the civil action for *αἰκία*, simply because it was only under

exceptional circumstances a jury would convict in an action for ὕβρις; and if the prosecutor in the criminal suit did not obtain a verdict, and did not get the votes of one-fifth of the jury, he was himself fined a thousand drachmæ. To obtain a verdict in an action for αἰκία, on the other hand, was an easier matter: the essential thing to prove was that the defendant struck the first blow, and that it really was an unlawful blow, and not merely a piece of horse-play. As for damages, the complainant claimed what he chose, and the jury awarded what they thought fit.

Thus far we have been dealing with cases of common assault. But the law also recognised aggravated assault. Here again the law afforded two remedies: the guardian of the woman or child might institute a civil action for outrage (βιαιών or βίας δίκη), and recover to twice the amount at which he himself assessed the actual damages; or he (or any citizen) might have recourse to the criminal action for ὕβρις, in which case he could get no damages, but the convict might be fined any sum the dicasts thought fit, or even be sentenced to death. The determination to put down ὕβρις promptly and resolutely is indicated by the provision of the law which allows any citizen, in possession of his civic rights, to take action, and which directs the Thesmothetæ, with whom the complaint is to be lodged, to bring the case on as soon as possible, within thirty days, if the course of public business allowed. Further, the convict, if fined, is to be imprisoned until he pays.

The principles of the law with regard to damages are given in the following passages:—

Πρῶτον μὲν οἱ περὶ τῆς βλάβης οὗτοι νόμοι πάντες, ἂν μὲν ἐκὼν τις βλάβῃ, διπλοῦν, ἂν δ' ἄκων, ἀπλοῦν τὸ βλάβος κελεύουσιν ἐκτίνειν.—Dem. *Mid.* p. 527, § 43.

Κύνα δακόντα παραδοῦναι κλοιῷ τριπλήχει δεδεμένον.—Plut. *Sol.* 24.

Further, the law enabled a man to recover compensation for injury of any kind suffered by him in consequence of any unlawful act or negligence on the part of any one else—so far, that is, as the act of commission or omission was not rendered penal by some other law than the law of damage. Thus, the man who promised to bear witness in a case and failed to do so could be mulcted of damages under the law regulating the duties and liabilities of witnesses. But Philocleon, who in the *Wasps* upsets the old woman's stall, would be proceeded against under the general law of damage. The penalty inflicted varied according to circumstances: the general law of damages directed

that in cases of unintentional damage the defendant should make equivalent compensation; but, when the mischief was intentional, he should pay twice as much. When, however, the damage was the consequence of some act or negligence prohibited by a specific law, the penalty would be that prescribed by the law in question.

If an animal or a slave did damage, it had to be handed over to the prosecutor. The owner, however, might rescue it, by paying compensation.

CHAPTER XV

ATTIC LAW (*continued*)

THE LAW OF PROPERTY

PROPERTY (*οὐσία*), according to Attic law, was either *ἀφανής* or *φανερὰ*. The exact nature of this distinction is matter of dispute; the prevailing view is that the latter is immovable (real) property, and the former movable property (personalty). Another view is that *phanera*, visible property, was that on which, as it was visible to the tax-gatherer, taxes could be laid. A third view is that *φανερὰ* was property of which the owner could not deny that he was the owner.

Immovable property—house and land—could only be owned on Attic soil by Athenian citizens or foreigners, to whom the right (*ἐγκτησις*) was accorded by special decree of the *boulé* and *demos*. An Athenian citizen who wished to hold real property in any other deme than that in which he was born, had to obtain permission from that deme or else pay a tax (*ἐγκτητικόν*) to the deme. Subject to these restrictions, property could be acquired by inheritance, the award of a magistrate or law court, by purchase, by gift and way of pledge.

In the case of disputed ownership, possession was probably nine points of the law at Athens as elsewhere, that is to say, the property in dispute remained, until the decision of the court was given, in the hands of the *de facto* possessor—who further had, to start with, the advantage that the burden of proof lay with the man who asserted that he was not the lawful as well as the *de facto* possessor.

In order to the peaceable enjoyment of his property, the owner could eject (*ἐξάγειν*) any person who attempted to in-

terfere with him in the exercise of his lawful rights, and could further prosecute him for trespass (ἐξούλης).

As regards theft,¹ from the time of Solon a distinction was drawn in Attic law between petty larceny (thefts less in amount than fifty drachmæ, and committed by day) and the more serious forms of theft (*e.g.*, any theft whatever by night or in the gymnasia, theft in the harbours to more than the value of ten drachmæ, and theft elsewhere to the value of more than fifty drachmæ). The owner of the stolen goods had his choice (in the more serious class of thefts) whether he would institute a civil or a criminal action. If he adopted the former course, the defendant might be condemned to pay double the value of the stolen goods, whether they were returned or not; and further, might be put in the stocks five days and five nights. If the prosecutor instituted a criminal action, he ran the risk of being fined a thousand drachmæ if he did not obtain one-fifth of the votes, but if he did obtain a conviction, the convict might be sentenced to death; and even if a less severe sentence were passed, it entailed disfranchisement on the prisoner.

Contracts² were usually reduced to writing (and then were called *συγγραφαί*), but this was only for the convenience with which a written document can be produced in evidence. The law did not require that a contract should be in writing to be valid: a verbal agreement (*ὁμολογία*) was legally binding, if the plaintiff could prove, to the satisfaction of the court, that it had been made.

It was essential to the legality of a contract that it should not violate any law, and that it should be made by the parties to it voluntarily—a bargain made under constraint could not be enforced at law.

As regards debt,³ the leading passages are as follows:—

¹ Ὁ τι ἂν τις ἀπολέσῃ, ἐὰν μὲν αὐτοῦ λάβῃ, τὴν διπλασίαν καταδικάζειν, ἐὰν δὲ μὴ, τὴν διπλασίαν (δεκαπλασίαν MSS.) πρὸς τοῖς ἑπαιτίοις. δεδέσθαι δ' ἐν τῇ ποδοκάκῃ τὸν πόδα πένθ' ἡμέρας καὶ νύκτας ἕσας, ἐὰν προστιμῇσιν ἢ ἡλιαία. προστιμᾶσθαι δὲ τὸν βουλόμενον, ὅταν περὶ τοῦ τιμήματος ᾖ.—Dem. *Timoer.* p. 733, § 105.

Ἐὰν τις ἄλφ' κλοπῆς καὶ μὴ τιμῆς θανάτου, προστιμᾶν αὐτῷ δεσμόν.—*Ibid.* § 103.

² Κυρίας εἶναι τὰς πρὸς ἀλλήλους ὁμολογίας ἃς ἂν ἐναντίον μαρτύρων ποιήσωνται.—Dem. *Phæniipp.* p. 1042, § 12.

*Ὅσα ἂν τις ἐκὼν ἐτέρῳ ὁμολογήσῃ κύρια εἶναι.—Dem. *Dionysod.* p. 1283, § 2.

³ χρέως, a debt; τόκοι, interest; χρέως ἐπίτοκον, a debt carrying interest; ἄτοκον χρέως, a debt not carrying interest; χρήστης, a creditor (sometimes also a debtor); κυχράναι, to lend (with or without interest); κίχρασθαι, to borrow (with or without interest); Δάνειον, a loan with

Ἐπὶ τοῖς σώμασι μηδένα δανείζειν.—Plut. *Sol.* 15.

Τὸ ἀργύριον στάσιμον εἶναι ἐφ' ὁπόσῳ ἂν βούληται ὁ δανείζων.
—Lys. *Theomn.*, i. § 18.

Οὐκ ἔῃ (ὁ νόμος) διαρρήδην ὅσα τις ἀπετίμησεν εἶναι δίκας
οὔτ' αὐτοῖς οὔτε τοῖς κληρονόμοις.—Dem. *Spucl.* 1030, § 7.

From the time of Solon, then, it was illegal for a man to borrow on the security of his own person; otherwise there was perfect freedom of contract, the rate of interest to be paid on a loan being left entirely to the discretion of the parties to the loan. The usual rate of interest on mortgage was from 12 to 18 per cent.; on bottomry it was naturally higher, partly because the lender lost both capital and interest if the ship went down, and partly because of the risk inevitably attendant on sea-ventures. In bottomry the interest was paid at the same time as the capital was returned. In other loans, interest was usually paid annually, unless the debtor was regarded with suspicion, and then the interest might be demanded monthly.

In the way of giving security, the borrower might either induce a friend to become personally responsible, or he might give some piece of movable property as a pledge (*ἐνέχυρον*), such as arms, implements, golden crowns, slaves, &c., or he might give him a lien on some piece of immovable property, *e.g.*, house, land, mines, or on movable property, such as a ship or its freight (in which case the security was known as *ὑποθήκη*). When a piece of land was thus mortgaged, it was the custom to place, on the land mortgaged, stone tablets (*ὅροι*), stating the name of the lender, the amount lent, and the date (*i.e.*, the name of the Archon Eponymus). To raise more money by a second mortgage was either forbidden or was difficult: the first creditor had certainly to be satisfied in full first. To lend a second loan (*ἐπιδανείζειν*), therefore, was not advisable, unless the property exceeded in value the amount of the first mortgage. To remove the *ὅροι* fraudulently must have been forbidden by law.

If the debtor did not repay the loan on the day appointed, then the creditor who was in possession of movable property

interest; *δανείσαι*, to lend on interest; *δανειστής*, he who so lends; *δανείσασθαι* or *δάνεισμα ποιήσασθαι*, to receive a loan on condition of paying interest; *συγγραφὴ* and *συμβόλαιον*, a written contract or loan in writing; *συγγραφὴ ἑγγειος* and *συμβόλαιον ἑγγειον*, a mortgage; *συγγραφὴ ναυτικὴ* and *συμβόλαιον ναυτικόν*, a loan on bottomry; *ἐνέχυρον*, a pledge, security; *ὑποθεῖναι* and *θεῖναι* and *ἐνεχυράζειν*, to give security; *ὑποθέσθαι* and *θέσθαι* and *ἐνεχυράζεσθαι*, to receive security; *ὑποκείσθαι*, to be given as security; *ἐξίστασθαι τῶν ὄντων*, to become bankrupt (said of any one); *ἀνασκευάζειν τὴν τράπεζαν* (of a banker), to become bankrupt.

pledged to him as security might sell it, reimburse himself, and return to the debtor what (if anything) was left over, while the creditor who held a mortgage became, *ipso facto*, the legal possessor of the property hypothecated, and could prosecute for trespass (ἐξούλης) any one who disturbed him in the exercise of his rights. Or, if the creditor did not care to take either of these steps, he could prosecute for breach of contract (συμβολαίων or συνθήκων παραβάσεως), or for debt (χρέους), or for the recovery of moneys (ἀργυρίου δίκη), or, if the debtor were a banker, for recovery of funds advanced (ἀφορμῆς), or finally for damages (βλάβης).

When a debtor's whole estate did not suffice to pay all his creditors, it was necessary for him "to step out from his property," *i.e.*, become bankrupt. Probably his property was sold by auction, but there was no special legal process of bankruptcy.

We now proceed to the subject of bail,¹ on which the following are our chief authorities:—

Οὐδὲ δῆσω Ἀθηναίων οὐδένα ὃς ἂν ἐγγυητὰς τρεῖς καθιστῇ τὸ αὐτὸ τέλος τελοῦντας πλὴν ἑάν τις ἐπὶ προδοσίᾳ τῆς πόλεως ἢ ἐπὶ καταλύσει τοῦ δήμου συνιῶν ἁλῶ ἢ τέλος τι πριάμενος ἢ ἐγγυησάμενος ἢ ἐκλέγων μὴ καταβάλλῃ (oath of the bouleutæ).—Dem. *Timocr.* p. 745, § 144.

Τοὺς ἐγγυητὰς τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἐνέχεσθαι ἐν οἷσπερ οὖς ἐγγυήσαντο.—Andoc. *de Myst.* § 44.

Τὰς ἐγγύας ἐπετείους εἶναι.—Dem. *Apatur.* p. 901, § 27.

The person who became surety for another, and guaranteed to fulfil a private contract of any kind in case the principal failed to do so, could be prosecuted and compelled to make good his undertaking, provided the case was brought on within a twelvemonth.

With regard to bailing a man out of prison, an Athenian citizen, when lawfully arrested, could claim to be set at liberty if he produced three bails of the same property class as himself, unless the charge on which he was arrested was one of treason, or of attempting to subvert the constitution, and unless he was a farmer of taxes, a surety, or a collector who had made default. If the person bailed out of prison did not stand to his trial, his sureties were probably liable to the same punishment as would have been inflicted on the bailee.

¹ Ἐγγυᾶσθαι τινα or ἀναδέχεσθαι ἐγγύην or ἀναδεχέσθαι, to become bail for a man; ἐξεγγυᾶσθαι or διεγγυᾶσθαι, to bail a man out; ἐξεγγυηθῆναι, to be bailed out; κατεγγυᾶν, to require bail; κατεγγυᾶσθαι, to provide it.

We next come to the law with regard to Associations and Companies, which ran as follows:—

Ἐὰν δὲ δῆμος ἢ φράτορες ἢ ἱερῶν ὀργίων ἢ ναῦται (?) ἢ σύσσιτοι ἢ ὁμόταφοι ἢ θιασῶται ἢ ἐπὶ λείαν οἰχόμενοι ἢ εἰς ἐμπορίαν ὅτι ἂν τούτων διαθῶνται πρὸς ἀλλήλους κύριον εἶναι, ἐὰν μὴ ἀπαγορεύσῃ δημόσια γράμματα.—Digest. xlvii. 22, 4.

From the time of Solon certain associations were recognised by law, and the same validity was accorded to their bye-laws as the law of the land possessed (so far, that is, as they did not contravene it). A partnership or association of any kind could be compulsorily wound up on the application (εἰς δατητῶν αἵρεσιν) of any individual partner.

The vendor, unless he made express stipulation to the contrary, was bound by the law to make good the title to the article sold; and if, after the sale, any third person set up a claim to the article, the purchaser could compel the vendor (by a δίκη βεβαιώσεως) to defend the title; and if the third person made good his claim to the property, the vendor must reimburse the purchaser.

We have now to consider contracts for the payment of rent and for the execution of work. The tenant or farmer who did not pay his rent when due could be compelled to do so, the former by a δίκη ἐνοικίου, the latter by a δίκη καρποῦ. The occupier who let down the property rented by him could be attacked by a δίκη ἀγεωργίου and probably ἀμελίου. In contracts for the performance of work (physical or intellectual), either party to the contract could be prosecuted (by a δίκη μισθώσεως) for not fulfilling his obligations.

Finally we have to consider the conditions of sale, for which we depend on this quotation:—

Προγράφειν τὰς ὀνήσεις καὶ πράσεις παρὰ τῇ ἀρχῇ πρὸ ἡμερῶν μὴ ἔλαττον ἢ ἑξήκοντα καὶ τὸν πριάμενον ἑκατοστὴν τιθέναι τῆς τιμῆς ὅπως διαμφισβητήσai τε ἐξῆν καὶ διαμαρτυρῆσαι τῷ βουλομένῳ καὶ ὁ δικαίως ἐωνημένος φανερός ᾗ τῇ τέλει.
—Theophrastus ap. Stob. *Anth.* xlv. 22.

Earnest-money (ἀρραβών) was usually given to mark a bargain as made, but was not necessary to the legal validity of a sale. The transference of the property sold usually took place after the price had been paid, but the law required no formal *traditio* to mark the transference. The transference could, however, take place when only part of the price had been paid, in which case, naturally, the seller of immovable property retained a lien on the house or ground, and demanded interest on the amount of the sum still due to him. If Theophrastus

is right in saying that the law required sixty days' public notice of a sale to be given, in order that any one who claimed the property might have an opportunity of taking legal steps to prevent the sale, then it is probable that such notice was required only in the case of immovable property and slaves. Sales often were stopped by legal process, *e.g.*, the sale of mortgaged land might be stopped by those who held mortgages on it.

Protection was afforded by the law to the purchaser in certain cases: if the seller of a slave did not give notice, at the time of sale, of any secret disease (*e.g.*, epilepsy) or vice to which the slave was subject, the purchaser could, on discovering it and giving notice within a certain time, obtain legal remedy (*δίκη ἀναγωγῆς*).

CHAPTER XVI

ATTIC LAW (*continued*)

THE LAW OF INHERITANCE

FOR our knowledge of the laws of inheritance we depend mainly on these passages:—

Τῶν πατρώων, τῶν παππῶων, τῶν ἔτι περαιτέρω κληρονομεῖτε ἐκ γένους παρειληφότες τὴν ἀγχιστείαν ἀνεπίδικον.—Isæus, *Cir.* § 34.

Τοῦ νόμου κελεύοντος πάντας τοὺς γνησίους ἰσομοίρους εἶναι τῶν πατρώων.—Isæus, *Philoct.* § 25.

"Ὅστις ἂν μὴ διαθέμενος ἀποθάνῃ, ἐὰν μὲν παῖδας καταλείπῃ θηλείας, σὺν ταύτησιν, ἐὰν δὲ μὴ, τούσδε κυρίους εἶναι τῶν χρημάτων. ἐὰν [δὲ] ἀδελφοὶ ᾧσιν ὁμοπάτορες· καὶ ἐὰν παῖδες ἐξ ἀδελφῶν γνήσιοι, τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς μοῖραν λαγχάνειν· ἐὰν δὲ μὴ ἀδελφοὶ ᾧσιν ἢ ἀδελφῶν παῖδες . . . ἐξ αὐτῶν κατὰ ταῦτα λαγχάνειν· κρατεῖν δὲ τοὺς ἄρρένας καὶ τοὺς ἐκ τῶν ἀρρένων, ἐὰν ἐκ τῶν αὐτῶν ᾧσι καὶ ἐὰν γένει ἀπωτέρω· ἐὰν δὲ μὴ ᾧσι πρὸς πατρὸς μέχρι ἀνεψιῶν παίδων, τοὺς πρὸς μητρὸς τοῦ ἀνδρὸς κατὰ ταῦτα κυρίους εἶναι· ἐὰν δὲ μηδετέρωθεν ἢ ἐντὸς τούτων, τὸν πρὸς πατρὸς ἐγγυτάτω κύριον εἶναι. νόθῳ δὲ μηδὲ νόθῃ μὴ εἶναι ἀγχιστείαν μήθ' ἱερῶν μήθ' ὀσίων ἀπ' Εὐκλείδου ἀρχοντος.—Dem. *Macart.* p. 1067. Cf. Isæus, *Hag.* p. 271, §§ 1-3.

"Ἔστι δὲ νόμος ὅς ἐὰν ἀδελφὸς ὁμοπάτωρ ἅπαις τελευτήσῃ καὶ μὴ διαθέμενος τὴν τε ἀδελφὴν ὁμοίως καὶ ἐξ ἐτέρας ἀδελφιδουῶν ἢ

γεγονώς, ἰσομοίρους τῶν χρημάτων καθίστησι . . . πατρῶν μὲν οἶν καὶ ἀδελφοῦ χρημάτων τὸ ἴσον αὐτοῖς ὁ νόμος μετασχεῖν δίδωσιν· ἀνεψιοῦ δὲ καὶ εἴ τις ἔξω ταύτης τῆς συγγενείας ἐστίν, οὐκ ἴσον, ἀλλὰ προτέροις τοῖς ἄρρεσι τῶν θηλειῶν τὴν ἀγχιστείαν πέποιηκε.
—Isæus, *Apoll.* § 19.

If a man had sons who had attained their majority, he had no power to make a will. His property necessarily descended to his sons and their issue, who, on the one hand, entered in possession of it, without having first to prove their title to it; and who, on the other hand, could not refuse the inheritance, along with the encumbrances attached to it. If there were more sons than one (whether sons of the body, or of adoption), they divided the property equally. If any son died before his father and left children, those children were entitled to their father's share of their grandfather's property.

If a man had daughters as well as sons, the daughters were morally, but not legally, entitled to a dowry—from their father, if they married during his lifetime; from their brothers otherwise.

If the deceased left no sons but daughters, they were—in a sense—heiresses to the estate: they were, as the Greek puts it, “on the estate.” The nearest kinsman, however, was the real heir (unless the deceased had provided otherwise by will); but as he could not take the estate (*κληρος*) without also marrying the daughter who was “on the estate” (*ἐπίκληρος*), she did in a way inherit. Daughters and the children of deceased daughters divided the estate *per stirpes*, and not *per capita*, i.e., daughters took equal shares of their deceased father's property; and if one daughter died before her father, her children claimed her share.

If the deceased left no direct lineal descendants, the estate passed (1) to the collaterals, and first to the deceased's brothers (by the same father), or their issue—the property being divided *per stirpes*. Next (2) the sisters (by the same father) of the deceased, and their issue, between whom the division was *per stirpes* again, claimed the estate. Then came (3) the deceased's uncle (on the father's side) and his children (= the deceased's cousins, *ἀνεψιοί*) and their issue; and (4) the deceased's aunt (on the father's side) and her children (*ἀνεψιοί*) and their issue.

There are then in the Athenian law of succession two principles, a principle of exclusion and a principle of division. By the former, males exclude females, provided they are children of the same parents (e.g., the son of the deceased excludes the daughter, but the uncle of the deceased does not

exclude the sister of the deceased, because they are not children of the same parents); and the issue of such females are excluded by the issue, even in a remoter degree, of such males (*e.g.*, the daughter of the deceased is barred by a son of the deceased's son). By the principle of division, males do not exclude males born of the same parents, but divide the property; and the issue of such males are entitled to their fathers' share. By the same principle, females do not exclude females born of the same parents, but divide with them; and the issue of such females are also entitled to their mothers' share.

We now come to a clause in the law of succession which is ambiguous, and of which the meaning is much disputed: "Males and the issue of males to exclude, if sprung of the same seed, even if remoter in degree." According to the interpretation of Isæus (but he is a lawyer), the operation of this clause did not extend to the children or brothers or sisters of the deceased, but only to the uncles, aunts, and other kinsfolk; and the effect of the clause, according to Isæus, was to modify the action of the principle of division; thus, if the deceased left a grandson by one son and a grand-daughter by another, then (as the clause does not affect children of the deceased), the issue of the one son would divide the estate with the issue of the other son—the grand-daughter divides with the grandson, the female is not excluded by the male. But in the case of cousins, for instance (where the clause does operate), the female would be excluded by the male; thus, if the deceased had an uncle, and that uncle had a grandson by one son, and a grand-daughter by another, then the issue of the uncle's one son would not divide the estate with the issue of the other—the grand-daughter of the deceased's uncle would be excluded by the grandson. So too, according to Isæus, a female cousin of the deceased would be excluded by the son of another female cousin, though a sister of the deceased would not be excluded by a sister's son.

The distinction drawn by the clause, as interpreted by Isæus, is apparently both gratuitous and unjust. Further, his interpretation requires us to disregard the words, "if sprung of the same seed, even if remoter in degree," and to believe that they do not limit the prescription, "males and their issue to exclude." But no modern scholar has suggested a better interpretation.

In default of brothers and sisters by the father's side, and in default further of paternal uncles and aunts, the inheritance of the deceased passed to (1) half-brothers (*i.e.*, children of the same mother but of different fathers), if there were any; then

(2) to half-sisters by the same mother ; then (3) to the brothers of the deceased's mother ; (4) to sisters of the deceased's mother—or to the descendants of any of these. Here the ἀγχιωτεῖς, or next-of-kin in the narrower sense, end ; the limit is the first cousin once removed.¹ In other words, my ἀγχιωτεῖς are all descendants of my grandfather. In default of ἀγχιωτεῖς, then the law called in descendants of the deceased's paternal great-grandfather.

Illegitimate children (and their issue) possessed none of these rights of inheritance.² Freedmen could bequeath only to their direct descendants, not to their collaterals : in default of collaterals their property passed to the master who freed them. Other Metics were subject to the same laws of succession as free-born citizens.

We have next to consider the power of devising. For this we may make the following references :—

Ὁ μὲν Σόλων ἔθηκε νόμον ἑξεῖναι δοῦναι τὰ ἑαυτοῦ ᾧ ἂν τις βούληται, ἐὰν μὴ παῖδες ᾧσι γνήσιοι.—Dem. *Lept.* p. 488.

Κελεύει (ὁ νόμος) τὴν διαθήκην, ἣν ἂν παῖδων ὄντων γνησίων ὁ πατὴρ διαθῇται, ἐὰν ἀποθάνωσιν οἱ παῖδες πρὶν ἡβῆσαι, κυρίαν εἶναι.—Dem. *Steph.* ii. p. 1136.

Τὰ ἑαυτοῦ διαθέσθαι εἶναι ὅπως ἂν ἐθέλῃ ἂν μὴ παῖδες ᾧσι γνήσιοι ἄρρενες ἂν μὴ μανιῶν ἢ γήρως ἢ φαρμάκων ἢ νόσου ἕνεκεν ἢ γυναικὶ πειθόμενος ὑπὸ τούτων του παρανοῶν ἢ ὑπ' ἀνάγκης ἢ ὑπὸ δεσμοῦ καταληφθεῖς.—Dem. *Steph.* ii. p. 1133. Cf. Dem. *Leoch.* p. 1100, § 67 ; Isæus, *Philoct.* § 9 ; *Menecl.* § 1 ; *Astyph.* §§ 16, 37 ; Dem. *Steph.* ii. p. 1133, § 16 ; *Olymp.* p. 1183, § 56. (According to Ar. *Ath. Pol.* c. 35, the Thirty struck out the words ἐὰν μὴ μανιῶν ἢ γήρως ἢ γυναικὶ πειθόμενος from the law, because of the opportunities which they afforded “sycophants” of levying blackmail.)

From these passages, then, it appears that the law, as quoted by the orators, declares that a man having sons cannot make a will. But to the principle thus broadly laid down there were exceptions, some stated apparently by the law itself, and some sanctioned by usage. Thus the law itself allowed the father of sons to make a will during their minority, which should

¹ As the Greek word ἀνεψιαδοῦς may mean either my uncle's grandson (= first cousin once removed), or my great-uncle's grandson (= second cousin), it should be noted that it was probably at the former that the ἀγχιωτεῖα terminated.

² Unless they were legitimated, which might be effected by a proceeding practically identical with adoption.—Andoc. *de Myster.* § 124 ; Dem. c. *Bæot.* i. p. 1003, § 29.

only take effect provided that they died before attaining their majority. Again, as a matter of fact, we find that fathers of sons did bequeath by will dowries to their daughters, legacies to illegitimate children, to non-relatives, and to temples, and that the sum-total of such bequests might exceed the half of the deceased's estate. It cannot be shown that the power of bequest was expressly sanctioned by law, but that it was exercised commonly as matter of course is beyond doubt. As to the power of disinheritance, if it could be legally effected by disowning the son (*ἀποκήρυξις*), it probably was unknown in practice; it could not be effected by testament.

The power of devising was again limited, not only by the existence of sons, but, in another way, by the existence of daughters. If the testator had no sons but only daughters, he could not by will deprive his daughters of their shares in his estate. He might, indeed, devise his estate to whom he would, but only if the devisee took the daughter as well as the estate and married her.

Further, the testator, at the time of making his will, must be in full possession of his faculties—not insane, doting, under the influence of drugs, disease, or a woman, not in duress or under constraint. And the law regarding *ὑπεύθυνοι* also deprived a man who had held public office of the power of alienating his property, so long as he was not formally discharged from the liabilities entailed by tenure of office. The law of guardian and ward again inferentially prevented a minor from making a will, for it refused to recognise any power in a minor to dispose of things of greater value than a medimnus.

The childless man, then, of full age and in full possession of his faculties, might choose his own heir; and the traditional mode of conveying the estate to the intended heir was for the testator not to bequeath the estate to him, but in his will to adopt him as his son.

As to the form of a will, the law seems to have made no provision: it was for the testator to see that there were means forthcoming, if necessary, to show that his will really was his act. To commit the will to writing was an obvious and a usual measure of precaution—though a verbal expression, if it could be proved, would suffice. But the testator need not write or even sign or seal the will himself; as a matter of fact, however, the custom was for him to seal it. Witnesses were naturally called in, but they did not sign: and, as they did not know the contents of the will, they could not swear to the identity of the document or to anything but the

fact that a will had been made. This, however, was remedied to some extent by depositing the document with a friend or some official, who might testify that this was the will which the witnesses saw made. Codicils (separate or attached) were recognised as valid. A will once made was valid until destroyed or formally revoked in the presence of witnesses.

It follows that we should now consider the obligations of heirs, and we begin by making the following quotations:—

Τοὺς δ' ἀπογιγνομένους ἐν τοῖς δήμοις οὓς ἂν μηδεὶς ἀναιρῆται, ἐπαγγελλέτω ὁ δήμαρχος τοῖς προσήκουσιν ἀναιρεῖν καὶ θάπτειν καὶ καθαίρειν τὸν δῆμον τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἣ ἂν ἀπογένηται ἕκαστος αὐτῶν. ἐπαγγέλλειν δὲ περὶ μὲν τῶν δούλων τῷ δεσπότῃ, περὶ δὲ τῶν ἐλευθέρων τοῖς τὰ χρήματ' ἔχουσιν· ἕαν δὲ μὴ ἦ χρήματα τῷ ἀποθανόντι, τοῖς προσήκουσι τοῦ ἀποθανόντος ἐπαγγέλλειν. ἕαν δὲ τοῦ δημάρχου ἐπαγγείλαντος μὴ ἀναιρῶνται οἱ προσήκοντες, ὁ μὲν δήμαρχος ἀπομισθωσάτο ἀνελεῖν καὶ καταθάψαι καὶ καθάραι τὸν δῆμον αὐθημερὸν ὅπως ἂν δύνωνται ὀλιγίστου· ἕαν δὲ μὴ ἀπομισθώσῃ, ὀφειλέτω χιλίας δραχμὰς τῷ δημοσίῳ. ὅτι δ' ἂν ἀναλώσῃ διπλάσιον πραξάσθω παρὰ τῶν ὀφειλόντων· ἕαν δὲ μὴ πράξῃ, αὐτὸς ὀφειλέτω τοῖς δημόταις.—*Dem. c. Macart.* p. 1069.

Τὸν ἀποθανόντα προτίθεσθαι ἔνδον ὅπως ἂν βούληται. ἐκφέρειν δὲ τὸν ἀποθανόντα τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ ἢ ἣ ἂν προθῶνται, πρὶν ἥλιον ἐξέχειν. βαδίζειν δὲ τοὺς ἄνδρας πρόσθεν ὅταν ἐκφέρωνται, τὰς δὲ γυναῖκας ὀπισθεν. γυναῖκα δὲ μὴ ἐξεῖναι εἰσιέναι εἰς τὰ τοῦ ἀποθανόντος μὴδ' ἀκολουθεῖν ἀποθανόντι ὅταν εἰς τὰ σήματα ἄγῃται ἐντὸς ἐξήκοντ' ἐτῶν γεγωνυῖαν πλὴν ὅσαι ἐντὸς ἀνεψιαδῶν εἰσὶ. μὴδ' εἰς τὰ τοῦ ἀποθανόντος εἰσιέναι ἐπειδὰν ἐξενεχθῇ ὁ νέκυσ γυναῖκα μνηδεμίαν πλὴν ὅσαι ἐντὸς ἀνεψιαδῶν εἰσιν.—*Dem. c. Marart.* p. 1071.

For laws regarding offences entailing ἀτιμία on the heir of the offender, see *Dem. c. Macart.* p. 1069, § 58; *c. Mid.* p. 551, § 113; *Andoc. de Myst.* § 74.

The leading idea of the Athenian law of inheritance is to provide that the worship of the deceased shall be continued. That the law expressly enjoined on the heir the duty of making the annual offerings in which this worship consisted is clear from many references in the orators, though no direct quotation from the law occurs. The same remark applies to the duty of burying the deceased, but that here we happen to have the law, which provides for the burial of persons found dead. This law directs the demarch, the head of the deme or district, to summon the relatives of the deceased to remove and bury the corpse, and purify the deme the same day as that on which the deceased died. If the deceased is a slave, his owner is to be

summoned; if a free man, those who are in possession of his estate; if there is no estate, his relatives. If the summons is disregarded, the demarch is to hire some one on the same day, as cheaply as possible, to remove and bury the corpse, and purify the deme. The demarch is entitled to recover from the relatives twice the costs he has incurred. If he does not recover from them, he is himself responsible for what he has spent. If he takes no steps to purify the deme, he is fined 1000 drachmæ.

Not only were the next-of-kin legally bound to bury the deceased, but the manner in which they were to conduct his funeral was also ordained by law; and we fortunately possess fragments of this law. The deceased's body must be laid out—how, the law leaves to the choice of the persons concerned, but the laying out (*πρόθεσις*) must be *inside* the house. The funeral proper is to take place the next day, before the sun begins to shine. The male relatives must walk before the bier, the women after it. No woman under sixty is to be allowed to enter where the corpse is laid out, nor to follow the bier, unless she is one of the deceased's ἀγχιστεῖς, *i.e.*, a relative not more distant than first cousin once removed. Nor may any woman enter the room when the corpse has been removed, unless she is one of the ἀγχιστεῖς.

The reason of this very archaic law is to be found, I conjecture, in the primitive belief that the soul of the deceased might pass into the body of a woman and be born again of her. The object of the law would then be to ensure that the deceased should be born again within the limits of his own kin.

Finally, the next-of-kin, in addition to incurring the duties of burying the deceased and continuing his family worship, inherited all claims for debts or damages that were valid against the deceased, and was liable to pay them out of his own property, if the deceased's estate did not suffice. If the deceased had been disfranchised (ἄτιμος) for debt or crime, and the law under which he had been disfranchised made the disfranchisement heritable, then a lineal descendant could not avoid the disfranchisement, because he could not decline the inheritance, but collaterals might.

As one of the recognised means of devising property, adoption¹ claims to be treated of in this chapter. The conditions

¹ Εἰσποιεῖσθαι, ποιεῖσθαι, θέσθαι υἱόν, to adopt a son; and ποιητὸς πατήρ, an adoptive father; ποιηθῆναι, εἰσποιηθῆναι, to be adopted; and ποιητός, εἰσποιητός, θετός υἱός, son by adoption; γνήσιος υἱός, son by birth; ἐκποιηθῆναι, ἐκποιήτων γίγνεσθαι, to leave one's natural father to be adopted

under which it was possible are contained in the following quotations:—

"Όταν τις ὦν ἅπαις καὶ κύριος τῶν ἑαυτοῦ, ποιήσῃται υἱόν, ταῦτα κύρια εἶναι.—Dem. *Leochar.* 1095.

Εἴ τις αὐτὸς ζῶν καὶ εὖ φρονῶν ἐποιήσατο καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ ἱερὰ ἀγαγὼν εἰς τοὺς συγγενεῖς ἀπέδειξε καὶ εἰς τὰ κοινὰ γραμματεία ἐνέγραψεν.—Isæus, *Apol.* § 1. Cf. *Menecl.* § 14.

Εἴ τις τελευτήσῃν μέλλων διέθετο, εἴ τι πάθοι, τὴν οὐσίαν ἐτέρῳ.—*Ibid.*

Ὁ γὰρ νόμος διαρρήδην λέγει ἐξεῖναι διαθέσθαι ὅπως ἂν ἐθέλῃ τις τὰ αὐτοῦ ἂν μὴ παῖδας γηγνήσιους καταλίπῃ ἄρρενας. ἂν δὲ θηλείας καταλίπῃ, σὺν ταύταις.—Isæus, *Pyrrh.* § 68. Cf. *Arist.* § 13, p. 262.

Ἔστι δ' αὐτοῖς (*i.e.*, the *gennetae* and *phratores*) νόμος ὁ αὐτὸς ἂν τέ τινα φύσει γεγονότα εἰσάγῃ τις ἂν τε ποιητὸν ἐπιτιθέναι πίστιν κατὰ τῶν ἱερῶν ἢ μὴν ἐξ ἀστῆς εἰσάγειν καὶ γεγονότα ὀρθῶς καὶ τὸν ὑπάρχοντα καὶ τὸν ποιητόν· ποιήσαντος δὲ τοῦ εἰσάγοντος ταῦτα μηδὲν ἡττον διαψηφίζεσθαι καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους κἂν δόξῃ, τότε εἰς τὸ κοινὸν γραμματεῖον ἐγγράφειν, πρότερον δὲ μὴ.—Isæus, *Apol.* § 16.

Υπεύθυνον οὐκ ἔῃ (ὁ νομοθέτης) . . . οὐδ' ἐκποιήτον γενέσθαι οὐδὲ διαθέσθαι τὰ ἑαυτοῦ.—*Æsch. in Ctes.* § 21.

Ὡς (*i.e.*, the adopted son) ὁμοίως ὁ νόμος τὴν κληρονομίαν ἀποδίδωσι καὶ τοῖς ἐξ αὐτοῦ γενομένοις.—Isæus, *Philoct.* § 63.

Ὁ γὰρ νόμος οὐκ ἔῃ ἐπανιέναι, ἂν μὴ υἱὸν καταλίπῃ γνήσιον.—*Ibid.* § 44. Cf. *Harp.* ὅτι οἱ ποιητοί.

Ἐκ τῶν κατὰ γένος ἐγγυτάτῳ εἰσποιεῖν υἱὸν τῷ τετελευτήκοτι, ὅπως ἂν ὁ οἶκος μὴ ἐξηρημωθῇ.—Dem. *adv. Leochar.* 1093.

Μητρὸς οὐδεὶς ἔστιν ἐκποιήτος, ἀλλ' ὁμοίως ὑπάρχει τὴν αὐτὴν εἶναι μητέρα κἂν ἐν τῷ πατρὶϊ μένῃ τις οἴκῳ κἂν ἐκποιηθῇ.—Isæus, *Apol.* § 25.

Τοῖς ποιηθεῖσιν οὐκ ἐξὸν διαθέσθαι, ἀλλὰ ζῶντας ἐγκαταλιπόντας υἱὸν γνήσιον ἐπανιέναι ἢ τελευτήσαντας ἀποδιδόναι τὴν κληρονομίαν τοῖς ἐξ ἀρχῆς οἰκείοις οἷσι τοῦ ποιησαμένου.—Dem. *Leochar.* 1100.

Ἐὰν ποιησαμένῳ παῖδες ἐπιγένωνται τὸ μέρος ἐκάτερον ἔχειν τῆς οὐσίας καὶ κληρονομεῖν ὁμοίως ἀμφοτέρους.—Isæus, *Philoct.* § 63.

Ὁ ἀρχων ἐπιμελείσθω τῶν οἴκων τῶν ἐξηρημουμένων.—Dem. *Macart.* § 75.

by another; διατίθεσθαι τὰ αὐτοῦ, *lit.*, to will away one's property, comes to be used sometimes as equivalent to εἰσποιεῖσθαι, since by adopting a son you, *ipso facto*, willed away your property; ἐξηρημοῦσθαι (οἶκον), to become extinct (of a line, family) by the failure of direct descendants.

Νόμῳ γὰρ (in case the deceased has not adopted a son) τῶ ἄρχοντι τῶν οἴκων ὅπως ἂν μὴ ἐξερημῶνται προστάττει (τὸ κοινὸν) τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν.—Isæus, *Apol.* p. 179, § 30.

The Athenian dreaded the mere possibility of the discontinuance of that family worship which was necessary for the spiritual welfare of his deceased ancestors, and of himself after death, and which could only be continued provided he had male descendants. This horror lest his family worship should be extinguished was so strong, that, on the one hand, as we have just seen, no son under any circumstances was discharged from the solemn duty of rendering the usual rites to his deceased ancestors; and on the other, the Athenian who had no sons had recourse to adoption to prevent his line from being extinguished.

The conditions under which adoption was permitted by law, were naturally determined for the most part with reference to the object aimed at. Thus, as the family-worship could only be transmitted from males to males, no woman could adopt. Nor was it necessary or legal for a man who had already sons to adopt another (though he might by will provisionally adopt a son—the adoption only to take effect if his natural sons died before attaining their majority). Again, as the adopted son became the legal heir to his adoptive father's property, to adopt a son (whether during one's life, or by will) was in effect to will away property from the next-of-kin, who otherwise would inherit. Hence, adoption was limited by the same restrictions as were imposed on testation: the testator must be of age (eighteen), and of sound mind. Further, the law protected the rights, not only of the next-of-kin and of sons, but also of daughters: on the one hand, the law demanded that the estate should go to the daughter; on the other hand, the daughter was incapable of performing the worship which was attached to the estate and a condition of tenure. The legal solution of this difficulty was, that the father should betroth the heiress to his adopted son; or, if his daughter were already married, he might adopt her son—anyhow, the law was explicit, as Isæus says, to the effect that the estate could not be willed away from the daughters, but must go "with them."

It may, perhaps, be inquired why, if the daughter were already married, her husband could not be adopted. The reason was, that a man could not have two fathers: if he was "adopted into" one family, he was thereby, as the Greek has it, "adopted out of" the other, and he had thereby forfeited all connection with it; and, as he became heir to his adoptive

father, and liable to all the duties, drawbacks, and encumbrances attached to the estate, so he renounced all claim to inherit from the family which he left, and was released from the duty of continuing its worship.

It might happen that sons were born to the adoptive father after he had adopted a son out of another family; and in that case the son by birth and the son by adoption shared the estate equally. Or it might happen that the adopted son wished to return to the family of his natural father; and this was permitted, provided that he had fulfilled the object with which he had been adopted, viz., provided that he left a son to continue the line and the worship of his adoptive family. But the son thus left must be a son of his body: an adopted son might not himself adopt a son.

If the adopted son remained in his adoptive family, but failed to fulfil the purpose of his adoption, *i.e.*, had no children himself, he was not allowed to will away the property of his adoptive family. The law stepped in to protect the next-of-kin, and required that the property should revert to them after the death of the adopted son, as it would have done if he had never been adopted—in fact, the adoption having failed of its purpose, was treated as non-existent.

It may at first seem surprising to find Isæus laying it down as law that no adoption could break the tie between son and mother, *i.e.*, the son, if adopted into another family, still could inherit his mother's portion, and still was liable to support her if in poverty. The explanation, we may conjecture, is that the object of adoption was in no wise hindered by the continuance of the tie, and would be no wise furthered by the breaking of it.

Besides the restrictions on the liberty of adoption imposed in the interests of those immediately concerned in the act and its consequences, there were certain limitations imposed in the public interest. Thus, no one who had held office and had not yet been formally discharged, could either adopt or be adopted. Nor did the state recognise adoption unless both parties were genuine Athenians. On the other hand, although the orators sometimes speak as though the law required various ceremonies—that the adopted son should be introduced to the phratry of his adoptive father, that the adoptive father should thereupon make the customary offering and take an oath that the adopted son was the legitimate child of a genuine Athenian mother (the oath to be confirmed, if required, by a ballot of the other phratores), that the son's name should be entered in the registry

of the phratry, and subsequently in the registry of the adoptive father's townsmen—it seems on the whole probable that these proceedings, though very valuable as evidence, if evidence should be required, of adoption, were not required by the law of the land, and that the exact order and course of these proceedings was regulated by the custom or law of the particular phratry and deme. Finally, if a man died, leaving no sons, whether of his body or of his adoption, then it was the duty of the archon to see that his line did not become extinct, and to make the next-of-kin the adopted son of the deceased.

This chapter may fittingly be concluded with a few remarks on the relations of guardian and ward, and on the pupillage of women.

Our knowledge of the laws applying to the guardian of orphans (ἐπίτροπος) is almost entirely inferential, and is based on the following passages:—

Κατὰ τοὺς νόμους . . . μισθῶσαι τὸν οἶκον . . . ἣ γῆν πριάμενος ἐκ τῶν προσιόντων τοὺς παῖδας τρέφειν.—Lys. *Diogit.* § 23. Cf. Dem. in *Aphob.* i. 831.

Τὰ τῶν ἐπιτροπευόντων χρήματα ἀποτίμημα τοῖς ἐπιτροπευομένοις καθεστάναι.—Dem. *Onetor*, p. 866.

Ὁ δὲ εἰς ληξιαρχικὸν γραμματεῖον ἐγγραφεῖς ἤδη τὰ πατρῶα παραλαμβάνει.—Pol. viii. 104. Cf. Æsch. c. *Timarch.* § 18.

Οὐκ ἀποδόντι λόγον ἐπιτρόπῳ ἐγκαλοῦσιν οἱ ὀρφανοί.—Dem. *adv. Nausimach.* p. 989.

Μισθοῖ δὲ (ὁ ἄρχων) καὶ τοὺς οἴκους τῶν ὀρφανῶν καὶ τῶν ἐπι[κλήρων, ἕως ἄν τις τέτταρ]α καὶ δε[κέ]τις γένηται καὶ τὰ ἀποτιμήματα λαμβάν[ει] καὶ τοὺς ἐπιτρόπους, ἐὰν μ[ὴ] ἀπο[δ]ώσι τοῖς παισὶν τὸν σίτον, οὗτος εἰσπράττει.—Ar. *Ath. Pol.* c. 56.

There were two kinds of guardians, those appointed by the will of the deceased father, and those appointed by the archon, when none had been nominated by the deceased. The latter were chosen from among the next-of-kin (if there were any relations). Testamentary guardians had to administer the orphans' property according to the directions of the will, if directions were given. If there were no directions, then they might apply to the archon to farm the estate to the highest bidder—the archon obtaining security from the lessee, and seeing that it was adequate; or they might administer it at their own risk, investing it in land or mortgages. Guardians were probably subject to the perpetual supervision of the archon, whose duty it was to compel them, if necessary, to provide for the support of their wards. The ward, at the age of eighteen, came into his property, and the guardian had to

render an account of his trust, and could be prosecuted if he had let down the estate of his ward.

On the pupillage of women, the following passages may be cited :—

‘Ο γὰρ νόμος διαρρήδην κωλύει γυναικὶ μὴ ἐξεῖναι συμβάλλειν πέρα μεδίμνου κριθῶν.—Isæus, *Arist.* § 10.

Οὐκ ἔα (ὁ νόμος) τῶν τῆς ἐπικλήρου κύριον εἶναι ἀλλ’ ἢ τοὺς παῖδας ἐπὶ δίετες ἡβήσαντας κρατεῖν τῶν χρημάτων.—Ibid. § 12.

Ο μὲν νόμος κελεύει τοὺς παῖδας ἡβήσαντας κυρίους τῆς μητρὸς εἶναι.—Dem. *Steph.* ii. p. 1135.

From the above it appears that no woman could legally be a party to any contract involving an amount of greater value than one bushel of barley. In all legal proceedings, therefore, she had to be represented by a legally qualified representative or guardian, *κύριος*. As long as she remained in her parents' home, her *κύριος* was her father, or after his death, her next male relative, according to the Athenian law of succession. When she married, her husband became her *κύριος* until he died; and then, if she remained in his house, her sons (or their *ἐπίτροπος*) took his place. If she returned to her original family (either owing to the death of her husband or to divorce), she came again into the guardianship of her next kinsman.

CHAPTER XVII

ATTIC LAW (*continued*)

MARRIAGE LAWS

THIS chapter is devoted to the laws of marriage, and of the relations resulting from marriage. With regard to marriage, it will suffice to quote two passages :—

Εἴ τις θυγατέρα τινος ἔχει λαβὼν ἀδίκως μηδεὶς δόντος οὐκ εἰσιν οἱ παῖδες κληρονόμοι.—Dem. *Phorm.* 954.

“Ἦν ἂν ἐγγνήσῃ ἐπὶ δίκαιοις δάμαρτα εἶναι ἢ πατὴρ ἢ ἀδελφὸς ὁμοπάτωρ ἢ πάππος ὁ πρὸς πατρός, ἐκ ταύτης εἶναι παῖδας γνησίους.—Dem. *Steph.* ii. 1134. Cf. *Leoch.* 1095.

Monogamy alone was recognised by law. No person could be married to two people at the same time. As for “forbidden degrees,” they were very few. A man might not marry a direct ancestor or direct descendant, nor might he marry his uterine sister; but he might marry, for instance, his niece, or

aunt, or a half-sister who had the same father (but not the same mother) as himself. The condition without which no marriage was valid, *i.e.*, the condition which made a union a legal marriage, was betrothal. Introduction of the bride to the phratores of the husband at the Gamelia was required by custom, but in law was only valuable as providing evidence of the marriage. A maid could only be legally betrothed to a man by some person having legal authority over her (*κύριος*), viz., by her father, or, in event of his death or absence, by her brother (or, if she had several brothers, by her brothers conjointly), or by her paternal grandfather. But if none of these legally authorised persons were alive, and the (deceased) father had not betrothed her by will, it was essential to her legal marriage that the archon should “adjudge” her to the nearest male relative who claimed to marry her. If, owing to her poverty, there was nothing to induce her relatives to claim her, then the nearest relative was compelled by law either to dower her (in which case probably he became legally qualified to betroth her), or to marry her himself (in which case a formal betrothal was presumably unnecessary, and the introduction of the bride, at the Gamelia, to the husband’s phratores, sufficed to constitute a marriage).

To divorce his wife, all that the husband had to do was to bid her (probably in the presence of a witness) go back to the house of her *κύριος*, and take her dowry with her, as appears from the following passage:—

Κατὰ τὸν νόμον ὅς κελεύει ἐὰν ἀποπέμψῃ τὴν γυναῖκα, ἀποδιδόναι τὴν προῖκα, ἐὰν δὲ μὴ, ἐπ’ ἐννέ’ ὀβολοῖς τοκοφορεῖν, καὶ σίτου εἰς Ὀιδεῖον εἶναι δικάσασθαι ὑπὲρ τῆς γυναικὸς τῷ κυρίῳ.—Dem. *Neer.* 1362.

To divorce her husband (against his wish), the wife had to go in person to the archon at his office, and present him with a written statement of the grounds on which she divorced him.

There is some reason to think that the law limited the freedom of divorce to a certain extent, and that not every reason was accepted as sufficient legal ground for divorcing either a husband or a wife. And the law certainly interfered with divorce so far as to prescribe it in certain cases, *e.g.*, it was compulsory on a husband to divorce a wife caught in adultery, and (it is said) on the wife to divorce a husband who lost his freedom. But adultery on the part of the husband did not entitle the wife to divorce him.

Finally, the next-of-kin having a legal claim to an heiress (and her property), could, if she was already married, divorce

her from her husband, in order to marry her himself. A father could divorce his married daughter from her husband, and the husband could give his wife in marriage to some one else.

The man (married or unmarried) who committed adultery might be lawfully killed on the spot by the woman's husband, son, brother, or father; or he might be held to ransom; or he might be prosecuted for adultery (but with what consequences we do not know). The woman, on the other hand, might not be maimed or killed; she was *ipso facto* divorced and subjected to ἀτιμία (i.e., she was excluded from the public temples and might not wear ornaments), but no action for adultery lay against her, as appears from the following passage:—

Τὴν γυναῖκα ἐφ' ἣ ἂν ἀλῶ μοιχὸς, μὴ κοσμεῖσθαι μηδὲ εἰς τὰ δημοτελῆ ἱερὰ εἰσιέναι ἵνα μὴ τὰς ἀναμαρτήτους τῶν γυναικῶν ἀναμιγνυμένη διαφθείρῃ· ἐὰν δ' εἰσὶν ἣ κοσμήται, τὸν ἐντυχόντα καταρρηγνύναι τὰ ἱμάτια καὶ τὸν κόσμον ἀφαιρεῖσθαι καὶ τύπτειν, εἰργόμενον θανάτου καὶ τοῦ ἀνάπῃρον ποιῆσαι.—Æsch. *Timarch.* § 183.

The husband might not condone the offence under penalty of ἀτιμία:—

Ἐπειδὴν δὲ ἔλῃ τὸν μοιχὸν μὴ ἐξέστω τῷ ἐλόντι συνοικεῖν τῇ γυναικὶ· ἐὰν δὲ συνοικῇ, ἄτιμος ἔστω.—Dem. *in Neær.* p. 1347.

The laws on the subject of married women's property are contained in the following passages:—

Ἐάν τις τι ἀτίμητον ὧς ἔνεκα τοῦ γάμου, εἰς ἀπολίπη ἢ γυνὴ τὸν ἄνδρα ἢ ἐὰν ὁ ἀνὴρ ἐκπέμψῃ τὴν γυναῖκα, οὐκ ἔξεστι τράξασθαι τῷ δόντι ὃ μὴ ἐν προικὶ τιμήσας ἔδωκεν.—Isoc. *Pyrrh.* § 35.

Εἰ γυναικὶ γαμουμένη προῖκα ἐπιδιδόειν οἱ προσήκοντες αἰτεῖν παρὰ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ὥσπερ ἐνέχυρόν τι τῆς προίκος ἄξιον, οἶον οἰκίαν ἢ χωρίον.—Harpoc. *ἀποτιμηταί* (the husband is said *ἀποτιμᾶν*, to give security, the κύριος is said *ἀποτιμήσασθαι*, to accept it, the property pledged is said *ἀποτιμηθῆναι*, and is called *ἀποτίμημα*).

Ὁ τὴν προῖκα λαβὼν καὶ μὴ γήμας τὴν προῖκα ὀφείλει ἐπ' ἐννέα ὀβολοῖς.—Dem. *in Aphob.* i. 818.

Ἦν (i.e., προῖκα) ἐπενεγκαμένης τῆς μητρὸς οἱ νόμοι κελεύουσιν ἐμὲ (i.e., τὸν υἱὸν) κομίζεσθαι.—Dem. *Bæot. Dot.* 1026.

Ὁ μὲν νόμος κελεύει τοὺς παῖδας ἡβήσαντας κυρίους τῆς μητρὸς εἶναι, τὸν δὲ σῖτον μετρεῖν τῇ μητρί.—Dem. *Steph.* ii. 1135. Cf. *Israës. Aristarch.* p. 261, § 12.

Τῆς προίκος εἰς αὐτὸν (i.e., τὸν κύριον) γεγνομένης εἴ τι ἔπαθεν ἢ γυνὴ πρὶν γενέσθαι παῖδας αὐτῇ.—Isoc. *Pyrrh.* 36.

Some measure of protection against capricious divorce was

afforded to the wife by the fact that her dowry never became the property of the husband, and consequently, if she was divorced, returned with her to her guardian. The dowry was constituted by a (verbal) agreement before witnesses. Of the things which the bride brought to the husband those constituted the dowry which were specified by this agreement as being part of the dower. What was not so specified could not subsequently be recovered from the husband.¹

If the dowry did not take the form of real property, but was paid in ready money, the bride's relations demanded security from the bridegroom, usually a piece of real property, which was called and treated as a mortgage.² The husband, having thus or otherwise made himself responsible for the repayment of the dowry, enjoyed the user of it and the revenues from or interest upon it (hence he paid the taxes on it), but it could not be seized by his creditors to pay his debts. If, having got the dowry, he did not marry the girl, he could be compelled to refund it. If he divorced his wife, he had to return the dowry, or pay 18 per cent. per annum on it until he did so.³ On the death of the husband, the wife, if she had sons, might or might not remain in her deceased husband's house. If she remained, then her dowry became the absolute property of her sons (or their guardians), subject of course to a charge for her support. If she, wishing to marry (and therefore needing her dowry), elected to leave her sons and her late husband's house, her dowry reverted with her to her guardians. If she had no sons, she necessarily returned to her guardian, taking her dower. The dower also was returned to the wife's guardian if she died without children.

The laws regulating the relations of father and child to one another are as follows:—

Μήτε θνγατέρας πωλεῖν, μήτ' ἀδελφὰς πλὴν ἂν μὴ λάβῃ παρθένον ἀνδρὶ συγγεγεννημένην.—Plut. *Sol.* 23.

Κελεύει γὰρ (ὁ νόμος) τρέφειν τοὺς γονέας. γονεῖς δ' εἰσὶ μήτηρ καὶ πατήρ καὶ πάππος καὶ τήθη καὶ τούτων μήτηρ καὶ πατήρ.—Isoc. *Cir.* § 32.

Ὅστις οὖν τὸν τε γόνῳ πατέρα τὸν αὐτοῦ ἔτυπτε καὶ οὐδὲν

¹ To specify as belonging to the dowry is ἐν προικὶ τιμᾶν or ἐντιμᾶν προικί. Cf. Dem. 1156, ἐξέφερον σκεύη, ἀπαγορευούσης τῆς γυναικὸς μὴ ἄπτεσθαι αὐτοῖς καὶ λεγούσης ὅτι αὐτῆς εἴη ἐν τῇ προικὶ τετιμημένα.

² ἀποτίμημα.

³ The payment of this interest is called σῖτος. The husband had not to pay alimony as well as interest; σίτον δικάσασθαι (Dem. *Neær.* § 52, p. 1362) is to bring an action to compel the husband to pay the 18 per cent.

παρείχε τῶν ἐπιτηδείων τόν τε ποιητὸν πατέρα ἀφείλετο ἃ ἦν ὑπάρχοντα ἐκείνῳ ἀγαθά . . . κατὰ τὸν τῆς κακώσεως νόμον ἄξιός ἐστι θανάτῳ ζημιωθῆναι.—Lys. *Agor.* 91. Cf. Dem. *Timocr.* § 105, p. 733.

Υἱὸν τρέφειν τὸν πατέρα, μὴ διδασκόμενον τέχνην ἐπάναγκες μὴ εἶναι μηδὲ τοῖς ἐξ ἑταίρας γιγνομένοις ἐπάναγκες εἶναι τοὺς πατέρας τρέφειν.—Plut. *Sol.* 22.

Μὴ ἐπανάγκες εἶναι τῷ παιδί ἡβήσαντι τρέφειν τὸν πατέρα μηδὲ οἴκησιν παρέχειν ὅς ἂν ἐκμισθωθῇ ἑταιρεῖν. ἀποθανόντα δὲ αὐτὸν θαπτέτω καὶ τὰλλα ποιείτω τὰ νομιζόμενα.—Æsch. *c. Timarch.* § 13.

Τοὺς γονεάς εἶναι κυρίους οὐ μόνον θέσθαι τοῦ νόμου ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἀλλὰ καὶ πάλιν ἐξαλείψαι ἐὰν βούλωνται καὶ ἀποκηρύξαι.—Dem. *adv. Boeot.* i. 1006.

As far as we know, there was no law to prevent a father from exposing his child at birth, and such infanticide was not uncommon. But the law did not allow a father to sell his children, later in life, into slavery (save under exceptional circumstances); and *a fortiori*, we may infer, it did not give him the power of life and death over them. Again, it is not quite certain that a father could, under any circumstances, deprive a son of such inheritance as the law ordinarily secured to him. In other words, it is uncertain whether the power of disowning a son, ἀποκήρυξις, was known to Athenian law. If known, it was certainly scarcely ever used.

(The words of Aristotle, *N.E.* VIII. xiv. 4, which I have not seen quoted in this connection, seem to indicate that, though the power might perhaps exist theoretically, it was inconceivable to imagine it actually exercised.)

It would seem, therefore, that the power of the father to disinherit a son was either altogether refused by law, or, if allowed, could only be exercised under such circumstances as the law considered to justify the proceeding. And in any case, as the *apokeryxis* not only disinherited the son, but also released him from all obligations to his father (cf. Aristotle, *loc. cit.*), it may be considered as practically non-existent, and we may say that in effect the law forbade a father to kill, sell, or disinherit a son.

Further, that the earnings of a son (from what age is uncertain) were in the eyes of the law the property of the son, and did not belong to the father, is evident from the fact that the law compelled sons to provide their parents with food, house, &c., if necessary; for, if all that the son earned was the legal property of his father, no such law would have been

required ; and unnatural parents might lose their legal right, even to be supported by their children. But nothing whatever could release a son from the duty of burying his father and performing the usual funeral rites.

Finally, we may here notice that the law allowed the property of a lunatic to be taken out of his charge, and be managed by his son or next male relative. The official to whose satisfaction the charge had to be proved, was in all probability the archon. No legal measures were required to enable a lunatic to be confined.

CHAPTER XVIII

ATTIC LAW (*concluded*)

OFFENCES AGAINST THE STATE

IN this chapter certain offences against the state will be considered, such as treason, bribery, and corruption, &c.

From the time of Solon a citizen was lawfully entitled, and was expected to slay any one attempting to subvert the democratic constitution of Athens. From before the time of Miltiades, at least, any one who by false promises or inducements persuaded the state to take any disastrous step was liable to capital punishment (though this was not inflicted on Miltiades) ; and generally, any one who “ did wrong to the Athenian demos ” might be impeached for that vague offence, before the archonship of Eucleides (B.C. 403–2). Then, or not before then, an attempt was made to give an exhaustive definition and enumeration of treasonable practices and designs in a law of impeachment, which appears as follows :—

(1) Ἐάν τις τὸν δῆμον τὸν Ἀθηναίων καταλύῃ ἢ συνίῃ ποι ἐπὶ καταλύσει τοῦ δήμου ἢ ἐταιρικὸν συναγάγῃ, (2) ἢ ἐάν τις πόλιν τινὰ προδῶ ἢ ναῦς ἢ πρεξὴν ἢ ναυτικὴν στρατιάν, ἢ ἐάν τις εἰς τοὺς πολεμίους ἄνευ τοῦ πεμφθῆναι παρὰ τοῦ δήμου ἀφικνῇται ἢ μετοικῇ παρ’ αὐτοῖς ἢ στρατεύηται μετ’ αὐτῶν ἢ δῶρα λαμβάνῃ παρ’ αὐτῶν, (3) ἢ ῥήτωρ ὢν μὴ λέγῃ τὰ ἄριστα τῷ δήμῳ τῷ Ἀθηναίων χρήματα λαμβάνων καὶ δωρεὰς παρὰ τῶν τάναντία πραττόντων τῷ δήμῳ τῷ Ἀθηναίων, the νόμος εἰσαγγελτικός as restored by Lipsius, in *Meier u. Schöm.* p. 316, from *Hyp. pro Euxen.* col. 22, and *pro Lyc.* fr. 2 ; Theophr. in the *Lex. Cant.* and Pollux.

This law made it treason (1) to subvert or conspire, or combine to subvert the democratic constitution ; (2) to betray into

the hands of an enemy either city, ships, troops, or fleet, to have communication with an enemy without authority from the state, or to become a permanent resident in a hostile country, or serve in a hostile army, or receive gifts from an enemy; and (3) for an orator to give bad advice to the state as a return for money or gifts from any who might be working against the interests of Athens.

If the law made death the only possible penalty for these offences, then it must have done so some time after the middle of the fourth century B.C. Before that date, although an attempt to subvert the constitution was a capital crime, the death penalty was certainly not always inflicted on those who were guilty of "doing wrong to the Athenian demos." As for the accuser, until B.C. 338, impeachment brought no danger to the person who made the impeachment; but after that date, if he failed to get one-fifth of the votes, he was fined 1000 drachmas.

Athenian law made no attempt to define the nature of *ὑβρις*, for example, or to distinguish it from *αἰκία*, but left it to the common-sense of the dicasts to determine whether an assault was so grave as to amount to an offence against the community; and, as far as we can tell, the results justified the confidence thus reposed in the average Athenian citizen. On the other hand, Athenian law did (eventually) endeavour to define treason, as we have seen, and the result was not satisfactory. Before treason was defined, impeachment (*εἰσαγγελία*) was so rare and so grave, and, when made, was made on such good grounds, that the criminal acknowledged his guilt, and fled into exile. But treason was defined: not only were offences against the commercial laws brought under this law, but the definition was so wrested and distorted that adultery became matter of impeachment, and to pay a flute-girl more than her fixed price was high treason against the demos. The tendency, indeed, to construe as treasonable the most innocent indulgences and display of wealth had existed before the archonship of Eucleides, for it is satirised by Aristophanes in the *Wasps*, 488 ff.; but, thanks to the law of impeachment, what had been the jest of the fifth century comedian and his audience became in a fourth century law court a matter-of-fact proceeding, in which nobody but Hyperides detected any humour.

The laws against bribery and corruption ran as follows:—

Ἐάν τις Ἀθηναίων λαμβάνῃ παρά τινος ἢ αὐτὸς διδῶ ἑτέρῳ ἢ διαφθείρῃ τινὰς ἐπαγγελλόμενος, ἐπὶ βλάβῃ τοῦ δήμου καὶ ἰδίᾳ τινὸς τῶν πολιτῶν, τρόπῳ ἢ μηχανῇ ἢ τιμιούν, ἄτιμος ἔστω καὶ παῖδες καὶ τὰ ἐκείνου.—Dem. *Mid.* p. 551, § 113 *lex.*

Ἐάν τις συνίστηται ἢ συνδεκάξῃ τὴν ἡλιαίαν ἢ τῶν δικαστηρίων τι τῶν Ἀθήνησιν ἢ τὴν βουλὴν ἐπὶ δωροδοκία χρήματα διδοὺς ἢ δεχόμενος . . . ἢ συνήγορος ὢν λαμβάνῃ χρήματα ἐπὶ ταῖς δίκαις ταῖς ἰδίαις ἢ δημοσίαις, τούτων εἶναι τὰς γραφὰς πρὸς τοὺς θεσμοθέτας.—*Dem. Steph.* ii. p. 1137, § 26.

Θανάτου τῆς ζημίας ἐπικειμένης ἦντις ἀλφ' δεκάζων.—*Isoc. De Pace.* § 50.

Περὶ τῶν δωροδοκούντων δύο μόνου τιμήματα πεποιήκασιν (οἱ νόμοι) ἢ θάνατον . . . ἢ δεκαπλοῦν τοῦ ἐξ ἀρχῆς λήμματος τὸ τίμημα τῶν δώρων.—*Dinarch. c. Demosth.* p. 44, § 60.

Προκειμένης ἐκατέρω (briber and bribed) ζημίας ἐκ τοῦ νόμου θανάτου.—*Æsch. Timarch.* p. 110, § 87.

Magistrates, bouleutæ, dicasts, and ecclesiasts, who accepted a bribe to do anything to the public injury of the state, or to the private injury of an individual, were liable to a prosecution for receiving bribes (δωρῶν or δωροδικίας γραφή); and the person who gave or promised such bribe was liable to prosecution for bribing (δεκασμός). The punishment of both parties was, at the discretion of the court, either death with confiscation of the convict's goods, and the disfranchisement of his heirs, or a fine of ten times the amount of the bribe promised or given, together with disfranchisement of the convict and his heirs.

How the law against impiety ran, we do not know, and numerous as are the cases mentioned of prosecution for impiety (*asebeia*), all we can infer from them is that the law contained no strict definition of impiety, and that consequently any offence against ritual, and any piece of heterodoxy which the king-archon thought ought to go before a jury, and which the dicasts chose to consider impious, might be visited by a penalty ranging from a fine to death. It is not probable that the introduction of a foreign worship either required special permission, or, *per se*, entailed penalties on those who introduced it.

CHAPTER XIX

THE LAWS OF GORTYNA

LAW, in the sense of a command issued by a central authority having power to enforce obedience to its commands, cannot exist in a primitive society, consisting of a number of families, which dwell in more or less close neighbourhood together, and are of the same blood and speech, but do not elect or submit to

any central authority. The relations of the members of such a primitive society to one another are regulated, if at all, by custom.

Before writing is known in a country, it is impossible that there should be a written law. If there is any law, it must be transmitted by memory, and declared by word of mouth. When writing does become familiar, the laws or customs are drawn up in a code, and engraved in some permanent fashion. Such codes are the Twelve Tables of Rome, and the Solonian legislation at Athens.

When then the Gortyna Code was first discovered in Crete, it was natural to suppose that it also was an example of the codification of laws or customs, which had not previously been committed to writing. And this view was supported by the archaic forms of some of the letters, the *βουστροφηδόν* direction of the lines, and the archaic vocabulary of the inscription. These considerations led to the code's being ascribed to the early part of the sixth century B.C., and this date is still assigned to the inscription by Comparetti (*Le leggi di Gortyna*, 1893). But Kirchhoff (*Griech. Alphabet*, p. 78), on comparing the inscription with the coins of Crete, cannot believe the inscription to be earlier than the coins; and the coins, with one exception, are not earlier than the middle of the fifth century B.C. That writing had developed so little in Crete by this time is explained by Kirchhoff as due to the isolation of the island. Perhaps it may also be due to the fact that the island had a native syllabary system, of which Mr. Evans has discovered traces, and which had an origin independent of the Phenician alphabet, from which the Greek is derived.

MM. Dareste, Haussoullier, and Reinach, in the third fascicule of their *Recueil des Inscriptions Juridiques Grecques* (on which this chapter is based), have made the later date the more probable. The laws contained in the inscriptions do not form a complete corpus, even of the undeveloped legal system of a primitive society. Much is omitted which occurs in primitive civil codes, much is only casually touched upon. In fine, the "code" is a collection of corrections and additions made to legislation which had already been reduced to writing, and to which the new code alludes more than once.

In some cases, *e.g.*, the laws relating to inheritance and the disposal of heiresses, the subject dealt with is not treated fragmentarily: the whole law on the subject seems to be given. But it is precisely in these cases that the more modern and humanitarian spirit of the new code is unmistakable: rights

are assigned to women which they did not enjoy at Athens under the Solonian legislation, or even under later laws. We must believe then that the completeness with which these subjects are treated is due to the fact that the authors of the new legislation incorporated into their new code such provisions of the old law or custom as were not abrogated by the new. Finally, although the vocabulary of the code is archaic, so, too, is that of later Cretan inscriptions, *e.g.*, of the fourth and third centuries B.C., in which many of the terms employed in the code occur with meanings unchanged. The language, in fine, was as slow to change as the written characters.

The law of inheritance, at Gortyna, bestowed the estate of the deceased first upon the deceased's children, grandchildren, or great-grandchildren, if there were any; if there were not, then the deceased's brothers, or their children or grandchildren, could claim the property. Failing them, his sisters, or their children or grandchildren, came in; and if these also failed, the estate passed to those entitled (*i.e.*, the next-of-kin), whoever they might be (*οἷς κ' ἐπιβάλλημι ὅπω κ' ἦι*). Finally, if no kinsman appeared, the estate was to go to "the persons constituting the family lot" (*τῆς Φοικίας οὔτινές κ' ἴωντι ὁ κλᾶρος*), *i.e.*, it is supposed, the serfs (*Φοικέες*) attached to the estate or *κλήρος*.

Thus the law of Gortyna presents us with both resemblances to and differences from the law of Athens. The resemblances, *e.g.*, the preference of the deceased's sons and their issue to the deceased's brothers and their issue, and the total exclusion of the deceased's sisters and their issue by the deceased's brothers and their issue, are only to be accounted for by the supposition that these principles of preference and exclusion were customary amongst the common ancestors, from whom Cretans and Athenians alike were descended. The differences between the Athenian law and the Gortyna Code are due to the fact that one or other has departed from the original custom. Thus at Athens, from the time of Solon, a man, if childless, might dispose of his property as he liked; but in Gortyna a man had no such power of disposing of his property by will. If he were childless, his estate necessarily went to his brothers (if any), or his sisters, &c. In this respect the Gortyna Code is then more archaic even than the laws of Solon.

Again, the limitation of rights of inheritance to the great-grandson in the line of direct descendants, and to the grandson of the deceased's brother, is found amongst other Aryan peoples, and certainly existed originally at Athens, if not also in later

Athenian law. The limitation probably dates from primeval times, when, for mutual protection and assistance, the members of a man's family dwelt together, even to the third generation; and consequently, on the house-father's decease, his heir would usually be found within the limits of the joint, undivided family founded by him, and composed of his sons, grandsons, and great-grandsons; while, if he had no direct descendants, his property would go to the joint, undivided family, to which he had himself belonged, viz., that founded by his father, and consisting of his father, brothers, their sons, and grandsons.

Another archaic feature of the Gortyna Code is probably to be seen in the transmission of the estate, in the absence of kin, to the serfs on the estate. The presumption is that they must have been considered to be relatives of the deceased in a way, though of the remotest kind. And the suggestion is that kinship in early times was constituted not wholly or primarily by community of blood, but by community of worship. Now the serfs would join in the worship of the deceased ancestors of their lord's family; and consequently would, when all others failed, be competent to carry on that worship. But those who performed the worship were entitled to the estate; therefore, a man's serfs were his heirs in the last resort.

In other respects, however, it is the Gortyna Code, and not Athenian law, which has departed from the original custom. Thus at Athens daughters could claim nothing, if there was a son to inherit, and this exclusion of females was the primitive custom. But in Gortyna, though the sons had the sole right to the town house, its furniture, and the cattle, the daughters shared in the rest of the patrimony—a daughter getting half as much as a son. In this piece of justice to women, Gortyna was in advance of the rest of Greece; and the same recognition of the rights of women marks other provisions of the code. Thus, whereas at Athens the dowry of a married woman became the property of her sons as soon as they became of age, in Gortyna the mother's rights over her property were the same as a father's over his, i.e., as long as she lived, her children could not divide between themselves her property against her wish; and when she died, it was transmitted in the same way as a man's estate was.

The laws regulating the marriage of an heiress (*πατρωνικός = ἐπίκληρος*) show the same deviation from ancient custom in favour of the woman. According to the primitive idea, a woman could not conduct the worship of a deceased ancestor, and, therefore, could not inherit the estate either. When,

therefore, the only child left by the deceased was a girl, custom prescribed that the next male of kin should conduct the worship, take the estate, and marry the girl; and this prescription is still the principle of the Gortyna Code, though with modifications; but at Athens the principle was maintained with such strictness that a man was compelled to give up his wife, if she became an heiress (*e.g.*, by the death of her brother), and the next-of-kin claimed her; or a man, if, after marriage, he became entitled to an heiress, might, in order to marry her, put aside his first wife. In Gortyna, on the other hand, compulsion was not applied either to the heiress or to the next-of-kin. The latter, if he chose to resign the estate, need not marry the girl. The heiress (being single), if she chose to be content with the town house and half the remainder of the estate, might marry whom she would, within the limits of her tribe. If there was no next-of-kin, the heiress might marry any one of her tribe, if any would have her; if not, the law says she may marry whom she can.

If a married woman became an heiress after marriage, she was not compelled to divorce her husband, though she was at liberty so to do. If she did divorce him, then she might or might not be at liberty to choose whom she would marry. If she was childless, she must marry the next-of-kin, or indemnify him; if she had children, she might marry any member of her tribe that she chose. The same principle was applied to the widow who became an heiress. If she was childless, she must either marry the next-of-kin (if he claimed her), or indemnify him; if she had children, she might marry within the tribe. As the next-of-kin lost his claim to the estate and heiress if she had children, and as the object of providing the heiress with a husband was to provide male descendants competent to carry on the worship of the heiress' deceased father, we must infer that one of the heiress's sons was adopted, or by some analogous fiction brought into the family of the deceased. Thus the next-of-kin had no duty to perform, and no title to the estate. If, on the other hand, the heiress was childless, the next-of-kin's rights came into force, and, doubtless, his sons (even though not by the heiress) were considered competent to carry on the family worship of the deceased.

It is, however, plain that the necessity of providing the deceased with a male descendant had come to be felt less strongly than at Athens. In addition to the less stringent regulations of the law about the marriage of a *πατριῶκος*, we

may point to the fact that at Athens it was the duty of the next-of-kin, if he did not marry the girl, to provide her with a dowry if she were poor. But at Gortyna there was no such provision. At Athens, again, it was one of the duties of the archon to see that no family became "wasted," *i.e.*, to see that its worship continued. Above all, at Athens, the acceptance of an inheritance was not optional, whereas in Gortyna it was. In the latter place the state permitted the next-of-kin to shirk his spiritual duties to the deceased, if he cared to waive his claim to the estate.

When a man died leaving money debts, his heirs had the option of paying the debts in full, and keeping the estate, or of abandoning the estate to the creditors (in which case the creditors could not come on the heirs for any deficiency).

On the other hand, the provision of the Gortyna Code, by which the estate of the deceased passed in the last resort to the serfs, made it much more likely that the family worship would never be discontinued than was the case at Athens. And though the code endeavours to lighten the burden on the next-of-kin and on the heiress, as far as is possible without injustice to the deceased, it also fully recognises the right of the childless man to provide for the continuance of his family worship, and gives him facilities for that end. In other words, the code allows adoption (*ἄνφαισις*), and allows it specially and solely for purposes of religion. But in the laws regulating adoption, we again find an endeavour to make the religious duty as light as may be. Thus, by the code, it is no longer necessary that the adopted son should be a near relative, or a relative at all; and the adopted son might eventually decline to accept the inheritance (which was his only on the express condition that with it he took over all the obligations of the deceased towards both gods and men), in which case the estate with its liabilities, spiritual and pecuniary, passed to the next-of-kin. On the other hand, the code makes another innovation on the ancient custom, which is less favourable to the adopted son: if sons of the flesh are born to the adoptive father after the adoption, then the son of adoption is not to receive (as at Athens) a son's share, but only a daughter's. In this case also the adopted son has the option of declining the inheritance. Again, in the spirit of absolute fairness which pervades the code, the liberty allowed to the adopted son is counterbalanced by the liberty allowed to the adoptive father, of disowning (*ἀποφαιπεῖν*) the son of adoption. The fact of disowning, as of adopting, a son is to be made known to the

citizens at large by proclamation from the stone in the Agora, on which a citizen stood to address the people. The son of adoption was received into the *ἐταίρῖα* of his adoptive father; and a victim and a measure of wine were offered on the occasion to the *ἐταίρῖα*, as at Athens to the phratry. When a son of adoption was disowned, the adoptive father deposited a sum of ten staters, which was remitted to the disowned son by the mnemon of the cosmos to whom the jurisdiction over foreigners belonged (ὁ κσένιος κόσμος).

The spirit of fairness which is characteristic of the code is conspicuous in its treatment of the joint, undivided family. As civilisation increases, the inducements for the members of a family to dwell together become weaker; and especially when a house-father has grown old and feeble, will the elder married sons desire to take their share of the joint, undivided estate, and set up house on their own account. Now the code recognises the joint, undivided family, and the absolute authority of the house-father: "The father is the master of his children and of the property," and as long as he lives, though he may divide the estate if he will, he cannot be compelled to divide it. Thus, in Gortyna, where girls were nubile at twelve, the man who refused to divide might well see his children, grandchildren, and great-grandchildren partaking their meals together, sharing in the common family-worship, and living on the joint-estate. On the other hand, though the law will do nothing to break up such a family, it does not favour the continuance of the undivided family after the death of the house-father; indeed it gives any one heir the right to claim that the property shall be divided, even if all the rest object; and the law further places the estate, until it can be divided, in the hands of those heirs who wish to have it divided. We may perhaps infer that, before the code, the practice had been otherwise.

Another innovation on ancient custom made by the code in its desire for justice, is the limitation of the *patria potestas*, by which, though sons may not compel their father to divide the family estate, neither may the father absorb into the family estate anything which has been acquired by a son (*e.g.*, by inheritance or by his own earning); and, as a son may not mortgage or dispose of anything belonging to the family estate, so the father cannot sell or give away anything that the sons have earned or inherited. In Gortyna, as at Athens, and probably by primitive custom, the dowry which the bride brought with her did not go to form part of the family estate;

if the husband predeceased the wife, and she chose to remarry, she took her dowry out of the estate of her first husband into that of her second husband. If she did not choose to remarry, her property remained in her own hands until she died, and then it was divided amongst her children. On the other hand, if the wife predeceased the husband, he administered and enjoyed her property until he died or remarried, and then the property went to the wife's children.

The protection accorded by the code to married women's property may, like the share given to a daughter in her deceased father's estate, proceed from a sense of justice to women. But it is also possible that the primary object aimed at was to do justice between the two undivided families interested in the married woman's property—*i.e.*, the wife's family and the husband's; for eventually the wife's property either reverted to her own family or passed to the husband's. It is therefore in the interests of the wife's family that the code forbids the husband to sell or mortgage the property of his wife, for in case of divorce the wife returns to her own family, taking with her her own property, half the fruits thereof (in kind), half the produce of her own labour, and (if the husband is the author of the divorce) five staters as well.

On the other hand, the interests of the husband's family are protected by the code in several respects. Thus although the husband is allowed to make a donation to his wife, which shall be hers absolutely after his death, still a limit to this donation is fixed in the interests of the husband's next-of-kin: the gift may not exceed 100 staters. The same limit is fixed, with the same intention, to the amount which a son may give to his mother. Again, if a widow re-marries, the amount of property she may take away from her first husband's estate is limited by the code, in the case of there being children, to her own property, and any donation which the husband may have made to her, as above, in the presence of three witnesses, being adults and free men. On the other hand, if there are no children, the widow is allowed to take not only her own property and any donation duly made by her husband, but also half the things that she herself has woven, and part of the fruits existing in kind in the house. Further, in protection of the husband's family, the woman (divorced or widowed) who is tempted—as she was in Gortyna—to take from her late husband's property what did not belong to her, is to restore what she has illegally appropriated and pay a fine of five staters. She can, however, apparently when accused, clear herself by

an oath. Persons aiding and abetting the wife in appropriating her late husband's property, have to make twofold restoration, and pay a fine of 10 staters. Again, if the wife dies before the husband, having had no children, her next-of-kin are entitled to her property, half of its fruits in kind, and half of what she has woven. The widower, on the other hand, who is left with children, has the enjoyment and administration of his late wife's property, until he marries, or until the children come of age.

Of the remaining provisions of the code, only those need here be mentioned which relate to cases wherein the liberty of a man was in dispute. These cases might be of three kinds: two masters might both claim the same slave; a man in possession of freedom might be claimed as a slave; the release of a man actually in slavery might be claimed on the ground that he was legally a free man. These three cases correspond to the three actions in Roman law, respectively, *vindicatio servi*, *vindicatio in servitutem*, *proclamatio in libertatem*. There are two principles of law which in Gortyna applied to all three cases: the first is that no man can plead in person when his liberty is the point in dispute; the second is that the state of things existing *de facto* when the suit begins must be respected by all concerned until judgment is delivered, that is to say, no attempt must be made during the process of law to release the man who is in actual slavery, or to enslave the man who is actually at liberty. The latter of these two principles was unknown to Attic law.

In the case of the *vindicatio servi*, the ἀνδραπόδων δίκη of Attic law, the judge is to decide in favour of the side who produce the most witnesses. If witnesses are not forthcoming, or are equal in number, the judge is to give judgment in favour of that side which he on his oath believes to be in the right. In the other two cases, corresponding to the *vindicatio in servitutem* and *proclamatio in libertatem* of Roman law, and the ἀγειν εἰς δουλείαν and the ἀφαίρεσις εἰς ἐλευθερίαν of Attic law, the judge must decide in favour of liberty, if the witnesses are equal.

When judgment has been given, five days' grace is allowed, and if after that time the party against whom judgment has been given has not complied with the terms of the judgment, he incurs a fine (increasing with every day's delay), which the other party is at liberty to exact by seizing on the goods of the debtor. If execution of the judgment is impossible because the slave has taken asylum in a temple, the condemned party

is quit, if he shows the other side the place in which the slave has taken refuge. If the slave dies during the trial, the loser, if he was in possession, must pay his adversary the value of the slave. Finally, if the person who claims his liberty is shown to be an insolvent debtor (*νενικαμένος*), or one who has failed to pay money borrowed by him *ἐπὶ σώματι*, i.e., on the security of his person (*κατακείμενος*), the suit goes against him; in Gortyna, under the code, as at Athens before Solon, slavery for debt was sanctioned by the law.

In this connexion we may note, that the man who pledged his person as security for money borrowed—the *nexus* of Roman law, the *δανεισάμενος ἐπὶ σώματι* of Attic law, the *κατακείμενος* of the Gortyna Code—and failed to repay the sum, though in Gortyna he was *loco servi*, was not *servus*. Thus, if while he was in his creditor's hands, he caused damage to the property of a third person, he could be prosecuted, and could plead his own cause in court in person. On the other hand, he could not plead in person as a plaintiff: in that case he must be represented in court by his creditor (*καταθέμενος*), and any damages which might be awarded to him by the court were to be divided between the *κατακείμενος* and the *καταθέμενος*.

It now remains for us to describe the mode of legal procedure in Gortyna.

There were three classes of officials in Gortyna who had the right of dispensing justice: the *cosmi*, arbitrators, and the judges (*δικασταί*).

The only case, so far as the Gortyna Code informs us, in which the *cosmi* as a college dispenses judgment, is when an heiress (*πατρωνίως*) has contracted an illegal marriage; and in the possession of this jurisdiction the *cosmi* resemble the kings at Sparta.¹

One member of the college of *cosmi*, viz., the *κσένιος κόσμος*, had a jurisdiction similar to that of the Polemarch at Athens: he tried cases in which foreigners and freedmen were parties.

Our knowledge of the private arbitrators in Gortyna is very defective. Sometimes an arbitrator was chosen by one party and then accepted by the other, sometimes by mutual agreement of the two parties.

One judge (*δικαστάς*) and one only sufficed to try a case; and each judge had a special and defined jurisdiction; unfortunately, however, we have only a fragment left of the law

¹ Herod. vi. 57.

which states what class of cases belonged to which judge's jurisdiction.

Finally, every magistrate had a *μνάμων*, whose duty it was to be present at all cases tried by the judge, and to commit his judgments to memory, so that he might when necessary bear witness afterwards to the judgment; for all the proceedings at Gortyna were verbal, and the memory of the *μνάμων* was the only official record of the court's proceedings.

The right of pleading before a judge was the special privilege of the citizen; the serf was represented by his lord, the slave by his owner, the *nexus* or debtor who had pledged his personal liberty and forfeited it (*κατακειμένος*), by his creditor. Freedmen and Metics came under the jurisdiction of the *κσένιος κόσμος*.

The parties to the process, *ἀμπύμωλοι* or *μωλιόμενοι*, pleaded their own cause in person before the judge. The proceedings, as has been said, were entirely verbal; no documentary evidence was taken; the only proofs admitted consisted of the evidence of witnesses and the oath of the parties to the suit. The more usual form of evidence was the testimony of witnesses: the number and sometimes the description of witnesses to be called in each kind of suit is specified by the laws. Thus a donation from husband to wife, or from son to mother, must be proved by the three free and adult witnesses required by the law. In commercial suits the number of witnesses depends on the amount in dispute, but is not to exceed three. A judicial decree is proved by the evidence of the judge and his *μνάμων*. As a rule, witnesses are required to make affirmation (*ἀποπωνήν*) and not to take an oath. The oath of the parties to a suit (*ἀπόμοτον*) was only taken as evidence in certain cases expressly mentioned by the law—cases as a rule in which witnesses could not possibly be forthcoming. Only one of the parties is allowed to take his oath; or, if both swear to the truth of their allegations, then the law directs which is to be considered *ὀρκιώτερος*, i.e., which is to be believed by the judge. As a rule it is the defendant to whom the law accords the advantage of being *ὀρκιώτερος*: he can clear himself entirely by his oath. Thus the divorced woman accused of appropriating any of her late husband's property can establish her innocence by taking her oath that she has not appropriated anything. In certain cases, however, it is the plaintiff who is allowed to establish his claim by his oath, e.g., in the case of the creditor whose debtor has died. Finally, quite distinct from the affirmation or the sworn evidence of the witnesses already described is the support which the law allowed to be

given to the parties in certain cases by co-jurors (ὁμωμόται). These differ from the ordinary witness in this respect: the ordinary witness testifies to some fact of which he has personal knowledge, but the co-jurors were good men and true, who swore to the justice of their friend's cause because they knew him and believed in him.

When both parties to the suit had pleaded their cause and produced their witnesses, or taken their oaths, it remained for the judge to give his judgment, and there were two ways in which he might give it. They are designated by the expressions *δικάδδεν* and *ὁμνύντα κρίνεν* respectively. If the case was one in which the oath of one of the parties was accepted by the law as final and conclusive proof, the judge had *ex hypothesi* no discretion: he was bound by the law to give his verdict in favour of that party, and in that case he was said "to judge," *δικάδδεν*. So, too, if the case is one to be decided by the evidence of witnesses, *e.g.*, if A asserts that C is a slave, and B asserts that C is free, and both A and B produce witnesses in support of their respective pretensions, then the law declares that the judge is to be guided by B's witnesses—he has no discretion, he must declare C free, and he is said *δικάδδεν*; or again, if A and B both claim C, and only one of the claimants produces evidence in support of his claim, the judge is directed by the law to award C in accordance with the evidence of the witness (*κατὰ τὸν μαίτυρα*), and he is said *δικάδδεν*. But in other cases the judge is directed by the law to exercise his discretion, and to give his judgment on oath, *ὁμνύντα κρίνεν*. Thus, in the case last cited, if A and B both produce witnesses, or if neither side brings evidence, the judge must decide on oath between the parties; or again, if the case is one in which witnesses are not forthcoming, or one in which the law does not give a preference to one party over the other, the judge must take on himself the responsibility of deciding, and must *ὁμνύντα κρίνεν*. When judgment had been delivered, there was no appeal against it; and the execution of the decree was left to the winning side, which for that purpose was allowed to seize the goods, or the person, of the other party.

In conclusion, it is necessary to call attention to several points in the method of judicial procedure in Gortyna which are very primitive. First, there is the purgatory oath: in certain cases specified by the law, the defendant may clear himself absolutely, or the plaintiff may establish his case completely, by taking an oath that his statement is true, and by calling down punishment on his head from the gods, if his

statement be false. This method of judicial proof is not only found in Athens (*πρόκλησις εἰς ὄρκον*), but is a test frequently employed in early Germanic codes of law. Now if the use of a purgatory oath only occurred in the latter codes, it might conceivably be of Christian origin, for they were reduced to writing in Christian times. But the Gortyna Code takes the purgatory oath back to a pre-Christian age, and indicates that it may go back even to the time of the common ancestors of both Greeks and Germans.

A second institution of primitive antiquity in the Gortyna Code is that of the co-jurors, whose oath is taken as evidence, though they have no personal acquaintance with the facts. This institution is probably referred to by Aristotle (*Pol. ii. 8, p. 1269a*), when he says that at Cyme, by ancient law a man may be convicted of murder, if the prosecutor produces a certain number of his (the prosecutor's) relations to swear that the defendant is guilty. These co-jurors (*ὁμωμόται*) are mentioned in an inscription from Lyttos,¹ and in an archaic inscription of Mantinea;² they correspond exactly to the "eideshelfer" of early Germanic codes; and they call down imprecations on themselves in case their oath is false. This institution also may go back to the period of the common ancestors of Greeks and Germans; for the co-jurors at Cyme were evidently those members of the murdered man's joint, undivided family, who by primitive custom were bound to avenge his death; and the institution thus probably originated at the time when the joint, undivided family was jointly responsible for the acts of each and all of its members.

Finally, in Gortyna the whole of a suit was tried before one and the same judge, whereas under the fully-developed system of Athenian procedure, a trial had two parts; first, the *ἀνάκρισις*, in which the parties appeared before the archon, stated their case, and put in all the evidence, both of documents and of witnesses, which they wished to bring forward; and second, the trial before the dicasterion, when the dicasts heard the parties and their evidence, and gave their verdict. Now, as we have seen, the Gortyna Code in some of its provisions, *e.g.*, in the justice shown to women, has departed more widely from primitive custom than the Solonian law did; but in this matter of judicial procedure it is the Gortyna Code which is the more faithful to the primitive custom. To appre-

¹ Comparetti, *Le leggi*, Nos. 12, 13.

² Fougères, *Bull. Corr. Hell.* xvi. p. 577.

ciate the importance of the Gortyna Code in this respect for the history of Greek law, it is necessary to bear in mind the object with which law is first reduced to writing. Where the law is unwritten, and a privileged class of nobles or patricians have the sole right of declaring what the law is, there is a tendency on the part of the privileged class to abuse its privilege, and to tamper with the law. It becomes, therefore, the interest of the *plebs* or *πληθος* to have the law definitely published in writing, so that all may know what the law is, and none may misrepresent it. But even when there is no doubt as to what the law is, the magistrate whose duty it is to administer it has opportunities, and may be tempted to dispense not justice, but injustice, especially in the interests of the privileged class to which the magistrate still belongs. It becomes, therefore, the object of the people to limit by law the power and the discretion of the magistrate as far as possible. It is to this stage in the development of legal procedure that the Gortyna Code has attained. The law, with the view of narrowing down opportunities for the maladministration of justice, withdraws the decision of as many cases as possible from the discretion of the *δικαστής*. Thus, the law lays down certain provisions, *e.g.*, that a donation from husband to wife must be made in the presence of three witnesses, and if these provisions have been complied with, then the judge has no discretion: he must give his award in confirmation of the donation. Or, if only one side produces witnesses, or if the case can be settled by an oath of compurgation, the magistrate's decision must be as the law directs. Or, even if both sides produce witnesses, it is still possible for the law to keep the judge straight in certain cases. Thus, on grounds of public interest, it is better that a slave should escape than that a free man should lose his liberty unjustly; and the law directs that the witnesses in favour of liberty are to be believed—the judge, belonging to the class of the wealthy, who might claim the persons of their debtors for non-payment of debt, is allowed no discretion, for he might exercise it unjustly in the interests of his class, and to the detriment of the poor. Finally, in those cases where the law could not predetermine the result of the trial, and it was absolutely necessary that the judge should be trusted, the only protection the *πληθος* could obtain for itself was to put the magistrate on his oath to judge fairly; and this was done in Gortyna, and also, it would seem,¹ at one time at Ephesus.

¹ *Inscriptions Jur. Grecques*, iii. 435, n. 3.

This is the stage of development in which, as we have said, we find the Gortyna Code ; and this is the stage in which the legal procedure at Athens was in the time before Solon, that is to say, the whole of a suit was tried before one and the same magistrate, viz., an archon.¹ It was Solon who completed the work of democratic reform in legal procedure, and who gave the demos complete protection against the danger of maladministration of justice on the part of the magistrate, especially in political trials, *e.g.*, the trials of magistrates on going out of office. He allowed an appeal from the archon's decision to a popularly constituted court of jurors or dicasts ;² and, in course of time, just as the ecclesia absorbed the political power of the magistrates, so the dicasteria inevitably absorbed the judicial powers of the archons, whose share in the proceedings dwindled into the purely formal ἀνάκρισις of the fourth century, while the proceedings before the dicasterion came to be the real trial (see the next chapter). In Gortyna there was no appeal from the decision of the judge, and consequently the distinction between the ἀνάκρισις and the real trial was not developed.³

CHAPTER XX

THE JUDICIAL SYSTEM OF ATHENS

No case could come before the law courts (ἡλιαία, δικαστήρια), unless it was brought on by some magistrate or other. Every magistrate, *i.e.*, every official to whom executive power was intrusted by the state for any period exceeding thirty days, had certain cases, which (for the most part) he, and he alone, could bring before a court ; and this power was called hegemony.⁴ He did not try the cases, nor did he, during their trial, exercise any influence over the conduct of the case comparable to that wielded by an English judge. Originally, indeed, the archons themselves, for instance, actually tried and decided the cases,

¹ Ἀθ. πολ. iii. κύριοι δ' ἦσαν καὶ τὰς δίκας αὐτοτελεῖς κρίνειν καὶ οὐχ ὥσπερ νῦν προανακρίνειν (οἱ ἀρχοντες).

² τρίτον δὲ (ὃ μάλιστα φασιν ἰσχυκέναι τὸ πλῆθος) ἢ εἰς τὸ δικαστήριον ἔφεςις. Ibid. ix.

³ Mr. J. W. Headlam, in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, vol. xiii. Part I, seeks, unsuccessfully as it seems to me, to show that the distinction is already known in the Gortyna Code.

⁴ Ἡγεμονία δικαστηρίου is the full expression.

of which, in later times, they had the hegemony only.¹ Then Solon created the dicasteria, and allowed an appeal from the decision of the archons to a court of citizens. We may fairly suppose that at first appeals were unusual, that then they became common, and finally universal. Thus in the end it came about, with the full development of the democracy, that the real trial of every suit was that which took place in the dicasterion; and consequently the archon's trial (now called the *ἀνάκρισις*) became a mere, though indispensable, preliminary to the actual trial; for, though the archon heard what both sides had to say, he invariably, and as a matter of course, remitted the case to a law court for decision.² In this way the archon, from being the sole and final judge, came to be what the Athenians of the democracy called a *ἡγεμὼν δικαστηρίου*. In this latter capacity he did four things: (1) he received the complaint of any citizen who wished to go to law with another; (2) at a later day he received from both sides all the evidence which they wished to use at the trial; (3) he presided in the court which tried the case, but did not, as president, exercise any influence on the issue of the trial; (4) he gave orders for the execution of the sentence.

At one time the archons were the only executive officials of the Athenian state, and then they were really judges. With the growth of the state, however, came an increase in the amount of executive business, which demanded an increase in the number of executive officials. These new executive officials were given the same judicial powers as the archons had; but by this time an archon was merely a *ἡγεμὼν δικαστηρίου*, no longer a judge. The new executive officials, therefore, acquired only the hegemony.

It should now be clear that the first thing an Athenian had to do, if he wanted to go to law, was to find out which particular magistrate had the power to introduce his case³ to a law court. Large, however, as was the number of magistrates, and numerous as were the kinds of suit, this was not so difficult as may at first sight appear. From immemorial times the archon eponymous had always had jurisdiction in all matters of inheritance and family disputes; the king-archon had had jurisdiction over cases of murder and impiety; the polemarch

¹ Save in trials for murder. In them, though the king-archon tried the case, he tried it in the presence of the Areopagites and Ephetæ, who gave the verdict.

² See the end of the previous chapter.

³ *Εἰσάγειν τὴν δίκην*. The process is *εἰσαγωγή*, the magistrate (in this capacity) *εἰσαγωγεὺς*.

in suits in which one of the parties was a resident alien. The business of the Thesmothetæ was indeed extensive and varied ; but, generally speaking, we may say that it was to them a citizen had to go, if he wished to accuse any one of such an offence against the state as treason, or unconstitutional legislation, or perjury, &c. And though there were many other magistrates, each having hegemony in certain suits, the principle on which jurisdiction was distributed between them was so simple that no citizen who wished to invoke the aid of the law could have any difficulty in knowing what magistrate he must appeal to in the first instance. This principle simply was that as an executive official had certain duties to perform (for instance, the strategî had command of the army), so he had the hegemony of cases, which, in the discharge of his duty, he might require to refer to a law court for decision. Or, to put it another way, he had to administer the laws which constituted his office, and prescribed what he had to do. Naturally, therefore, it was his business to bring to the notice of the law courts any offences against those laws.

The simplicity and perspicuity which characterise all the manifestations of Athenian genius are not least remarkable in the judicial system of democratic Athens. And the method by which the labour of administering justice was divided between the magistrates and the dicasteria—the former preparing the case, and the latter giving judgment on it—is not the invention of any one man of special genius, but is due to the steady, silent working of the Athenian people's own common-sense. But it is now time to consider certain other means, whereby, on the one hand, every citizen—even the humblest and most helpless—was enabled effectually to invoke the protection of the law when necessary ; while, on the other hand, the law itself not merely invited, but assisted citizens to an amicable arrangement of their differences, without coming into court.

The magistrates to whom an Athenian had to apply in all cases where property (unless it was an inheritance) was in dispute, or damages were claimed, were in the ordinary course of things, and unless the matter was urgent (a contingency which we will consider shortly), the Forty Dicasts.¹

This board consisted, as its title implies, of forty dicasts, four drawn by lot from each tribe. Thus every tribe had its

¹ This board was *οἱ τετταράκοντα*, from the archonship of Eucleides. Previously, and from B.C. 453, it was the Thirty. Its ultimate origin is in the "local justices," *δικασταὶ κατὰ δήμους* of Pisistratus.

four representatives, and those four formed a committee of the board. If a citizen had a complaint against any man, he went to the committee consisting of the representatives of the tribe to which that man belonged. If the property in dispute was not worth more than ten drachmæ (a drachma roughly = a franc), the committee could settle the case, and their verdict was final.¹ But if the property exceeded ten drachmæ in value, the committee sent the parties to a *Diætêtes* or arbitrator. Now any citizen, in the last year in which he could be called on to serve in the army, *i.e.*, in his sixtieth year, was liable to be called on to serve as a public arbitrator. The committee therefore referred to the list of citizens who were in their sixtieth year (the list was engraved on a bronze *stêlê* which stood in front of the senate-house), and chose one name by lot. The citizen of sixty years, thus chosen, was compelled, under penalty of disfranchisement (unless of course he was abroad on military service, or already discharging some public office at home), to endeavour to reconcile the parties thus sent to him. If he failed to do so, then he gave his verdict, confirming it with an oath given at the swearing-stone in the market-place. His verdict was final and conclusive, provided both parties chose to accept it; if either was dissatisfied, the arbitrator sealed up the plaintiff's documents in one *ἐχίvos*, the defendant's in another, attached his own verdict in writing, and handed them all over to the committee who originally sent the disputants to him. It was then the business of the Forty, in the exercise of their hegemony, to bring the case before a law court.

How admirable this system was need hardly be explained: the age of the arbitrator was a guarantee that he had had experience of life and of the world; his selection by lot avoided the difficulties which in modern times beset the choice of an arbitrator; and the problem of enforcing his award was solved in a simple and effectual way, by the provision that it was only valid if freely accepted by both parties. But it should be further noted that the mass of Athenian citizens may well have gone through life without being involved in any dispute which could not be settled under this system, for the hegemony of the Forty was very wide: it afforded protection to the person as

¹ If the defendant was a Metic, the complainant went first to the polemarch (because originally all cases to which a Metic was a party belonged to the polemarch's hegemony); but the polemarch referred him to the Forty, and the committees of the Forty then drew lots to settle which committee should take the case.

well as to the property of the Athenian. The citizen who had been assaulted and desired compensation, the tradesman who wished to recover his money, the workman who wanted to recover his wages, the master who desired to enforce a contract, the landlord who could not get his rent; the partner who desired to dissolve partnership, members of clubs who disputed as to their liabilities, or anything else in their by-laws; whosoever wished to eject a trespasser, whosoever claimed damages for the act or negligence of another, had to go to the Forty and be by them referred to an arbitrator. The one drawback to the system was, that if the matter had in the end to go to a court, it was rather a long time in getting there. But for this drawback there was a remedy, which will be described in the next paragraph.

In the majority of cases no harm is done by giving litigants time to cool down and to make up their minds after all not to carry their case into court; but in some cases action must be prompt if justice is to be done. Attic law, therefore, provided in certain specific cases a more expeditious route to the law courts than that *viâ* the Forty and the Diêtêtæ. These cases were called "monthly suits," because they were to be brought on within a month; and the magistrates whose duty it was to bring them on within that time were five in number, selected by lot, one for every two tribes, and were called Eisagôgeis. The kinds of wrong which called for prompt action, and therefore might be brought to the Eisagôgeis instead of the Forty for remedy, were, for example, assault, or if a wife was kept out of her dowry, or a lender was kept out of the interest on his loan (unless he was so exorbitant as to demand more than the usual percentage, viz., 12 per cent.), or if a man had borrowed capital to set up business in the market-place and would not repay it. Other monthly suits which came within the jurisdiction of the Eisagôgeis were actions for damage done by slaves or cattle, partnership and club disputes, banking cases. Finally, the privilege of bringing suits on within a month was also exercised in certain cases by the Thesmothetæ, who could thus introduce "commercial cases";¹ by the nautodikæ (bottomry cases), and the apodektæ, who might require to take action at once against the farmers of the public taxes.

All cases of homicide, actual or attempted, belonged to the hegemony of the king-archon; and the court before which he brought all cases of actual or attempted murder was the Areo-

¹ Δικαὶ ἐμπορικαί. Monthly suits = δίκαι ἐμμήνιοι.

pagus (for the constitution of which see the chapter on the Areopagus). As the murder laws have already been given in a previous chapter, all that need be done here is to describe the mode of trial. The accusation was laid by the next-of-kin before the king, who then formally interdicted the accuser from appearing in the market-place or the temples until the trial, during which time, however, nobody might lay hands on him. Three preliminary investigations¹ were held in three successive months by the king, and in the fourth month the case was tried by the Areopagitæ. The trial began by a solemn oath on the part of the deceased's nearest kinsman that he was the next-of-kin, and that the accused was the murderer. The accused then swore that he was not guilty. The prosecution spoke first, then the defence; this with the evidence probably occupied the first day, after which the accused might, if he chose, retire into exile. On the second day the prosecution and the defence each spoke again, and the verdict was given.

The courts before which involuntary homicide, instigation to murder, &c., were brought, originally consisted of fifty-one Ephetæ, who were citizens over fifty years of age, selected (probably) by lot. How long they continued to constitute the court is uncertain, but in the time of Isocrates, a case of involuntary homicide was tried, not by the Ephetæ but by a dicasterion sitting in the Palladion.

We have next to describe the constitution of the dicasteria, and then we can trace the whole course of a trial from the time when the aggrieved person summonses the aggressor to appear before the magistrate having hegemony in such cases to the final execution of the sentence.

Every citizen over thirty years of age, and not disqualified by disfranchisement (*ἀτιμία*), was eligible to serve as a dicast (= heliast). In the beginning, probably the legal business of the country only required a small number of dicasts; and then the required number would be selected annually by lot. But with the increase of litigation a larger number of courts and of dicasts was required; the whole body of dicasts then came to consist of ten sections (dicasteria), each containing 500 dicasts (or as near as might be) from one tribe; and to these must be added for each section 100 reserve dicasts to take the place of those who might be prevented by sickness or other causes from serving. Thus the normal total was, according to the *Politeia*, 6000 dicasts. After the time of the Sicilian expedition, how-

¹ *προδικασίαι*.

ever, when the number of citizens was so much smaller, there would be no need of selection by lot; every qualified citizen who cared to put his name down would find a place in the dicasteria. In the fourth century, with an increased population, selection by lot was again resorted to. The requisite number of dicasts was drawn by lot, each archon drawing from his own tribe, and the clerk to the Thesmothetæ from the tenth. We may note that a dicast remained for life attached to the section to which the lot first assigned him, consequently it was only the new dicasts who had to be distributed by lot amongst the dicasteria. Each dicast, when assigned to his section, received a box-wood tablet (*πινάκιον*), on which were inscribed his name, his father's name, his deme, and one of the letters of the alphabet up to *kappa*, indicating to which section he belonged. Every year each dicast had to take an oath to the effect that he would vote in accordance with the laws of the *boulê* and demos; or, where there was no law on the subject, in accordance with justice, and not from motives of friendship or enmity; that he would hear both sides impartially, and decide with reference to the matter before the court; and finally, he invoked the favour or the wrath of the gods according as he gave his verdict truly or not.¹

The number of dicasts engaged to try a case varied according to circumstances. In civil cases, where the sum in dispute was less than 1000 drachmæ, the number of dicasts was usually 201, if more than that sum, 401. Beyond this, all we know is that as many as 501, 1001, 1501, and even 6000 dicasts were sometimes engaged in trying a single case. In the fourth century, which section or sections or parts of a section should sit in which court, was decided afresh by lot every day; in the time of Aristophanes, the sections were distributed to their respective courts only once a year. What cases should be brought before each court was decided by the Thesmothetæ, who settled it by drawing lots. It was the business of the magistrate who conducted the *anakrisis* of a case, to communicate with the Thesmothetæ, in order that they might provide a court and dicasts for the hearing of the case.

When the dicasts had been appointed to their courts, they received staves of different colours and with different letters of the alphabet (from *lambda* on), corresponding to the colour and

¹ The oath in Dem. *Timocr.* p. 746, § 149, is certainly the untrustworthy concoction of some grammarian. How the oath really ran may be disputed; what is given above is what Lipsius (p. 154) considers to be probably the substance of its contents.

letter of the court in which they were to sit respectively. These staves served to procure them admission to the court, which was thus kept free of intruders. On entering the court, the dicast received a check (σύμβολον), which at the end of the proceedings he presented to the kolakretæ, from whom he then got his pay. The introduction of the system of paying the dicasts is ascribed to Pericles, both in the *Politics* of Aristotle and in the *Politeia*. It was probably one obol per diem originally, and was eventually raised (by Cleon) to three.

On festal days, and on unlucky days (ἡμέραι ἀποφράδες), and (in the fourth century) on days when there was an ecclesia, the law courts did not sit. Probably this left about a hundred days in the year for meetings of the dicasts.

CHAPTER XXI

LEGAL PROCEDURE IN ATHENS

THE Athenian who wished to bring a suit of any kind ¹ against his fellow-citizen, had to commence proceedings by formally calling his opponent to appear on a stated day before the magistrate within whose jurisdiction the particular suit fell.

¹ The various kinds of suits may be tabulated as follows :—

Δικαι	{	δ. δημοσiai = γραφαί	Special.
			Ordinary.
	{	δ. ἰδiai = δίκαι (in narrower sense)	{ πρὸς τινα (non-criminal). κατὰ τινος (criminal).

Δίκαι ἰδiai are those in which the interest involved is that of an individual; δίκαι δημοσiai, those in which the interest is not that of an individual. The former, private suits, can only be brought by the individual directly injured (save in cases of murder), and the fine or property in dispute (if any) goes to him, if he wins. In public suits, the prosecutor need not himself have sustained injury in pocket or person, and must go on with the case when he has once begun, and get at least one-fifth of the jury's votes, or be fined 1000 drachmæ.

The special (γραφαί) are the δοκιμασία and εἰθυναί of officials, the ἀπαγωγή, ἐνδειξις and ἐφήγησις, φάσις, ἀπογραφή, εἰσαγγελία, and προβολή. The ordinary (γραφαί) are all other public suits, in which the community's interests are directly or indirectly attacked.

As the class δίκαι κατὰ τινος (in which, though the individual is primarily

On that day, in the presence of his adversary, he laid his complaint in writing before the magistrate, whose duty it then was to determine whether there was or was not anything in the form or nature of this *ex parte* statement itself to bar further proceedings. If the complaint was formally admissible and accepted by the magistrate, both parties to the suit paid the court fees, and the accuser, if necessary, deposited caution-money as a guarantee of the good faith of his proceeding. A day was then appointed by the magistrate for a preliminary examination, *anakrisis*, of the case. In the meantime, the written accusation was posted for public inspection. The purpose of the *anakrisis* was to enable the magistrate to decide whether the matter was one which could be brought before a court, and if so to prepare it for submission to the court. At this investigation, each party swore to the goodness of his cause, and produced all the evidence which he wished to go before the court. The adversary might now allege reasons, if any, why the case could not legally be proceeded with. If such reasons were not alleged, or were over-ruled, the written evidence of the witnesses and all documents on both sides were placed in a vessel of metal or earthenware, *echinus*, and were taken possession of by the magistrate until the day of the trial. On this day (usually the thirtieth from the first appearance of both parties before the magistrate), in the court assigned by the Thesmothetæ, and before the jury or dicasts selected by lot, the magistrate who had conducted proceedings thus far produced the documents in his charge, and the clerk to the court read the charge made by the accuser, as also the counter-charge, if any had been made against him by his adversary, at the preliminary investigation. The accuser was then called upon by the presiding magistrate to speak, and was allowed to invite friends to speak on his behalf after him. His opponent then replied,

injured, the interests of the community require the suppression of the crime) overlaps, in many cases, the class of ordinary *γραφαί* (in which, though the interests of the state are attacked, the individual suffers), it follows that a person injured had often his choice between proceeding by *δίκη* or *γραφή*.

As to the special *γραφαί*, the *ἀπογραφή* was the form of procedure by which a private person was charged with being in unlawful possession of property belonging to the state; the peculiarity of the *φάσις* was that it was the form prescribed in cases when the successful prosecutor claimed half the penalty; the *προβολή* was the mode by which a diffident prosecutor sheltered himself behind the ecclesia, as he made his accusation to the assembly, and the assembly decided whether the matter was one to be gone on with or not. The other special forms of *γραφή* have been or will be dealt with elsewhere.

and in some cases both sides were allowed to speak a second time. The evidence which had been deposited with the magistrate was read by the clerk when required by the speaker, who introduced such portions of it at such points in his speech as seemed to him most advisable. Witnesses themselves did not appear, and, therefore, were neither examined nor cross-examined. And since the time that the speeches might take was defined by the law, and measured by the water-clock, it is intelligible that no trial was allowed to occupy more than a single day. The jury gave their verdict by secret vote, and without consultation. If the trial went against the accuser, and if, further, less than one-fifth of the jury voted for him, he was in some (private) suits, *ipso facto*, condemned to pay to his adversary one-sixth of the sum which the latter would have had to pay had he lost the verdict. In public suits the accuser, under these circumstances, was condemned to a fine of a thousand drachmæ. The decision of the court was final, and could not be upset, unless a successful action for perjury against the witnesses on one side enabled the other to institute proceedings for setting aside the verdict in the first trial. If the case went by default, and the losing side could subsequently prove that the default was due to circumstances beyond its control, a new trial might be obtained. But though Attic law admitted that false representations might mislead the dicasts, it did not admit that dicasts otherwise could make a mistake. Mercy, however, might in exceptional circumstances temper justice, and the sovereign people could pardon an offence against the state.

We must now examine the course of legal procedure at Athens in rather closer detail, and we begin by inquiring what persons in Athens were, and what were not, allowed by law to be parties to a suit. To begin with, women and minors could not institute legal proceedings, except through their guardians or *κύριοι*. Men must not only possess the mental qualification of sanity, and the physical qualification of full age, but certain legal qualifications as well. In the first place, the party to a suit must be free: slaves could not institute any legal proceedings. Being free and a foreigner, he was allowed by law, on the introduction of his patron (if a Metic), or his proxenus (if a temporary resident), or in his own right (if he belonged to the privileged class of *ἰσοτελείς*), to institute not only a private, but also a public suit, provided that the latter was brought with a view to the redress of personal grievances of his own. Being free and a citizen, he must be in the enjoyment of his civic rights; for a citizen might, by way of punishment, be disquali-

fied (ἄτιμος), either from the exercise of all, or from the exercise of some of the rights of a citizen. In the former case he was excluded from the markets, the temples of the gods, and from all assemblies of the citizens for whatever purpose; he was, therefore, incapable of addressing a law court for any purpose whatever. The less stringent form of disqualification frequently took the shape of a prohibition forbidding the ἄτιμος the right of instituting certain kinds of suits.

Corporations, as well as individuals, could appear before the law, in the person either of their president, or some member appointed *ad hoc*. Amongst such corporations may be noted the state itself, the demes, the phratries, as well as private religious corporations.

In many cases the state was content to leave it to the self-interest, or to the patriotism of the individual citizen, to institute legal proceedings, even on behalf of the state. In others, however, the duty of prosecution was intrusted by the law to its own officials, even on behalf of private persons. Thus the king-archon had to take steps, when necessary, to enforce the rights of fatherless children and widows. Sometimes also, in extraordinary emergencies, persons or bodies might be specially commissioned as *ζητηταί*, to hunt out and prosecute wrongdoers. Finally, whether private suits could be brought against magistrates during their year of office is open to discussion.

The formal commencement of legal proceedings consisted in the citation of the adversary, in the presence of (usually two) witnesses, to appear before the magistrate in whose hegemony the case fell. The citation had to be made five days at least before that on which the parties were to appear before the magistrate;¹ and in the case of certain classes of suits, there were certain months in which proceedings could not be instituted. Mercantile suits² could only be laid in the winter months; probate and murder cases could not be undertaken at the end of the official year, when they would have to be begun under one magistrate, and concluded by another. On the other hand, to set against the law's delays in these respects, there are sundry cases in which the appearance of the accused before the magistrate was immediate on citation. In private suits, indeed, only foreigners, not citizens, were subject to such summary proceedings. In the case of public suits, for instance in certain cases of murder, the accused might straightway be summoned

¹ (Dem.) *c. Macart.* 1076; *Ar. Nub.* 1131, 1221.

² *δίκαι ἐμπορικά*.

to appear before the magistrate,¹ or the magistrate might be brought to the offender,² or citation might be dispensed with entirely, and information given to the proper magistrate;³ while in the case of an εἰσαγγελία also, citation was unnecessary. As regards the actual process of citation, it is to be noted that an Athenian's house was his castle, and that it was not allowable to enter it forcibly for the purpose of citing him. If he was abroad, he might still be cited, and the citation held good if testified to by witnesses.

The witnesses to the citation are κλητῆρες; their action is κλητεύειν; a prosecution for false witness in this connection is γραφή ψευδοκλητείας. The citation itself is πρόσκλησις or κλήσις, the verb προσκαλεῖσθαι or καλεῖσθαι. Ἐγκαλεῖν is the verb used of inviting one's adversary, before citing him, to repair his wrong to you.

The day named by the accuser in his citation might either be a day legally appointed for the receipt of accusations of the kind in question,⁴ or might not, in which case probably the accuser previously ascertained on what day the magistrate's official duties would allow of his receiving the charge. On that day it was the business of the magistrate to satisfy himself that the accusation was laid in legal form. It was necessary that the accuser should be qualified to lay the accusation, and that he should have duly cited his adversary to appear. The accusation might be rejected for technical reasons, or for being brought at a time forbidden by law, or for being brought to a magistrate whose jurisdiction or hegemony did not include it. If the accusation satisfied the magistrate in all these points, the complainant had then to pay certain fees, the παρακαταβολή and παράστασις; and both parties had to pay πρυτανεία to the court, the winning side being refunded by the party cast. The latter were court fees. The amount varied according to the nature of the suit, being thirty drachmæ where the complainant's claim was for more than a thousand drachmæ, three if over a hundred, and less than a thousand; while, where the claim was for less than a hundred drachmæ, or the suit was a public one, in which the accuser was not seeking his own interest, no πρυτανεία were paid to the court. In other public suits, being brought for the public good, there was only a nominal fee of one drachma, called παράστασις. The word

¹ ἀπαγωγή.² ἐφήγησις.³ ἐνδείξις.⁴ As, for instance, the ἐννὴ καὶ νέα (Ar. *Uesp.* 1189-1200), for the recovery of debts.

παρακαταβολή, which properly signifies only the depositing of money, was applied to the money deposited by the complainant as a guarantee of good faith, and forfeited by him if he lost his case. Such a deposit, however, was required only in two kinds of suit: in claims against the state for confiscated goods, and in claims to an inheritance already assigned by a court. In the former case the παρακαταβολή amounted to one-fifth, in the latter to one-tenth of the value of the property claimed. If the fees were not paid the accusation was not accepted, and when accepted it was copied, and the copy exposed for public inspection in the neighbourhood of the magistrate's office.

The written accusation was called λήξις or ἔγκλημα. The board (whitened with chalk or gypsum) on which it was copied was σανίς or λεύκωμα. The form in which accusations were drawn in private suits may be seen from this charge in a δίκη βλάβης: Δείναρχος Σωστράτου Κορίνθιος Προξένω, ᾧ σύνειμι, βλάβης, τάλαντων δύο. Ἐβλαψε με Πρόξενος ὑποδεξάμενος εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν τὴν ἐαυτοῦ τὴν ἐν ἀργῷ, ὅτε πεφευγὼς Ἀθήνηθεν κατήειν ἐκ Χαλχίδος, . . . χρυσίου μὲν στατήρας ὀγδοήκοντα καὶ διακοσίους καὶ πέντε, οὓς ἐκόμισα ἐκ Χαλχίδος, εἰδότος Προξένου, καὶ εἰσῆλθον ἔχων εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν αὐτοῦ, ἀργυρώματα δὲ οὐκ ἔλαττον εἴκοσι μυνῶν ἄξια, ἐπιβουλεύσας τούτοις. In Dem. κατὰ Στεφάνου, A. p. 1115, we have the accusation in a δίκη ψευδομαρτυριῶν, which begins thus: Ἀπολλόδωρος Πασίωνος Ἀχαρνὲς Στεφάνω Μενεκλέους Ἀχαρνὲ ψευδομαρτυριῶν τίμημα τάλαντον, and is followed by a statement of the facts of the case. We may compare the mock trial in Ar. *Wasps*, 894:—

ἀκούετ' ἤδη τῆς γραφῆς. ἐγράψατο
κῶων Κυδαθηναίεὺς Λάβητ' Αἰζωνέα,
τὸν τυρὸν ἀδικεῖν ὅτι μόνος κατήσθιεν
τὸν Σικελικόν. τίμημα κλωὸς σύκινος.

If the case were one for a public arbitrator, or *διαιταιτής*, the magistrate, having accepted the accusation, at once, and without hearing arguments from the defendant, remitted it to a *διαιτητής*, chosen by lot from amongst those arbitrators appointed to act for the tribe to which the defendant belonged. In other cases the magistrate appointed a day for the investigation (*anakrisis*) of the case. On that day the accused had the opportunity, which was by law allowed to him then, and not when the accusation was first laid, of taking exception to the further procedure of the case. He might argue that the complainant was not legally qualified to institute proceedings, that the alleged grievance was not one for which there was a legal

remedy, that the matter had already been settled by a previous judgment from a law court or by a compromise, or that the complainant had allowed the time for legal proceedings to go by (debts, for instance, could not be recovered, nor inheritances, under certain circumstances, disputed, nor guardians prosecuted after a lapse of five years), or that the remedy sought was not that appointed by law, or that this magistrate had not the requisite hegemony, or jurisdiction. The form taken by the exception might be a simple allegation, in writing, that the complainant was not legally qualified, or that the magistrate had no hegemony, &c., and this form of exception was called *παραγραφή*. The complainant might admit the allegation, and amend his accusation accordingly, or he might deny it; and then the allegation was submitted to a law court for decision, the original case being suspended meanwhile. If the exception were sustained by the defendant, the original case was thereby finally quashed; if not, it might then be resumed. In either case, if the losing side failed to get one-fifth of the jury's votes, he had to pay to the other side one-sixth of the amount claimed by the prosecutor in the original action. The form taken by the exception might, however, not be a *παραγραφή*, but a *διαμαρτυρία*, that is to say, might be not a bare allegation, but one supported by witnesses. For instance, the accused might allege that the archon polemarch, before whom the complainant had brought him, as being a foreigner, had no jurisdiction over him, as he was a citizen, in this case; and he might further offer to prove his allegation by witnesses. But if the defendant thus chose to appeal to evidence, it was obviously only just that the complainant also should be allowed to call witnesses. According to Attic law, the complainant was in this case first called upon to produce his witnesses; and it was only if he declined to do so that the defendant was allowed to call the witnesses on his side. What the defendant could do, however, if his adversary called witnesses, was to indict them for perjury; and if he got a conviction he thereby established the validity of the exception he had taken in the shape of a *διαμαρτυρία*, and consequently his opponent was debarred from proceeding with the original action. On the other hand, if the defendant did not prosecute his adversary's witnesses, or failed to obtain a conviction against them for perjury, his exception thereby broke down, and the original action might be proceeded with. The defendant who elected to employ the *διαμαρτυρία*, had probably to face the contingency of paying, in a private suit, one-tenth of the amount claimed from him in the original action, if he failed to establish

his exception. On the other hand, the accuser who prosecuted his opponent's witnesses for perjury, and who failed to obtain one-fifth of the jury's votes, had to pay a fine, which in private suits went to the other side.

The preliminary investigation is *ἀνάκρισις*, the magistrate is said *ἀνακρίνειν τοῖς ἀντιδίκοις τὴν δίκην* or *γραφὴν*, the parties are said *ἀνακρίνεσθαι τὴν δίκην*, the suit is said *ἀνακριθῆναι*. The suitor who might but does not employ the *διαμαρτυρία* is said *αὐτομαχεῖν*. When the defendant takes no exception to the proceedings, the plaintiff is said *εὐθυδικία εἰσιέναι*, or *εἰσέρχεσθαι*.

The defendant who took no exception to the form of the accusation, the tribunal, &c., but declared his intention of allowing proceedings to take their ordinary course, did not therefore forfeit the right to charge his adversary with the very offence of which he was himself accused, and such a cross-accusation was called an *ἀντιγραφὴ*. This is a provision made by the law of most countries, and is obviously in accordance with justice; in assaults each party may well think he has a case against the other, and in no case would it be tolerable that cross-accusations should be inadmissible, else a criminal could protect himself from legal proceedings by the simple process of instituting an unreal suit against the injured person. On the other hand, in the same way that the laying of an accusation did not relieve the accuser from being charged by his adversary with the very same offence, the laying of an *ἀντιγραφὴ* or cross-accusation did not interfere with the prosecution of the original suit; the two trials went on perfectly independently of each other. They might be tried simultaneously, and even if tried successively they might be decided in such a way that the same person won one and lost the other, the matter in dispute being the same in both trials.

The word *ἀντιγραφὴ* is also used of any counter-charges designed to parry an accuser's attack, and in this wider sense includes the *παραγραφὴ* and *διαμαρτυρία*. The word is by a natural extension made equivalent to *γραφὴ*, and is used not only of the charge made by the one party, but also of that made by the other, for the charge made by the accuser in the original suit is no less a cross-charge or counter-accusation than that raised by the defendant. To lay a cross-accusation is *ἀντιγράφεσθαι*.

If no exceptions were raised or successfully sustained by the defendant, the ordinary course of the *anakrisis* was for each suitor to swear to the truth of his cause, and then to produce all the evidence he wished to bring forward at the trial, for nothing was

then admissible which had not been deposited with the magistrate at the anakrisis. The evidence thus produced might consist of copies of laws, documents of all kinds, the testimony of witnesses, the evidence of slaves, and oaths. The laws of the land were partly posted up in public places for general reference, partly kept in the Metrôon, where also they could be consulted; and the suitor who wished to quote in the trial any law or a portion thereof had to make a copy of it and deposit it at the anakrisis. The documents put in as evidence might be contracts, bonds, testaments, bankers' books (which were accepted as evidence of debt), psephisms of the people or the *boulê*, decrees of foreign states, letters from foreign states, and other state documents. If the documents required by a litigant were accessible, a copy properly testified to could be obtained, and would suffice. If the document were in the possession of the other side, or of some person who made difficulties about showing it, the litigant could formally summon the possessor to discover it, and in case of refusal could institute a suit against him, or without resorting to such a troublesome proceeding might content himself, when the trial day came, with making a point in his speech against his adversary out of his refusal to discover the document. The testimony of witnesses is important enough to demand a paragraph to itself.

The oath taken by the party to a suit is *ἀντωμοσία*. *Διωμοσία*, which properly stands for the oaths taken by both sides, is frequently used of the oath taken by one or other of the two suitors. By a still further extension the former word is sometimes used to mean the written accusation sworn to by the accuser, and even to mean the cross-accusation sworn to by the defendant. An action for the discovery of documents is *δίκη εἰς ἐμφανῶν κατάστασιν*. The summons to produce documents is *πρόκλησις*.

Evidence could only be given by free men of full age in possession of civic rights; minors and women could not give evidence at all, and slaves (except under torture), only for the prosecution in a trial for murder. Foreigners, whether Metics or *ἰσοτελείς*, could give evidence, except in a *diamartyria* taking exception to the further prosecution of a trial of a defaulting freedman. Further, a person otherwise qualified to give evidence could not be a witness in his own suit (except in a *diamartyria* arising out of a disputed inheritance), and witnesses were only allowed to testify to what they had themselves witnessed, not to hearsay, unless the person from whom they heard the statement was dead. Witnesses abroad or sick might

give their evidence in writing, and if it was taken in the presence of a responsible person, who testified that it was faithfully taken, it could be put in at the anakrisis. Every person legally qualified to serve as a witness, except the adversary, was bound to give evidence when called upon, or to appear on the day of the trial and take oath that he knew nothing of the matter in dispute. If he failed to appear, or refused to take this oath, he was liable to an action for damages. If a witness engaged to appear and failed to do so, he could be prosecuted as a defaulting witness. If a witness, after a formal summons to give evidence or take the consequences, still refused, he could be fined a thousand drachmæ. This fine went to the state, and this form of summons was therefore generally in use in public suits.

The testimony of every witness had, in accordance with an express provision of the law, to be reduced to writing, and thus given to the magistrate at the anakrisis. It was not in all cases necessary that the witness should take an oath as to the truth of his testimony, and in no case was the oath administered by the magistrate or the court. At the anakrisis the one side took the other side's witnesses to the altar and swore them. At the trial the witness ascended the witnesses' tribune, when his evidence was read, and tacitly acknowledged it as his, or possibly, in some cases, swore to it. The only, even distant, approach to the examination or cross-examination of witnesses was when a witness was challenged in the presence of the judges, in the way already described, either to testify to or to swear ignorance of the matters which the other side suggested that he was cognisant of. In this case a statement of the matters to which it was suggested the witness could testify was put in at the anakrisis, and was read aloud at the trial in the presence of the witness. Finally, it is to be noted that, whereas in a trial before a court of dicasts, no evidence could be produced in court which had not been put in at the anakrisis, in a trial before an arbitrator witnesses were called at the trial, as the case was referred by the magistrate to the arbitrator without anakrisis.

The expressions for calling on a bystander to become a witness to a proceeding are, διαμαρτύρεσθαι, ἐπιμαρτύρεσθαι, μαρτύρεσθαι. Foreigners could not give evidence in a διαμαρτυρία μὴ εἰσαγωγίμων εἶναι τὴν δίκην, when the action was against a defaulting freedman (δίκη ἀποστασίου). The κύριος of a woman or minor could be his own witness in a διαμαρτυρία μὴ ἐπίδικον εἶναι τὸν κλῆρον. To give hearsay evidence is ἀκοὴν

μαρτυρεῖν. Evidence of persons sick or abroad taken on commission is *ἐκμαρτυρία*, the verb *ἐκμαρτυρεῖν*; to acknowledge such evidence as being one's evidence is *ἀναδέχασθαι τὴν ἐκμαρτυρίαν*; to testify that it was properly taken is *μαρτυρεῖν τὴν ἐκμαρτυρίαν*. An action for false witness is *δίκη ψευδομαρτυριῶν*; for damages, *δίκη βλάβης*; against a defaulting witness, *δίκη λιπομαρτυρίου*. The formal summons to give evidence, which entailed a fine of 1000 drachmæ if not complied with, is *κλήτευσις*. The oath that one knows nothing of the matter is *ἐξωμοσία*.

We now come to the evidence of slaves under torture. This kind of evidence was highly valued at Athens, and was considered more trustworthy than that of free-born citizens, as indeed it may have been; but it was not therefore particularly good, for obstinacy might make a callous slave persist in falsehood, and weakness make a feeble slave give the evidence which he saw his torturers desired him to give. Slaves could not be tortured except by their owner's permission, and under the conditions he chose to prescribe. It was therefore customary to challenge the other side to allow his slaves to be tortured, or to offer one's own slaves. Such a challenge was made in the presence of witnesses, most commonly in the market, and frequently in writing. If the challenge was accepted, this document was useful in holding the signatories to their engagement, and might serve as ground for an action if either party broke the contract. The nature of the torture and the amount, together with the names of the persons who were to conduct it, were usually stated in a formal document. As a rule the torture was administered before the *anakrisis*, in order that the statement of the slave, duly attested, might be put in at the *anakrisis*; but, in extraordinary cases, it seems to have been possible to torture a slave on the day of trial in presence of the *dicasts*; while, if the evidence of the slave was not to decide some particular point, but to settle the whole matter in dispute, the torture might be challenged and accepted at any point in the proceedings.

Finally, if a suitor had no other evidence to produce, if witnesses of the transaction were from one cause or another wanting, if no documentary record were in existence, he might offer to take a solemn oath that the matter was as he contended, or challenge his adversary to swear the contrary; or it was equally permissible to challenge the other side to allow some third person to swear to the matter. Such an oath would then be recorded, put in as evidence at the *anakrisis*, and produced

at the trial. It is remarkable that whereas women could not appear as witnesses to a suit, they could and did take oaths which were accepted in a court of law ; and further, though no man might be a witness in his own case, he yet might swear to a fact. The explanation of this seeming anomaly is that, whereas it was only with the consent of the other side that a point in dispute, or as was sometimes the case the whole matter, could be referred for decision to the solemn oath and declaration of a woman, or a party to the suit, witnesses, of course, were produced by either side without consulting the other ; and whereas the one side might discredit the other side's witnesses, the suitor who agreed to refer the matter to some person's sworn declaration could not, if the declaration turned out to be against him, refuse to abide by it. When all the evidence that each side wished to produce at the trial had been put in—and it is self-evident that this process might occupy a considerable time—the documents recording it were placed in the *ἐχίνος*, sealed, and taken in keeping by the magistrate who had presided at the *anakrisis*, which was now complete.

A challenge to employ the torture of slaves is *πρόκλησις εἰς βάσανον*. The owner who offers his slave to the torture is said *παραδιδόναι* ; he who accepts, *παραλαμβάνειν* ; he who calls for the other's slaves, *ἐξαιτεῖν*. The persons appointed to regulate the torture are *βασανισταί*, the statements made under torture *βάσανοι*.

For most suits it was provided by law that they should come before a court of dicasts for trial thirty days after the laying of the accusation. This space of time was evidently considered enough to allow for the completion of the *anakrisis* in all ordinary cases. At the same time it is readily conceivable that this period might prove insufficient : the presiding magistrate might be too occupied with other official duties to conduct an *anakrisis* during that time ; or the time might not be sufficient to allow of all the necessary evidence being got together ; or even if the *anakrisis* could be completed, the magistrate might find it impossible to preside at the trial on the proper day, or the parties might unite in applying to have the trial deferred, say in the hope of meanwhile settling the matter out of court, or either suitor might be able to show good cause why he could not be present on that day. Thus the law might be delayed at Athens, and was frequently delayed, sometimes for years. But in justice to the law, it is to be noted that in at least certain suits, which were hence called "monthly suits," the day of trial either could not, or could only under very extra-

ordinary circumstances, be put off beyond the regular period of thirty days. With reference to the mode in which an adjournment of the trial was applied for, on the day appointed for the trial the suitor who alleged that he was unable to be present commissioned some one to represent to the court for him that he was prevented by absence abroad, sickness, death of a near relative, &c., from putting in an appearance. This statement had to be made on oath. The other side might admit the allegation, or might take oath that the allegation was untrue, in which case the dicasts heard what both parties had to say in support of their statements, and decided the matter. If the absentee sustained his representation, the case was adjourned; if not, the case went against him in default. It is not improbable that application for adjournment might be made in another way, by applying in writing, before the day of the trial, to the presiding magistrate. In this form, too, the declaration had to be made on oath, and might be met by a sworn counter-declaration from the other side.

Monthly suits, *δίκαι ἔμμηνοι*, included *δίκαι ἐρανικαί, μεταλλικαί, προικός*. The oath of the absentee is *ὑπωμοσία*, the counter-oath *ἀνθυπωμοσία*. The written application sent in before the day of trial, *ἡ κυρία*, is *παραγραφή*.—Cf. *Dem. c. Meid.* 541, 21; *c. Euerg.* 1151, 2, and 1153, 5.

It was open to either side to offer to settle the matter in dispute by amicable arrangement at any time before the verdict was given—before or after the *anakrisis*, when the trial had commenced, when both parties had been heard, and even after the dicasts had recorded their votes, provided that they had not been yet counted. It was, however, only private suits which could lawfully be compromised. In a public suit a fine of a thousand drachmæ was the penalty to be inflicted on an accuser who failed to proceed with his accusation. And this was reasonable on two accounts: first, the interests of the community were at stake in a public suit, and to compromise was to betray them; next, the fine was a wholesome deterrent to sycophants, *i.e.*, to those who sought to levy blackmail by the threat of public prosecution. As a matter of fact, however, public suits were frequently dropped. The levying of the fine probably rested with the presiding magistrate, who may have bowed to custom, and have forbore from exacting it.

The Thesmothetæ gave public notice of the day on which cases would be tried, of the suits which would be tried in the various courts, and the order in which they would be brought on. Proceedings began very early in the morning, and the

trivial cases were taken first.¹ The dicasts were apportioned by lot to the courts in which they were to sit; this made it difficult or impossible to "get at" them beforehand. In the court they found the magistrate sitting who had instructed the anakrisis, and to whose hegemony the case belonged. A signal, possibly a flag, was kept hoisted until the proceedings began; then it was hauled down, and the dicast who came after that got no triobol. Order was maintained in court and amongst the spectators by the "Scyths." Heralds and clerks were at hand. The presiding magistrate first called upon the litigants to present themselves. An offering or a lustration was made, and a prayer recited by the herald. The accusation and the rejoinder were read by the scribe, and the parties were called upon to plead. The law required that every man should plead his own cause; hence the man who felt unequal to this task either got some one to write a speech for him, which he learned by heart, or else he contented himself with a few words of introduction, and then (as he was entitled to do) called on his friends to speak in his support. As it was expressly forbidden by the law that any one should be hired to speak on behalf of a litigant, these "friends" naturally began by explaining that their motive in speaking was hatred of the other side, or anything else that would give a colour to their proceeding. In some cases—we know not which—when both sides had spoken once, each side was allowed a second speech. The length of time which might be occupied by each side in speaking was determined by law (save in trivial suits); and if there were several speakers on one side, they had to divide the time allotted to their side between them. There was an official whose sole business it was to work the water-clock (clepsydra), and he it is who is addressed in the orator's injunctions to "stop the water," or "let it run."²

How witnesses gave their evidence has been previously explained. A speaker might not be interrupted by his opponent, but he (the speaker) might put questions to them. The dicasts, however, could interrupt a speaker, reprove him if necessary, or ask him to explain. They also had no scruple in making lively demonstration of their feelings, hence the orator's entreaties to them not to make a disturbance. They might even, having heard one side, refuse to hear the other, and con-

¹ Hence they were called ἐωθινὰ δίκαι.

² The official is ὁ ἐφύδωρ, the injunctions are ἐπιλαβε τὸ ὕδωρ, and ἐξέρα τὸ ὕδωρ.

condemn a man unheard. Their oath bound them to hear both sides, but verdicts given in the unfair manner just described do not seem to have been challenged. Under these circumstances it is not surprising to learn that speakers appealed as much to the feelings and prejudices of the dicasts as to their intellect, and that such appeals, however widely they departed from the matter in hand, were not checked. The accused habitually endeavoured to work upon the feelings of the dicasts by producing in court their little children, their aged parents, and helpless dependents, or by getting men of distinction—even the presiding magistrate himself—to appeal for mercy on their behalf.

The speeches ended, the presiding magistrate called upon the dicasts to vote, and this they did without previous consultation amongst themselves; indeed, juries so large as those at Athens could not possibly retire to deliberate on their verdict. The method of voting differed at different periods. In the fifth century each dicast had one psephos, a mussel-shell; and there were two vessels, into one of which he cast his vote if he wished to acquit, and into the other if he wished to condemn. But how his vote could be secret in this case has not yet been ascertained. In the fourth century each dicast received two *ψηφοι*. Each of these psephi was made of metal, and consisted of a circular disc through the centre of which ran a stem, which projected at right angles from each surface of the disc. The only difference between the two was that the stem of one was hollow, of the other solid; and this difference was concealed if the dicast put a thumb and finger on the two ends of the stem. The solid psephos was the vote for acquittal, the hollow for condemnation. The dicast cast whichever he thought fit into the vessel provided for receiving the votes; and the other psephos, which now had become useless, he threw into another vessel provided for the receipt of waste psephi, so to speak. And as no one could tell whether he dropped the hollow or the solid psephos into the *καδίσκος*, secrecy of voting was secured.

If the majority of dicasts voted for condemnation, and the case was one in which the penalty had to be assessed, then the prosecution made a speech proposing a penalty; the defence proposed an alternative penalty, and the dicasts probably had no choice but to vote for one or the other. The time these speeches might occupy was determined by law. How the dicasts recorded their vote in the fourth century is unknown; in the time of Aristophanes they had wax tablets, on which a

long line was drawn by the dicast if he voted for the heavier penalty, a short one if for the lighter. Finally, the trial had to be concluded the same day as that on which it began, unless the sitting of the court was interrupted by external occurrences or of *διωσήμεία*.

In some private cases—in which is unknown—and in the *paragraphe* and *antigraphe* and in the *phasis*, if the accuser failed to obtain one-fifth of the votes, he was condemned to pay a fine amounting to one-sixth of what the defendant would have had to pay had he been condemned. As there are six obols in a drachm, this fine was known as *ἑπωβελία*, *i.e.*, one obol in the drachm.

In public suits, the prosecutor who failed to obtain one-fifth of the votes was condemned to pay the same fine as if he failed to proceed with his prosecution, *viz.*, one thousand drachms. Only two classes of cases were exempt from this provision, *viz.*, that in which the prosecutor laid an information (*εἰσαγγελία*) before the archon that an orphan, an heiress, or an aged person was being subjected to ill-treatment (*κάκωσις*), and cases of high treason; and eventually the immunity was abolished in this class of case also.

In public cases, if the accused was sentenced to death or imprisonment, he was at once taken into custody by the Scyths, until the presiding magistrate had time to communicate his sentence to the Eleven, whose business it then was to carry out the sentence. If the sentence was slavery, the prisoner was sold by the Poletæ; if banishment, the sentence need only be published—the exile who returned without leave was to be put to death; those who sheltered him were to share his sentence. If the accused were disfranchised, publication alone was necessary. If his goods were confiscated, the demarch of his deme or the Eleven sold him up. Fines fell either to the state or the temple treasuries: the *praktores* got in the former, the treasurers of the respective temples the latter. Until the fine was paid, the condemned man could exercise none of his civic rights. If he did not pay at the appointed time, the fine was doubled. If he did not pay then, his goods were confiscated. If they did not suffice to pay the fine, he and his heir, as state debtors, were disfranchised until they paid.

In private cases, a period¹ within which the defendant was to obey his sentence, was appointed. If he exceeded the delay thus allowed him, the plaintiff could seize on some of his

¹ *προθεσμία*.

goods,¹ and indemnify himself by publicly selling them ; or, in the case of considerable sums, he could enter on possession² of a piece of real property. Or if the sentence awarded the plaintiff a piece of real property, he could enter on possession ; or if he did not choose to do so, he could claim the rent of the house or land ;³ or he could obtain power to indemnify himself⁴ out of the rest of the defendant's property ; or finally, he could make him a debtor to the public treasury for the amount,⁵ and thus disfranchise him.

As to new trials and appeals, the rule in Attic law was that the verdict of the dicasts once given was final.⁶ A new hearing of civil suits was only possible under two circumstances :⁷ a man who had been condemned by default might (within two months) show that it was through no fault of his that he had not appeared at the original trial ;⁸ or the loser in a suit might claim a new trial on the ground that his opponent had won by perjury.

The decision of courts other than dicasteria was not considered to be final ; hence there was an appeal (*ἔφεσις*) to the dicasts from the decision of public arbitrators (*διαιτηταί*), from a fine (*ἐπιβολή*) inflicted by a magistrate in the exercise of summary jurisdiction, and from the verdict of townsmen who excluded a man from the deme.

CHAPTER XXII

GREEK STATES IN THEIR RELATIONS TO EACH OTHER

IN the earliest periods of all Aryan peoples a stranger was an enemy, who might be killed by any member of the tribe with impunity, if not with credit, and whose kin could obtain no wergeld for his blood. But even in pre-historic times a certain amount of commerce obtained between different tribes, and the desire to procure foreign products would induce some powerful member of the tribe to afford protection to the wandering merchant from whom the desired articles were alone to be obtained.

¹ Ἐνέχυρα λαβεῖν or φέρειν, ἐνεχυράζειν.

² By a δίκη ἐνοικίου or καρποῦ respectively.

³ By a δίκη οὐσίας.

² Ἐμβατεύειν.

⁵ By a δίκη ἐξούλης.

⁴ The suit thus for ever settled was δίκη αὐτοτελής.

⁷ A suit re-heard was δίκη ἀνάδικος.

⁸ This proceeding is τὴν ἔρημον (δίκην) ἀντιλαχεῖν.

The relation thus established between the guest and the guest's friend tended, as society became permanent, to become hereditary; and even when the basis of the guest-friendship was no longer trade, the original foundation of the relation perpetuated itself symbolically in the exchange of presents, customary even in Homer's time between the two guest-friends.¹

But even when the Greek word ξένος had come to acquire the meaning of "guest-friend" in addition to its original meaning of "enemy," just as the Teutonic word "guest" originally had the same meaning as the Latin *hostis*, identical philologically with it;² even when the stranger under the protection of Zeus Xenios was safe from attacks on his life and property,³ he was far from enjoying the same legal rights as the ordinary citizen. He could purchase no land or house in the state; he could wed none of its daughters; he could appear before none of its tribunals, in none of its political assemblies, at none of its religious festivals. This was a state of things which naturally became intolerable as trade between various states tended to increase; and various remedies were sought: in some cases states entered into treaties with each other, whereby the citizens of each were guaranteed certain rights and privileges⁴ within the borders of the other.⁵ Occasionally every right was accorded by the one state to any or all of the citizens of the other state. But treaties of this kind were comparatively rare. The more frequent were those termed σύμβολα, which probably differed very much from one another in many of their provisions, but resembled each other in providing that the accused should in the first instance be tried before a tribunal of his own state,⁶ that an appeal was allowed to the accuser only, and was to be made to some third state specified in the treaty. If no σύμβολα existed, the accuser was at liberty to seize upon the person or the goods of the accused, in order thereby to compel him to appear before a tribunal in the country of the prosecutor; or the prosecutor might first obtain authority from the law courts of his own country to seize the defendant or his property. The fact that such haling was impossible if σύμβολα existed must have been a powerful inducement to contract a treaty.

Concurrently with this development of pacific relations between states, guest-friendship was transformed from a private

¹ *Od.* i. 174, ff.

² See Schrader, *Prehistoric Antiquities*, p. 350.

³ *Od.* xiv. 56.

⁴ Such as ἐγκτησις γῆς καὶ οἰκίας, ἐπιγαμία, &c. Cf. *C. I. G.* 2556.

⁵ *E.g.*, between Smyrna and Magnesia in B.C. 244 (*C. I. G.* 3137).

⁶ *Dem.* vii. 13.

to a public and official institution. The ξένος became a πρόξενος. It is usual to compare the proxenos of ancient Greece with the consul of modern times, and the analogy holds good, inasmuch as both institutions were developed to meet the needs of citizens trading with foreign states, and both performed the same functions, affording advice and assistance to private citizens of the country of which they were the representatives, and providing information to the governments that appointed them. But the differences between an ancient proxenos and a modern consul, arising as they do from profound differences between ancient and modern states, are as important as the resemblances. In a modern country the protection afforded by the law to foreigners residing within the limits of the state is as complete as that given to native citizens, and the opportunities for obtaining political and commercial information enjoyed by the foreigner are not inferior to those possessed by a native. Consequently the consul of modern times is usually a native of the country which appoints him, and as the representative of that country enjoys privileges in the state to which he is accredited not possessed by natives of that state. In ancient states the citizens were regarded as forming one family and as forming a religious communion, from which all strangers were to be jealously excluded. As it was impossible for a foreign state to intrude one of its own subjects as its representative into this close circle, it chose one of those already within the ring. The proxenos was always a native of the country in which he resided, not of the country which appointed him. Further, the appointment gave the proxenos no official status in his own country, though it conferred honours and privileges on him in the state appointing him. As a rule a state selected some distinguished citizen, who, by the eagerness with which he sought to make a large number of private guest-friends, had shown that he was well disposed to act in the interests of the state to which his private guest-friends belonged. When he had been officially appointed proxenos, he became *ex officio* the guest-friend of all citizens of the state appointing him, their patron, unless they chose to select another for themselves, and the diplomatic agent of the state. It remains to be noted that the state appointing the proxenos had no power to compel him to perform the duties he undertook, or to punish him for a breach of faith. Nevertheless, the proxenos seems to have usually been perfectly faithful, and the office tended to become hereditary as had the private institution. Amongst the relations of Greek states to

one another we have next to notice rudimentary traces of a *jus gentium*.

There were certain unwritten laws which, as a matter of tradition and custom, regulated the relations of one state to another to some extent. These customs, for the most part, display themselves when the relations in question are hostile—a fact which indicates that hostility was the usual attitude between neighbouring tribes or communities when these customs took shape. There is, however, one branch of this unwritten law which applied to times of peace—the process known as *ἀνδροληψία*, by which the relatives of a man murdered abroad might obtain the vengeance which custom and religion required them to exact. The belief that the blood of a murdered man brought some kind of supernatural danger to the country in which the murder was committed, unless the deceased were avenged, was common to all the Greeks, and probably was strong enough in the majority of cases to induce a state to give up any of its citizens, who had, within its boundaries, killed a foreigner. But custom further allowed the relatives of the deceased to bring pressure to bear upon the state in question by seizing any three of its citizens, and holding them as hostages until the murderer was punished, or made the compensation which custom allowed.

The unwritten laws of war gave inviolable sanctity to the person of a herald carrying his staff of office. The foe who acknowledged his defeat by asking leave to carry his dead from off the field of battle might not be denied. Prisoners of war were at the mercy of their captor: they might be slain. They were commonly held to ransom, or sold into slavery, if not ransomed.

More important, however, in the history of Greek states than these traces of a *jus gentium* are the relations which existed between a colony and its mother city. Two kinds of colony were known to the Greeks, the *ἀποικία* and the *κληρουχία*. The former was politically independent, the latter politically dependent on the mother city. The former was the more numerous kind, and may be regarded as the type of Greek colony. The latter was of the nature of a political experiment, which, after trial for a couple of centuries (B.C. 570–370), was abandoned.

The tie between an *ἀποικία* and the mother state was purely one of sentiment, and in practice the tie was not particularly strong. The theory was that the colony was politically the

equal of the mother city,¹ but that the latter exercised over her colonies a hegemony such as equals might properly submit to.² The general feeling in Greece was also in harmony with this: it was that colonies when in danger might appeal to the mother state for assistance, and that she ought to afford the aid required;³ that the colonies ought to aid the old country,⁴ and might only turn their arms against her under great provocation.⁵ Thus the colonies enjoyed autonomy in their internal government, and freedom to shape their own foreign policy; while the title of the mother state to hegemony never in Greek history resulted in the creation of an empire such as was the outcome of the hegemony exercised by Athens over her allies. The only exceptions to the rule that an ἀποικία was politically independent are but apparent. Corinth, indeed, sent magistrates to her colony Potidæa, but they exercised no real control over the policy of the colony, for they could not prevent it concluding a truce with an enemy of Corinth. Sinope exacted tribute from her colonies, but this tribute was really rent for the land occupied by the colonists, which belonged to Sinope. Finally, the inhabitants of Ægina had to plead in the law courts of Epidaurus, but the close proximity of the colony to the mother city makes this instance an exception to general rules.

At first sight the political independence of the ἀποικία seems to resemble that enjoyed by certain British colonies, and to be due to the same cause. But on closer examination this proves not to be the case. It is indeed true that, in the ancient as in the modern world, colonies travel in the direction of democracy much more rapidly than the mother country; that the conditions of colonial life necessarily obliterate the social distinctions of the old country; and that colonies survive and thrive in virtue of a self-assertiveness and independence of character in the individual colonist, which must in the end display itself in the attitude assumed by the colonists collectively towards the mother country; while the distance between the two states tends to make it impossible for the mother country to exercise continuous and effective control over her colonies. But all these facts together do not constitute an explanation of the independence of the ἀποικία, for they simply explain how a colony originally dependent eventually becomes independent, whereas the ἀποικία was from its foundation independent. Nor

¹ Thuc. i. 34.

³ Ibid. v. 106.

² Ibid. i. 38. Cf. iii. 61.

⁴ Ibid. i. 27; vii. 57.

⁵ Ibid. v. 84.

have any British colonies (save those which by an act of war and of successful rebellion have broken off the connection with the mother country) ever attained the same degree of independence as the Greek ἀποικία, for the crown retains the appointment of the governor, and a veto upon the legislation of all British colonies. We have, therefore, still a difference between the ἀποικία and a modern colony; and we have yet to find the reason of that difference. Now the causes which lead to colonisation are four: over-population, political dissension, religious dissension, and commerce. But all four causes were operative in the ancient world as in the modern, and being the same in both cannot account for a difference in the two. Nor at first sight does the difference seem to be accounted for by the fact that in the modern world conquest has preceded colonisation; for though the ἀποικία was not planted on soil conquered by the mother state, neither have all modern colonies been so planted: modern colonists "settle" in countries which are "uninhabited," i.e., inhabited only by such inferior races as can be crowded out without regular warfare. But although we may not lay it down as a law that only those colonies are dependent which have been planted in countries conquered by the mother state, still we may venture to say that whenever the mother state conquers the country, the colonies planted on it are politically dependent on her. This we may illustrate even from the ἀποικία, for the colonies of Sinope paid tribute to her, because the country then occupied had been conquered by her. But the best illustration may be drawn from the other kind of Greek colony, the κληρουχία, which was always planted on conquered soil, and was always dependent on the mother country.

The κληρουχία was a form of colonisation practised principally, though probably not exclusively, by Athens. The site of the colony was acquired by conquest or by cession; if by conquest, then the colony served as a garrison to hold the conquered domain; if by cession, then the colony served to overawe the allies by whom it had been ceded to Athens. But though thus primarily subservient to the needs of the foreign policy of Athens, the κληρουχία also acted and was designed to act as an outlet for the surplus population. In order, therefore, to attract the proletariat and to induce it to emigrate, the state guaranteed to the emigrants various rights and privileges. To begin with, no citizen who joined a colony thus organised and despatched by the state forfeited his rights as an Athenian citizen; he still remained a member of his old phylê and deme, though he could not of course actually exercise the rights which

in theory he possessed. In the next place, a substantial inducement to migrate was afforded by the offer to each emigrant of a sum of money down, and in the colony a land-lot the annual value of which was equivalent to the census required of the Zeugitæ (200 drachmæ); thus the Thetes who joined the colony gained a double advantage, for they benefited in pocket and they also rose in the social scale. Finally, equality and impartiality in the distribution of these benefits was guaranteed by the fact that the land was divided by the state into parcels of equal value, and these parcels were distributed by lot amongst those citizens who inscribed themselves on the list of intending colonists; and further, participation in this distribution was confined to members of the lowest two property classes, the Zeugitæ and Thetes. That these inducements were really attractive to the poorer Athenians seems demonstrated by the fact that in a single half century (B.C. 460-410) ten thousand went out as kleruchs. As the state accorded certain rights to its colonists, so it prescribed certain conditions and exacted certain duties. The colonist, even after emigration, continued to be an Athenian citizen; it was, therefore, but fair that he should continue to be liable to the same taxes and the same military service as his fellow-citizens in Athens. But no extra taxation was laid on him; and Athens found her account, in spite of the initial cost of founding the colony, in the increased number of hoplites which were placed at her disposal in consequence of the fact that those colonists who had been Thetes became Zeugitæ, and so became liable to serve as heavy-armed soldiers. Again, the state protected itself, but also and especially its poorer members, by providing that no colonist might let his land-lot to some one else and continue himself to live and draw the rent in Athens; if he did so any one might prosecute him, and if he was convicted both he and his tenant were fined twice the amount of the rent. Finally, it is matter of dispute whether Athens retained any portion of the territory of a colony as a state domain.

Thus the *κληρουχία* was from its very inception a state-organised institution; and as it was in the first instance a creation of the mother city, so it remained politically dependent on her to the end. In its internal affairs it had a certain amount of autonomy, and it regulated them by means of a constitution which was an imitation in miniature of that of Athens. But in its external relations it was absolutely dependent on the mother city; indeed, it was dependent on Athens for more than its foreign policy, for none but trivial cases could be

decided by the tribunals of the *κληρορχία*—all serious matters had to go to Athens to be tried. Further, in the fourth century, commissioners were sent out to the *κληρορχίαι* to represent Athens and look after her interests; while in the time of Aristotle the Athenian ecclesia elected a hipparch annually to take command of the cavalry in Lemnos.

The *κληρορχία* system goes back to about B.C. 570, the time when the first Athenian colony of this kind was founded, in Salamis. The charter of this colony still survives in a fragmentary inscription. The system was probably not acceptable to the allies of Athens, for though it is not made the subject of complaint either in the anti-Athenian speeches in Thucydides or in the treatise on the Constitution of Athens which passes under the name of Xenophon, still, when Athens got together her second Delian Confederacy in B.C. 377, she found herself compelled to guarantee that she would not plant *κληρορχίαι* amongst her allies, as appears from the stone-record of the convention on which the confederacy was based.

We may now proceed to consider some of the less pacific relations that might exist between Greek states. Treaties of alliance might be either defensive or offensive, and might be concluded either in view of some definite contingency, or might be perfectly general. The more common form of alliance was that in which the parties contracted to afford each other mutual defence. Sometimes the terms of the alliance provided for assistance against internal as well as external foes. The parties to the alliance might agree to assist each other either with the whole of their available strength, or only with a specified number of troops. The cost of maintaining the troops in the field was usually borne for a certain time by the state providing them, and after that time by the state to whose help they were sent. Neither party was allowed to make a separate peace with the common foe, and failure to comply with the conditions of the treaty *ipso facto* dissolved the alliance. The treaty might also provide a means for settling any disputes that arose between the members of the alliance. Treaties of peace also provided for an appeal to arbitration; or, even if they did not, it was always possible for a state to offer to submit to arbitration to avoid war, and refusal to accept an offer of arbitration created prejudice against the state that refused. The court of arbitration proposed might be some private person, or the Delphic oracle, or some one state, or several states. In ancient Greece, however, as in modern Europe, there was no means of enforcing the award of the arbitrator.

Amongst these alliances the most important for the history of Greece were those of the Peloponnesians under Sparta, and the Delian Confederacy under Athens. Whether the Peloponnesian Confederacy was based on a definite treaty of alliance, or merely upon custom, is a point on which we are in complete ignorance. What we do know is that every town in the Peloponnese was autonomous, and that all towns were bound to aid in warding off attacks upon the Peloponnese. They were also bound to assist any member of the league that might be attacked. When quarrels arose between members of the alliance they were to be settled by negotiation, or, if that failed, by arbitration. There was nothing, however, to prevent recourse to war if the dispute failed to be settled otherwise. During a campaign, however, conducted by the league against a common foe, no member of the confederacy was allowed to fight with another. Nor did the guarantee of autonomy prevent Sparta from establishing oligarchical governments in Peloponnesian towns, to rule in her own interest. The leader of the confederacy was Sparta, and all the allies were bound to obey her summons to the field. Sparta also decided what proportion of each ally's total force should take the field. Originally these forces consisted of infantry, usually hoplites; but in B.C. 382 the council of the confederation decreed that it should be permissible for a state to commute personal service for money payment. This permission was welcomed, as providing a means of escape from service on transmarine expeditions particularly. As regards naval expeditions, maritime members supplied ships, the others money in proportion. Other military expenses were met by contributions proportioned to the means of the various members. There were no regular taxes levied. The council of the confederation was convoked by Sparta, and the place where the delegates met was usually Sparta. Meetings might be held at any time of the year, but were most frequent in the spring. If the Spartans had not already decided amongst themselves what course they would take in the matter to be debated, the delegates were invited to take part in the proceedings of the Spartan assembly, the *Apella*, and there, jointly with the Spartans, to decide what was to be done. If, on the other hand, the Spartans had already arrived at a decision, the council of the confederacy discussed the question, under the presidency of the ephors, by themselves. The ephors opened the debate, closed it, and took the vote. Each state had one vote, without regard to the differences in size or power between itself and other states. The vote of the majority was binding

on the whole of the confederates. It was in the power of the council to decide peace or war ; but in case of attack upon the Peloponnese, the Spartans had the right of calling out the forces of the confederacy without first consulting the council. The command-in-chief of the allied forces lay with the Spartan kings.

The Greek states which combined to repel the Persian invasion acknowledged the hegemony of Sparta. When, however, after the defeat and flight of Xerxes, the Spartans had no better proposal to make for the protection of the Ionian Greeks than that they should abandon their homes and settle in Hellas ; and when the Spartan Pausanias entered into treacherous negotiations with the Persian king, the Asiatic Greeks, who owed special gratitude to Athens, invited her, in B.C. 477, to take that hegemony of the Greek naval forces which she had long and justly coveted, and which at this particular moment she had resolved to take. Thus a defensive and offensive alliance against the Persians was formed between Athens on the one side, and the Asiatic and island Greeks on the other. This alliance was the First Delian Confederacy, so called because Delos was the island chosen as the place of meeting for the confederacy, and as the repository of the common treasury. That there was a treasury at all was due to the fact partly that some of the Greeks who required protection from the Persian had no ships to supply to the combined fleet of the confederacy, and partly that it was not desirable for the fleet, if it was to work well together, to be more heterogeneous than necessary. Hence, from the beginning, there were some members of the confederacy who contributed gold instead of ships and men. The control of the fleet and treasury was primarily the business of Athens, who had shown herself specially qualified to conduct energetic war against Persia in defence of the Asiatic Greeks ; but in the exercise of this control she was to co-operate with the representatives of the confederate states, who formed the council of the confederacy. It also fell to the lot of Athens, as leader of the confederacy, to determine which states should furnish ships and which a money contribution (*phoros*), a delicate piece of work, which was intrusted successfully to Aristides, whose reputation was a guarantee to the confederates that justice would be done by him to all. As a further pledge that the rights of the minor members would be respected, each state had one and only one representative on the council, and each representative had only one vote. The first business of the council was to organise the confederacy ; and accordingly it was divided

into three districts, for greater convenience in the collection of the *phoros*, and probably for purposes of administration as well ; thus we have mentioned in inscriptions the Island *phoros*, the Ionic and the Hellespontine *phoros*. Owing to the growth of the confederacy, two more districts were subsequently added, the Thracian and the Carian. In course of time, one state after another found it more convenient to contribute *phoros* than ships, and doubtless the council encouraged them to do so, for with the diminution of the danger from Persia, the need for a large fleet also diminished, and the advisability of having resources in money increased. But with the diminution of danger came a corresponding reluctance on the part of many states to pay their *phoros*. The duty of compelling payment fell on Athens as the executive arm of the council ; the state which resisted was crushed by force of Athenian arms, and when crushed, was compelled to make a fresh treaty with Athens, which was less advantageous to it than that which it had made with her when first it became confederated with her. Thus, by B.C. 454, all the states had come to contribute money instead of ships, except Samos, Chios, and Lesbos ; and most of them had been compelled to make fresh treaties, so disadvantageous to them that they were now known (not officially, but in common speech) as "subjects"¹ of Athens. The transition from the Delian Confederacy to the Athenian "empire"² is marked as complete, not so much by the transference of the treasury from Delos to Athens, which was but a natural precaution to ensure the safety of the treasure, as by the fact that Athena, the goddess of Athens, was made the goddess of the empire, and as such received one-sixtieth of the *phoros*.

The process by which the amount of tribute to be paid by the "subjects" was determined, was as follows : every subject city had the right to propose what amount of tribute it should pay. This proposal was in the first instance submitted to the assessors (*taktai*, of whom two were appointed to each of the tributary districts), who transmitted it to the *boulé*, noting at the same time whether they approved it, and if they did not approve it, stating what amount in their opinion the city in question ought to pay. By the *boulé*, the proposal, with the counter-proposal (if any) of the *taktai*, was brought as a *προβούλευμα* before the *ecclesia*, which finally decided the amount. The *ecclesia* was not limited to a choice between the proposal and counter-proposal, however ; any citizen could propose as an

¹ Ὑπήκοοι.

² ἀρχή.

amendment to the probouleuma any amount he thought fit. Finally, an appeal to a law court of five hundred heliasts, by means of a *γραφὴ παρανόμων*, was possible, if any illegality had been committed by the final psephisma of the assembly.¹

This process of assessment took place at every Panathenæa, *i.e.*, every four years. In case of need, Athens reserved the right, or rather exercised the power of levying an additional tax (*ἐπιφορά*), but on the other hand, she also sometimes remitted the regular tribute of a state for a longer or shorter period. If the tribute was not paid when due, officials (*ἐκλογεῖς*) were sent to exact it, and were provided with ships and a strategus to back them up. As regards the total amount of *φóρος* annually paid, the earliest amount mentioned (Thuc. i. 96) is 460 talents; but this is probably not what was paid under the assessment of Aristides: it is too large a sum. In B.C. 454, the tribute was upwards of 520 talents, after which time it fell to about 434 talents (B.C. 446-439); then in 425 the assessments were increased, and the annual revenue was nominally 1200 talents, actually not more than 800 or 900. Finally, in B.C. 413, an *ad valorem* tax was imposed of five per cent. on all goods imported or exported by sea by certain cities. The income from the tribute was used by Athens to defray, first her military and naval expenditure, then the cost of her public buildings, festivals, and other charges; finally, if anything was left, it was deposited with the treasurers of the goddess for the future use of the state.

But the relations between Athens and her subject allies were not merely financial: Athens sought to consolidate her empire, not merely to exact tribute from its component states. On the one hand, she accorded to them certain of the rights of Athenian citizens: she gave them the right of holding land in Attica, and of intermarrying with Athenians. On the other hand, she sought to make Athens the centre of the empire, and the dispenser of justice to all members of it; gradually, not only offences against the confederacy, or against Athens as the head of the confederacy, but all serious charges against any subject of the Athenian empire had to be brought by a special board of magistrates (*ἐπιμεληταί*) before an Athenian court for trial, after a preliminary investigation (*ἀνάκρισις*) in the state in which the offence was committed. Business disputes between

¹ Hence in the inscriptions four classes of states are mentioned: πόλεις (1) αἱ αὐταὶ φόρον ταξάμεναι; (2) ἃς ἔταξαν οἱ τάκται; (3) ἃς οἱ ἰδιῶται ἔταξαν (or ἐνέγραψαν φόρον φέρειν); and (4) ἃς ἡ βουλὴ καὶ οἱ πεντακόσιοι οἱ ἡλιασταὶ ἔταξαν.

an Athenian and a subject were probably at first tried by the courts of the country to which the defendant belonged ; but at the beginning of the fourth century, disputes arising out of contracts concluded at Athens were tried by the polemarch ; disputes arising out of bargains made in the subject state were tried in the subject state. The result of this change would be that, whereas before it half the trials of this kind of case would on the average be tried in courts of the subject states, after the change the courts of the subject states would lose half their jurisdiction, for the citizens of such states, when defendants in this kind of case, would be withdrawn from their jurisdiction and tried in Athens.

Finally, Athens not only sent *κληρουχίαι* into the territory of her subjects, and garrisons into their towns, but she sometimes interfered (*e.g.*, in Erythræ) to regulate their political constitution, down to the smallest details. The extent to which the organisation of the Athenian empire interfered with the internal affairs of her subject states may be measured by the fact that according to Aristotle there were seven hundred Athenians who held official positions outside Attica.

The First Delian Confederacy was broken up (B.C. 412), in the course of the Peloponnesian war, by the Spartans, who professed to liberate "subjects" of Athens. Within a generation the subjects' experience of Spartan liberation was sufficient to make them approach Athens with a view to the renewal of the Confederacy. Chios first concluded an alliance with Athens, then came Mytilene, Methymna, Rhodes, and Byzantium, who were soon joined by Thebes. In B.C. 377, Athens published a manifesto (*C. I. A. ii. 17*), declaring the principles on which the new Confederacy was to be worked ; and while the renewal of the Confederacy is evidence that the Athenian "empire" had not been altogether and unendurably oppressive, the manifesto shows what the grievances of her allies had exactly been. Athens abandons all land which had been acquired in her allies' territory, either by Athenian citizens or by the Athenian state, and forbids all such acquisition in future, *i.e.*, she renounces the policy of *κληρουχίαι* ; further, in the new Confederacy, there are to be no Athenian garrisons and no *φόρος* ; and, finally, every confederate state is to be autonomous. The Second Confederacy, on this basis, grew in twenty years to number seventy-five, and only came to an end with the extinction of Greek liberty at the battle of Chæronea.

For the Second Confederacy the enemy is no longer Persia, but Sparta. No Greeks who are subjects of the Great King may

renounce their allegiance to him to become members of the Confederacy, but all other Greeks may join it to defend themselves against Sparta. Consequently, the Second Confederacy is not mainly a maritime one.

The constitution of the Confederacy was as follows: the allies (but not Athens) each appointed one representative with power to vote. These representatives formed the Council. The Council was a purely deliberative body, and deliberated on questions of peace, war, and alliances. The result of its deliberations on any occasion was communicated to the Athenian *boulê*. The *boulê* incorporated the Council's resolution in a probouleuma, along with an expression of approval or an alternative proposal of its own, as it thought fit. This probouleuma was brought before the ecclesia, which decided what was to be done, and whatever was to be done was done by the strategi of Athens, taking their orders from the ecclesia. Originally, each member contributed troops, not tribute. Eventually the smaller states preferred the latter, which was now called *σύνταξις*, not *φóρος*. Some states had to be compelled by force of arms to pay, and then their original treaty with Athens was modified, not to their advantage. Their autonomy suffered, and they had to admit *κληρουχίαι*.

BOOK VII

SLAVERY

CHAPTER I

THE SOURCES OF THE SLAVE SUPPLY

No one in this generation would think of writing a work in three large volumes on slavery in ancient times,¹ in order to demonstrate the evil nature of the institution. The abolition of slavery is for us now, fortunately, a matter of history, not a proposal in need of arguments for its enforcement. That the effects of the institution are injurious both to slave and slave-owner is universally admitted. Nevertheless, the question of slavery has its interest. Many of the differences between ancient society and modern are directly and obviously due to the presence of slavery in the one and its absence in the other; and the subject illustrates admirably the Method of Difference as applied to historical inquiry. It also illustrates the Method of Concomitant Variations, for even within the limits of Greece slavery had so many different forms that its effects, though always injurious, varied greatly in intensity. And, as this is a fact easily overlooked, and conclusions may be drawn from one form of slavery which are far from applicable to the whole of Greece, it will be well to begin with an explicit statement of the fact. We have to distinguish roughly between two classes, first, purchased slaves, the property of the owner, as a rule not Greeks; next, a class that we may call serfs, *ascripti glebæ*, always Greeks, and sometimes of the same tribe as the ruling class.

At no period known to history was slavery unknown in Greece. In Homeric times captives were made slaves, kid-

¹ See H. Wallon: *Histoire de l'esclavage dans l'antiquité* (still the standard authority on the subject), and Büchsenenschutz, *Besitz und Erwerb*, pp. 104-207.

napping was carried on, and a trade in slaves existed. There is, indeed, no reason for refusing to admit¹ that in pre-historic times, when the state did not yet exist, and the family was the sole form of society in which it was possible for the individual to maintain an existence, slavery may have been as well known to the Greeks, or their pro-ethnic ancestors, as it was to the patriarchs at a similar stage in the evolution of society. And there are traces in the ceremonial with which the newly acquired slave was welcomed to the hearth,² and in the fact that the property of a freed man, if he died childless, reverted to his former owner,³ of the influence exercised on the institution of slavery in times when the family was the sole civil and religious community.

It is, at the least, probable that the earliest source of slavery was war. The victor may kill the vanquished or spare his life. As Xenophon says (*Cyr.* vii. 5, 73; *Mem.* ii. 2, 2), it is an eternal law among all men that in a conquered town the life and property of the conquered are at the conqueror's mercy. The practice which obtained in Greece, from Homeric times, was to kill those who had carried arms, and to make slaves of the rest, as was done in the case of the capture of Plataeæ by the Lacedæmonians, in B.C. 427; of Torone and Skione, by the Athenians, in B.C. 422 and 421; of Olynthus, by Philip, B.C. 353; and of Thebes, by Alexander, B.C. 335. It was usual, but not invariable, to spare the life of those who begged for quarter, and the prisoner might become the property of his captor, or, as was more usual in later times, a prisoner of war, to be released in exchange,⁴ or on payment of a ransom. We have, however, only to call to mind the number of Athenian prisoners who suffered a painful death as slaves in the Syracusan quarries⁵ to form a picture much nearer to the actual facts than that suggested by Callieratidas' (unfulfilled) declaration, that during his command no Greek should be sold into slavery.

Piracy was another natural source of the slave supply. Probably the captives seized on board ship were the least numerous of the slaves made by pirates. Descents on the coast, especially by night, yielded more profitable returns; and Aristotle, who considers slavery as the necessary and equitable foundation of society, regards this branch of hunting, "which it is necessary to practise on wild animals and such men as are by nature born,

¹ Büchschenschütz, 107.

² Æsch. *Ag.* 995, and Bekk. *An. Gr.* 269, 9.

⁴ ἀνὴρ ἀντ' ἀνδρὸς λυθείς.—Thuc. v. 3.

³ Is. 4, 9.

⁵ Thuc. vii. 86.

but by inclination object to be subject to rule,"¹ *i.e.*, to be slaves, as a legitimate form of acquiring wealth. To steal another man's slave was of course an offence against the law, and to kidnap a free man was an offence punished at Athens with death. But the law of a state did not extend beyond the narrow bounds of the state itself. The citizen who ventured beyond was not protected by the law from being sold into slavery, as was Plato by the tyrant Dionysios. Finally, the loss of liberty might be legal and even due to the action of the law. Thus, before Solon, the insolvent debtor at Athens might be sold into slavery by his creditor. In later times a prisoner of war, having been ransomed, became the slave of the person who ransomed him, if he was unable to refund him the money. In various states the right of the father to sell his children was recognised, with various restrictions: everywhere the father's right was recognised to expose his children, and the lot of such foundlings was slavery. Girls were the children most usually exposed, and from them probably the class of *hetærae* was most largely recruited.

The number of Greeks reduced to slavery in the ways already mentioned cannot have been large. Towns were not sacked every day; when they were sacked the prisoners were commonly ransomed; and the number of slaves supplied by pirates cannot have been great, and must have been uncertain. The regular and permanent slave supply was from abroad. Aristotle justified slavery on the ground that some men were intended by nature to be subject to rule; and such men were, according to the Greek notion, barbarians. Foreign slaves came largely from Asia Minor, from Lydia, Phrygia, Paphlagonia, and Syria. The emporia on the Black Sea furnished large numbers. The north and west of Europe were laid under contribution—Thrace, Macedonia, Illyria, and Italy. We even find Egyptians, Ethiopians, Arabs, Jews, and Phenicians mentioned. The slave-dealers of Homeric times were the Phenicians. The first Greeks who engaged in the trade are said to have been the Chians. The principal slave marts were to be found at Ephesus, at Pegasæ, for the Thessalians did a large business, at Byzantium, which was the centre for the Black Sea trade, and at Delos; while in Athens and Corinth slave-dealers probably carried on a regular trade. Wholesale merchants either resorted to coast towns to which barbarians were in the habit of bringing their wares, or themselves ventured into the interior

¹ *Ar. Pol.* i. 3.

and bartered for slaves such goods, *e.g.*, salt in Thrace, as were in demand in the country ; or finally, bought from middle-men. Traders, too, accompanied armies in the field to purchase captives who could not obtain ransom. The slaves were retailed wherever likely purchasers were to be found in sufficient numbers, *e.g.*, at the Amphictyonic Pylæa, or in the market-place along with other goods¹ at Athens, where sales seem to have taken place especially at the beginning of the month.

The number of slaves born in the house of the owner was probably small: female slaves were in a decided minority. Marriage between slaves was unknown; unions were not favoured—though they might improve good slaves, they were considered to have a bad effect on bad slaves, *i.e.*, on the majority—and the expense (and risk) of rearing a child was greater than that of purchasing an able-bodied slave. The common attribute of all slaves acquired in the manners mentioned, and the most important attribute, is that they could be bought and sold. But we find another class—of serfs—such as the Helots in Sparta, which, though they resembled the former class in not possessing freedom, differed from them in that they were not the property of any individual owner; and though they differed from each other, according to the state to which they belonged, in the restrictions imposed upon their liberty, resembled each other in being Greeks and in being attached to the soil from generation to generation. Tradition uniformly represents these serfs as the remnants of an earlier population reduced to subjection by an invading race, and the difference in the restrictions imposed upon their liberty as due to the different terms which the subjects succeeded in obtaining from their conquerors. Thus these serfs were the property of the state, and the state determined what services they had to render to the members of the state. Thus in Sparta the Helots cultivated the soil, and were taxed in a certain quantity of the produce; the remainder, if any, was their own property, and a fairly high standard of wealth amongst them seems to have been common, for on occasion 6000 of them were able to produce five Attic minas a-piece to purchase their liberty with. The Helots were further bound to render personal services to the Spartans. Every Helot was equally at the disposal of any Spartan, but each Helot was naturally most often called on for service by the Spartan on whose lot of land the Helot worked; for though the Helot cultivated the soil, the Spartan owned it.

¹ Hes., κύκλος καὶ ἐν ἀγορᾷ τόπος ἐνθα σκεύη καὶ σώματα πιπράσκειται.

Finally, the Helots had to serve in the field as light-armed troops, and to act as esquires to the Spartan to whom (in the proportion of seven Helots to one Spartan) they were attached. It will help to make the condition of the Helots clearer to the reader, if we here briefly contrast it with that of the Perioeci. The Perioeci can indeed hardly be reckoned as slaves, though their subject state was due to the same causes as was that of the Helots. The Perioeci were, like the Helots, an earlier population, conquered by the invading Dorians. But whereas the Helots lost their personal freedom, and were therefore slaves, the Perioeci lost only their political liberty, and cannot, therefore, be regarded as living in a state of slavery. The Perioeci, like the Helots, paid a tax; but whereas the Helots paid their corn, and wine, and oil to the Spartan on whose lot they lived and laboured, the Perioeci paid their tribute to the state. The Perioeci, like the Helots, had no political liberty; but the Perioeci dwelt from the beginning in towns, and even under the Spartans were allowed some degree of municipal self-government—under the control probably of a Spartan official;¹ while the Helots, apparently from the beginning, dwelt in the country, and were allowed no form of self-government whatever. The Perioeci derived their name (“inhabitants of the neighbourhood”) from the fact that they were the inhabitants of the neighbouring towns, and that none of them dwelt in the city of Sparta. The first Helots, on the other hand, were the inhabitants of the valley of the Eurotas; and though the etymology of the name Helot is uncertain, if, as most scholars are inclined to believe, it means “captive,” then the names of these two subject classes seem to indicate that the immediate neighbours of the Spartan community, and the first people conquered, were treated as captives, while the more remote conquests of the Spartan state were less thoroughly assimilated into the Spartan organisation and more generously treated.

In Crete, too, we have to distinguish between the Mnoitæ (*μνωῖται*), who, like the Perioeci, were tributaries of the conquering Dorians, and the *κλαρώται* or *ἀφαμυῶται*, who, like the Helots, were attached to the lots (*κλᾶροι*) into which the land was divided by the conquerors among themselves. Not all the Cretan states seem to have possessed Mnoitæ, for in the Gortyna Code no mention is made of Mnoitæ, or of a class in

¹ Thus at Cythera there was a *κυθηροδίκης* (Thuc. iv. 53), and the twenty Harmosts may have been appointed to the government of the towns of the Perioeci.

subjection to the state, which might correspond to the *Periœci* : the two classes mentioned in the code are the *Φοικέες* and *δῶλοι*. The latter are slaves bought in the market (this is shown by Col. vii. 10, 11 : α' κ' ἐκς ἀγορᾶς πριάμενος δῶλον, κ. τ. λ.), and unmistakably are to be included among the *χρυσώνητοι* mentioned by Callistratos.¹ The *Φοικέες* of Gortyna were serfs attached to the glebe ; hence they are doubtless the same class as elsewhere in Crete was called *κλαῶται* or *ἀφαιμῶται*. In Gortyna the *Φοικεύς* could not be separated from the *κλᾶρος*, or estate on which he was settled, and of which his ancestors had been the possessors before the Dorians conquered Crete ; the estate was handed down from father to son, and the *Φοικέες* or serfs were inherited with it. The master (*πάστας*) lived in the town, the serf in the country,² on his master's estate, which he cultivated, paying to his master a proportion of the produce. The remainder belonged to the serf, who thus could hold property, sheep for instance, and cattle.³ His wife, too (*Φοικῆα*), could hold property of her own, and she was protected in the enjoyment of her property by exactly the same laws as those which protected her mistress.⁴ The marriage and divorce of serfs seem to have possessed the same legal validity as those of freemen ; and the laws of inheritance were the same for serf and freeman, except that the law does not recognise that the serf can have *καδεσταί*. The serf could even plead his own cause in the law courts, if it was against his master that he wished to plead ; otherwise, the serf could only appear in court through his master. Finally, if the serf ran away, he could be sold, and thus drop into the ranks of the *χρυσώνητοι* ; and, on the other hand, if his master's family died out, he became free, and entered into full possession of his late master's estate.

In Thrace the *Penestæ*, like the *Helots*, belonged to the state, and not to any individual member of the governing class. They cultivated the soil, paid a tax (probably to the lord of the soil), possessed property of their own, and served in war. Of the *Gymesi* in Argos, and the *Korynephori* of Sicyon, and the *Mariandyni* in Heraclea we know little or nothing, but their position as serfs may be conjectured to have resembled that of the *Helots* and *Penestæ*.

It is clear then that though the source of serfdom was the same as one of the main sources of slavery—war and conquest—

¹ In Athen. 263 E.

² ἐπὶ κῶραι (Col. iv. 34).

³ καὶ τὰ πρόβατα καὶ καρταίποδα, ἃ κα μὴ Φοικέος ᾔ.

⁴ See above, the chapter on The Laws of Gortyna.

the differences between serfdom and slavery were considerable ; and it is the more important to bear these differences in mind, because serfdom and slavery were mutually exclusive. In a state which possessed serfs, purchased slaves were practically not to be found ; for instances such as that of the poet Aleman, who was said to have come as a slave to Sparta, are of doubtful authority, and are utterly insignificant in number ; while in states such as Athens or Corinth, which most largely employed purchased slaves, serfs were unknown. Slaves were not usually, serfs were invariably Greeks. The number of the slaves in a state fluctuated according to the demand and supply : the supply, from the nature of the sources, can hardly have been steady, the demand varied with the wealth of the country. Thus the decline, which slavery necessarily brought about in a state, to a certain extent corrected its own cause, for it checked the further purchase of slaves. The number of serfs, on the other hand, was subject only to the fluctuations common to any permanent population. Thus serfdom, though morally perhaps not so criminal as slavery, was more clinging and stifling to the state than slavery. Sparta, possessing Helots, perished for want of men ; Athens, purchasing slaves, never perished entirely. Where serfs were, the free citizen did no labour whatever, and free labour could not exist. Where slave labour was bought and sold, free labour maintained an existence, precarious indeed, but ready to extend when circumstances relieved the labour-market of slave competition. The recuperative forces of society were impeded by slavery ; they were destroyed by serfdom.

CHAPTER II

THE EMPLOYMENT AND TREATMENT OF SLAVES

SLAVES, like serfs, might be, and were, employed as agricultural labourers ; but whereas slaves worked under the superintendence of their owner, who usually, to some extent, participated in their labours, where serfs were an institution, the free citizen stood utterly aloof from agriculture. Hence, low as was the dignity of labour amongst slave-holders, it was still lower in states which possessed serfs ; and whereas when the Peloponnesians, for instance, left their country on a campaign, their agriculture suffered, because the agricultural

labourers, the Helots, took the field along with their lords, agriculture suffered less in time of war in states like Athens, where farming could to some extent be left to the slaves, even when their owners were away fighting.

Like serfs, purchased slaves were employed for personal attendance on their masters; but slaves were naturally much more extensively employed for this purpose than were serfs. As in Rome, so in Athens, it was usual for a citizen when walking to be accompanied by slaves; but at Athens the use of slaves for this—or indeed for any other—personal service never reached the point of vulgar luxury and unredeemed display which was usual in Rome. Two attendants were the usual number. It was part of Meidias' arrogance that he was accompanied by three or four; it was only Hetærae who employed more. In good houses a slave acted as hall-porter. The fetching of water from the spring, and the washing of linen, in which, in the simplicity of Homeric country life, it was possible even for kings' daughters to take part, was with the growth of towns more and more entirely relegated to slaves. Waiting at table was in Homeric and in historic times performed by slaves. The preparation of food for the table, and of clothing for the family, was done by slave labour, under the superintendence of the mistress of the household. Children were intrusted to slave pedagogues, and to nurses, who were sometimes, but not invariably, slaves. The mistress of the house was assisted in her toilet by a slave lady's-maid. As for the total number of slaves employed in a house, seven slaves were considered very moderate for a family consisting of six persons.

But slave labour was also employed wholesale for manufacturing purposes. The manufacturer might himself work and employ the assistance of slaves; or being a capitalist, he might purchase large numbers of slaves and practically take no part himself in the production of the article manufactured. Further, we find that some slaves¹ were left at liberty to work when and where and how they pleased, on condition that they paid regularly a fixed sum to their masters. It is unnecessary to observe that this slave labour was more costly and less productive than free labour. It could not even compete with the labour of the Perioeci, who were largely artisans; and it did not succeed in killing free labour that competed in the same market as itself. The number of slaves employed in a workshop varied according to the capital and trade of the owner:

¹ οἱ χωρὶς οἰκοῦντες.

the father of Demosthenes, in two workshops, employed fifty; Lysias and his brother Polemarchos, 120; while in the silver mines Nicias alone had a thousand at work. The state might itself be an owner of slaves: the police of Athens, Scythian archers, were purchased slaves, as were the public executioner, gaolers, torturers, &c.

The purchased slave was the absolute property of his owner, to dispose of by sale, gift, testament; to employ as he chose, or to kill if he would. The only apparent limitation of the owner's power of life and death over his slave which was imposed at Athens, was made, not in the interests of the slave or of humanity, but in the interests of the state as a religious community. The shedding of blood, even if it were a slave's blood, brought pollution upon the community, and the owner who killed one of his slaves was compelled by law in Athens to cleanse himself of the pollution. The process of cleansing was the same as that employed in cases of involuntary homicide. In such cases, if the kin of the dead man were present to insist on the penalty, the homicide was banished until he had reconciled the representatives of the slain man; but as the slave had no kin, he who killed a slave was quit of his offence if he offered a cleansing sacrifice to the gods. Against maiming and assault on the part of a stranger, the slave was only protected by the state in the same way that any piece of his master's property was protected by the state from wilful injury. Against violence from his owner, it was not the state but religion that offered the slave protection: he might claim asylum at the altars of the gods. This protection, however, was not absolute: the slave had eventually to quit his asylum, even if he were not starved or tricked into leaving it, and then he was once more in the power of his owner, and the only remedy he had from further violence was the chance that his woeful appearance might so work upon the feelings of the priests of the temple, or on the worshippers, that they would interest themselves to induce the owner to sell the slave to some other master, who might treat him better. But it is to be observed that there was no legal machinery in existence to compel the owner to sell the slave, or to allow the slave, supposing he possessed the requisite sum, to purchase his liberty. So, too, although the law of Athens protected the slave equally with the free man against assault (*ἔβρις*), the slave, being incapable of instituting any action at law, could not bring an action for assault (*γραφὴ ἔβριως*) against his master, nor is it clear who or whether any one else could bring such an action

on behalf of the slave. The slave was, in fact, entirely dependent on his master's character for the treatment he received—blows, bonds, scourging, branding, torture were all forms of punishment which owners, as a matter of fact, did employ, although the extent to which they employed them naturally depended on the temperament of the individual owner. It is therefore not surprising that among purchased slaves those had the best time of it who were the property, not of any individual owner, but of the state. Such slaves, like private slaves, might acquire wealth of their own; but whereas private slaves might, and undoubtedly were, deprived of their savings at the goodwill of their owner, public slaves, though probably they had no more legal power to acquire property, were left by the state in undisturbed possession of their peculium. Like some private slaves, they lived by themselves, for the simple reason that their owner had no household for them to dwell in. There is no conclusive evidence to show that public slaves could bring actions at law, any more than private slaves. The sole advantage that public slaves had over private slaves was the natural one of being less interfered with, an advantage which those who work for the state have at all times and in all places over the servants of private masters. Further, public slaves, unless bought from a private owner, were not sold by the state into the hands of any individual owner.

The treatment of serfs in some respects may be conjectured to have been better than that of slaves. They were less closely in contact with their master, they were not the private property of the master they served, and therefore they were neither so frequently exposed to the ill-humour and fits of passion of their master, nor so absolutely in his power. Thus their daily life may, though we do not know, have been much less interfered with, and one of less hardship than that of the purchased slave; and when they were engaged in working the soil, they worked after their own fashion, and not under the orders and superintendence either of an owner or of a slave-driver. On the other hand, the purchased slave was exempt from certain inconveniences to which the serf, in Sparta at least, was exposed; in Athens the state did not authorise, still less did it enjoin, the murder of slaves, either individually or wholesale; in Sparta the state enjoined both modes of murdering its property, the Helots. What the precise object of the *krypteia* may have been it is impossible to say, but the fact remains that it was part of the young Spartan's training at a certain age, and under orders from the ephors, to practise assassination on the

Helot population of the land, whether on such Helots as he, in the exercise of his discretion, thought it advisable to do away with, or such as were indicated to him, either individually or generically by the ephors, does not appear. As an instance of wholesale murder, we have the well-known passage in Thucydides (iv. 80), from which we learn that the Helots on one occasion during the Peloponnesian war, were invited to select the two thousand of themselves whom they judged to have been bravest and to have rendered Sparta the greatest service in the war, in order that they might receive their liberty as a reward for their patriotism. The two thousand were chosen, made their appearance on the day appointed for their emancipation, and were never heard of more. How they were put out of the way no man knew. It is not surprising to find then, that insurrections were more frequent in serf-holding than in slave-holding states. Whereas the history of Sparta is a series of attempts on the part of the Helots to regain their liberty, especially at times when external danger threatened Sparta, it is not until B.C. 103, that we find a slave outbreak taking place in Attica. In Chios, however, where slavery was first practised in Greece, and where purchased slaves were more numerous than in any other Greek state, there was an insurrection as early as B.C. 402, when the Athenians were attacking the place. Undoubtedly, insurrections were less common among slaves than among serfs. The slave population of a city was perpetually fluctuating, and was composed of the most heterogeneous elements, united by ties neither of common blood, common language, nor of common interest, and with no traditions. The serfs, on the other hand, were a permanent population who had been longer in the country than their masters, who spoke a common language, inherited traditions of national independence, and, most embittering fact of all, were as much Greeks as their lords. Thus the reason why serf insurrections were more frequent than slave revolts, was precisely because the position of the serfs was more intolerable than that of the slaves. Consequently, whereas in time of war serfs took the opportunity to revolt, slaves took the opportunity to run away. In the Deceleian war 20,000 slaves escaped from Athens.

CHAPTER III

EMANCIPATION AND PRICE OF SLAVES

FOR the emancipation of a purchased slave, all that was necessary was the declaration by word of mouth of the owner that he set the slave free. The matter was not one that the state had any voice in ; and here we have another instance of the slow growth in Greece of the authority of the state, and of the length of time it took for the custom of the kin to be absorbed into the law of the state. The only interest taken by the law in the emancipation of slaves, was that in some places the state levied a tax on the emancipation of a slave, and then took care that a register of emancipated slaves was kept. Such a register incidentally served as proof that a slave had really been emancipated, and so protected him from being unjustly claimed by his former owner as a slave. Where such a tax and such a register were unknown, as for instance in Athens, the first and most obvious means the slave had to guarantee his liberty for the future, was for the declaration of his liberty to be made in the presence of witnesses, and so emancipations were usually made in some public place—the market, the theatre, the law courts. It was again not an unfrequent practice for the owner to liberate some of his slaves at his death ; in this case the emancipation was made in the owner's testament, which thus served as a valid testimony to the slave's liberty. A slave might be given his liberty as a free gift, or he might purchase it out of his own savings, if his master did not, as he was entitled to, take them away from him. The slave who possessed the price of his liberty could not demand that his master should accept the price and let him go ; it was entirely in the power of the owner to accept or refuse the price offered. But if the owner were prepared to accept the price, a difficulty arose : the slave was not a person in the eye of the law, and could not be a party to any legal act ; thus, even if the owner sold the slave to the slave, the act had no legal force. To evade this difficulty, an ingenious device was practised which has only of late years come to our knowledge ; inscriptions have been found, mostly at Delphi (they are published in Curtius, *Anecdota Delphica*, and Wescher and Foucart's *Inscriptions recueillies à Delphes*), from which we learn that the slave who was in a position to purchase his liberty deposited

the money with the god of Delphi, for the purpose of purchasing his liberty; and the priest, acting on his behalf, bought the slave from his owner, to be the god's slave, but to be free to go and to be wherever he chose. The act of sale, of which we now have many specimens, specified all this, and, besides, the price, and in some instances further provisions and guarantees. Thus, the document sometimes stipulates that the heirs of the owner shall renounce all claims on the slave, and the prospective heirs then put their names to the document. But most interesting are the not unfrequent stipulations made on behalf of the owner that the liberation of the slave shall not take place until the expiration of a certain period—say, until the death of the owner—or that for a certain period the freedman shall be bound to perform certain duties—such as nursing, tending, and duly burying the late owner—or to pay certain sums at fixed periods to the owner, or to such persons or institutions or clubs as he may appoint. We have doubtless to represent these duties or payments as part of the price of the slave's liberty, for the price named in the document may be purely fictitious, and the real consideration in return for which the slave received his liberty was the duties or payments mentioned. Emancipated slaves at Athens did not by the fact of their emancipation become full citizens, or indeed citizens at all; they were treated as Metics, *i.e.*, as resident foreigners, who paid an annual tax to the state for the privilege of being allowed to live in safety, and under the protection of the laws of the state. In addition to this tax, the freedman paid an annual tax of three obols, perhaps as compensation to the state for the loss of the slave tax, which his liberation caused to the state. The freedman, like the Metic, could not set the law in action on his own behalf, or in his own protection, except through the agency of an Athenian citizen, his recognised *προστάτης* or *patronus*, who in the case of the freedman was his late owner. It has already been mentioned that we sometimes find slaves dwelling apart from their masters, and hence called *χωρὶς οἰκοῦντες*, and working for their masters; we have now to add that these slaves sometimes appear in the orators to have acted in law cases quite as though they were free; it may therefore be conjectured that such slaves—the *χωρὶς οἰκοῦντες*—were really slaves who had been emancipated on condition of acting as their late owner's business agents during his lifetime. It is less satisfactory to make, as Meier and Schömann (*Attische Processen*, ed. Lipsius, p. 751) make, a purely arbitrary distinction between two classes of slaves, to attribute

to one class all the privileges of freedmen, and yet to deny that they were freedmen. Doubtless it was inconvenient for an Athenian merchant who conducted his business by means of slaves, that his agent, being a slave, could not in the litigation which arises out of business transactions represent his interests in a court of law. But the form of emancipation with which the inscriptions have made us familiar, was a simple means of evading the inconvenience; for it gave the agent the requisite legal status, and yet by the terms of the emancipation retained to the owner the services of the slave. Indeed, we may here have the origin of this form of emancipation, which, as we now see, was quite as much to the interest of the owner as of the slave. Finally, as regards the emancipation of purchased slaves, the state might liberate the slaves of a private owner for services rendered to the state, always provided that the state paid to the owner the price of the slave. At Athens the most noticeable instance of this kind was the liberation of the slaves who fought at Arginusæ, and in this case citizenship was also conferred on the freedmen.

Serfs, not being the property of any private owner, could only be liberated by the state which owned them. At Sparta, Helots were emancipated for valour in war—probably the only form which service could take to such a state as Sparta—and the Helots thus emancipated were called Neodamodeis. Another class of freedmen were Helots who were brought up with the children of their masters; these were probably the children of Spartan fathers and Helot mothers, and were called Mothakes or Mothones. Helots freed in either way did not by the fact of their liberation become Spartan citizens; and though such men as Lysander, Callicratidas, and Gylippus, who were drawn from this class, did acquire citizenship, we are quite ignorant of the mode by which a freedman at Sparta could become a full citizen. Still less do we know about other classes of freedmen at Sparta, whose names alone, such as the Epeunakti, Aphetae, and Adespoti, have come down to us.

We do not get much information from ancient authorities as to the number of slaves in the various Greek cities, and we have no means of checking the figures that are given us. Corinth is said to have possessed at one time 460,000 slaves, and the small island of Ægina 470,000. The numbers seem large, but are not improbable, when we recollect that the majority would be engaged in manufactures. In Attica, in B.C. 309, a census showed the number of slaves to be 400,000, and this is somewhat confirmed by the fact that, shortly after this time, the

orator Hyperides estimates the number of slaves in the country and the mines alone at 150,000.

The number of Helots in Sparta can only be unsatisfactorily estimated from the fact that at the battle of Plataeæ, 8000 Spartans were accompanied by 56,000 Helots. If this was the full number of adult male Helots, the whole population, according to the ordinary laws of population, would be 266,000, but this is probably too low.

Of the number of slaves in other states we have no figures.

The price of slaves naturally varied much : when the capture of a city flooded a slave market with slaves, the price naturally fell, as slave merchants could not afford to keep a stock in hand for any considerable time, but preferred to dispose of them as soon as possible. The age, disposition, qualities, and abilities of the individual slave also made the greatest difference in the price. It is therefore quite comprehensible that, as Xenophon says (*Mem.* ii. 5, 2), the price might vary from half a mina to two, five, and even ten minæ.

CHAPTER IV

THE EFFECTS OF SLAVERY

It will be convenient to treat of the effects of slavery under the heads of moral, economical, and political effects. To begin with the moral effects : on the degradation which slavery produces in the slave it is unnecessary to dwell, it is alike obvious and undoubted. In the owner of slaves the two vices which are especially engendered by possessing absolute power over the lives and persons of other human beings are cruelty and lust. That cruelty and lust were the two vices which stained Greek civilisation to the greatest extent is a fact which forces itself on the notice of the most casual reader of Greek history. As evidence of the cruelty of the Greeks, it is but necessary to refer to the internal history of Corecra, to the treatment of Plataeæ by the Spartans, or to the nature of the reprisals practised by political parties of all kinds on their political foes. The extent to which lust was indulged in the most brilliant periods of Greek civilisation is apparent in Greek literature, and still more in the attempts of modern writers to make it intelligible to modern notions that such vice could co-exist with such perfection in art. But as these two vices are engendered

by the possession of absolute power, so the extent to which they are fostered is determined in part by the extent of the owner's power over his slaves. So far as the law, or religion, or public opinion put restraints on the exercise of this power, the evil consequences of slavery may be attenuated. Examples of this may be found in Greek history. The power of the Spartan over the Helot was less absolute than that of the Athenian over his purchased slave, and the consequence was good for the Spartan. Though we have but few pictures of the daily life of the Spartan, there can be little doubt that he was less under the domination of lust than was the Athenian; and a conclusive indication of this fact is to be found in the superior position of women at Sparta. The Spartans were frequently ridiculed by other Greeks as wife-ridden, and Aristotle ascribes the downfall of Sparta in part to the excessive power which fell into the hands of its women. In both these strictures we probably have a proof rather that the position of women in Sparta was less degraded than elsewhere in Greece, than that it was higher than would be considered good in modern times; and if women were treated with more respect in Sparta than elsewhere in Greece, it was undoubtedly because the Spartans did not get their ideal of womanhood from the *hetærae*, the flute-players and dancers, whose society the Athenian preferred to that of his wife, and whose ranks were recruited mainly from the slave population. On the other hand, the Spartan was not distinguished above other Greeks by his greater humanity; on the contrary, he was more barbarous and cruel than they; and the explanation is undoubtedly to be found at least partly in the fact that cruelty to the Helots, so far from being discouraged by the law or public opinion, was positively enjoined, and assassination organised by the state. If we travel beyond the limits of Greek history for evidence as to the extent to which the evil effects of slavery may be modified by proper legislation, we have only to consult the records of Hebrew legislation and history. So far as it was possible to avert the evils of slavery by legislation it was done by the law of Moses: the slave's life was made as sacred as that of a free man. The penalty for killing a slave was death (Exod. xx. 20-23). If a slave were maimed by his master, he *ipso facto* became free (Exod. xxi. 27). The provisions made to protect the slave from the lust of the owner, and to protect the owner from himself, were equally wise. If the charms of a female captive touched her master, the law demanded that he should make her his wife (Lev. xxii. 24). If he subsequently wished

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to put her away, she did not relapse into slavery, but was set free (Deut. xxi. 10-15). If we compare these provisions with the laws of the most humane of the Greeks, the Athenians, we shall at once see how absolutely defenceless the owner of slaves in Greece was left against himself, or rather against his own worser nature. For the murder of a slave the Athenian was quit, if he purified himself by the necessary sacrifices; and, if the slave did not belong to himself, by payment of the value of the slave. It is true that the law in its letter defended the slave equally with the free man against violence, whether the violence of cruelty or of lust; but in effect, as the slave had no standing in the eye of the law, he had no means of putting the law in operation in his own behalf. Public opinion did nothing to remedy the defects of the law in this respect. The law itself set a daily example of cruelty to slaves, by refusing to accept the evidence of a slave, willing as he might be to offer his evidence and much as it might be to his interest to speak the truth, until he had been first duly tortured by the officers of the court. What amount of protection the law afforded a slave against the violence of lust may be inferred from the fact that the owners of female slaves lived on the proceeds of their slaves' prostitution; and the amount of protection afforded by religion may be inferred from the fact that in many cities there were temples which possessed numerous slaves—*ιερόδουλοι*—for no other object than prostitution.

On the economical effects of slavery it is not necessary to dwell long, for they were necessarily in the main the same as flow from slave labour, wherever employed. Slave labour uniformly costs more and is less productive than free labour; and this is true of Greece as of any other country. Perhaps the best indication we have of this is the fact that slave labour, abundant as it was, could not drive out free labour; the number of free citizens who lived at Athens on their daily labour was far from inconsiderable, and the number of foreigners who took up their permanent residence in the city because of the trade that was to be done there was probably still greater. An indication of the fact that even slave owners themselves found that slave labour was less productive than free labour, is to be found in the system of conditional emancipation which is revealed to our knowledge by the inscriptions found principally at Delphi. The serf population of Sparta and other states, though politically deprived of liberty, must be considered as economically free, for slavery in the eyes of political economy, at any rate as far as the department of production is concerned, consists in a

man's having no legal claim to the fruits of his own labour. Now, the Helots, after paying their tax of barley, wine, and oil, had legal title to everything they could produce. The economical position of the Periceci was also one of perfect freedom, and consequently we find that their manufactures, weapons, mantles, shoes, drinking-cups, &c., were far superior to anything that slave labour could produce in the same line.

To the depopulation of Greece, and the share which slavery had in bringing it about, we have already referred. In any society the working classes increase more rapidly than the upper classes; and it is from the lower classes, through commerce, that the upper classes are perpetually recruited. Old wealth despises new wealth, as new wealth tries to conceal its connection with the poverty from which it has emerged; but in course of time new wealth becomes old, to succeed to the prejudices and the fate of the position it has eventually obtained. Anything which prevents the sap rising from the soil to the topmost branches tends to bring about the decay of that tree to the top of which it is the ambition of new wealth to climb. When the tree is entirely prevented from drawing support from the soil, the working classes, on which it is based, the tree is doomed. At Athens the citizen-body always contained some members who were artizans and day-labourers; at Sparta, the citizen-body contained none such. Athens, therefore, contained some recuperative force, but Sparta none.

The distinction just drawn between Athens and Sparta is of importance to remember when we are estimating the political effects of slavery. One of the political effects is said to have been that the democracies of ancient Greece were built upon the exclusion of the working classes from the constitution, and were in fact not democracies at all. Of Sparta, which was not a democracy, but an extremely close oligarchy, this is undoubtedly true. Of Athens, which was a democracy, it is undoubtedly not true. The existence within the citizen-body of a considerable number of people who worked with their hands for a living cannot be doubted. A single fact is enough to bring the actual state of things to the reader's mind: the number of Athenians who could not afford to lose a day's work in order to perform their duties as dicasts was so great that Pericles instituted the system of paying them for their services. Next, if we consider the nature of the body outside the constitution, we shall find that it was very different at Athens from what it was at Sparta. At the latter place the body excluded were the native Greek population, once free, independent, and having a national life.

At Athens, the slave body was of the most heterogeneous description, was for ever changing, and had no claims by birth or descent to have a share in ruling the country in which they were resident. It would therefore be a mistake to imagine, on the one hand, that Greece was entirely ignorant of the sort of problem presented to a modern statesman by the exclusion of the working classes from the constitution, or that, on the other, the working classes had no political power. In Sparta the problem of the excluded classes was present, and was solved simply by the shedding of blood, until it solved itself by extinguishing the Spartiatæ. At Athens the man who was born of citizen parents, and duly enrolled in his phratry and deme, did not lose his citizenship by working for his living.

Finally, the presence in a state of a slave or serf population, many times as numerous as the citizen body, must have helped to preserve the ancient conception of the state with a clearness to which the members of a modern state are strangers. For the Greek the state did not consist of all the people who happened to inhabit the same boundaries: the majority of the inhabitants were not members of the state. Nor did it consist of all the Greeks who inhabited the country: all the inhabitants of Sparta were Greeks, but the majority of them were not members of the state. Nor yet did it consist of all the Greeks who happened to belong to the same division of the Greek race as the dominant class: in Sparta there were cities of the Pericæci, who were as much Dorians as the Spartiatæ themselves. To the Greek the state consisted of a collection of families who were conventionally regarded as being descended from the same ancestor, and no man could be a member of the state who was not first by birth or adoption a member of one of those families. Thus the Greeks faithfully preserved the tradition of prehistoric Indo-European times, when society did really consist but of families, and when the family and not the individual was the unit of society.

BOOK VIII

WAR¹

CHAPTER I

ARMOUR AND DRILL

FOOT-SOLDIERS were either heavy armed (*ὀπλίται*) or light armed (*ψιλοί*). For a picture of the hoplite and a description of his armour, the reader is referred to p. 62 *supra*. Here he need only be reminded that a hoplite's armour consisted of helmet, corselet, greaves, shield, sword, and lance. Helmet, corselet, and greaves were usually made of bronze. The greaves protected the front of the leg, from the ankle to the knee, but left the foot exposed. The corselet consisted of two pieces, a front piece and a back piece, which were laced together by thongs passed through eyelet-holes made down the sides. A leather girdle, strengthened with metal plates, served to hold the two pieces of the corselet together yet more securely. From the bottom of the corselet hung a row of short broad strips of leather, everlapping each other, which allowed freedom of motion, but at the same time afforded protection to the lower part of the body, and the upper part of the leg. Of helmets there were three kinds. The simplest was that worn by the Spartans, the *πίλος*, which protected only the head, and in shape was not unlike the stiff felt hat, round in the crown, worn at the present day, except that a projecting rim was not always found on the bronze *πίλος*. A much more elaborate form of helmet was that known as the Corinthian, which, in addition, had a neck-piece to protect the neck, side-pieces to guard the ears and cheeks, and another piece to cover the nose; while additional protection to the crown of the head was afforded by the crest. Intermediate between the two forms just described was the so-called Athe-

¹ Droysen : *Die Griechischen Kriegsalterthümer*.

nian helmet, which resembled the Corinthian, except that it dispensed with the nose-piece, had much smaller cheek-pieces, which were movable moreover, being attached to the helmet by hinges, and was strengthened over the forehead from ear to ear by a *στεφάνη*. The shield was made of bronze, and might be oval in shape, and as tall almost as a man, or smaller and round or slightly elliptical (the Argolic shield). On the inner sides were straps, by which the weight of the shield in fighting might be thrown on one or both shoulders, and a handle by which to wield it. On the outside, there was commonly a device, by which the owner might be recognised, or the country to which he belonged indicated, *e.g.*, the Lacedæmonians carried a *lambda* (Λ), the Sicyonians a *sigma* (Σ). Swords were of two kinds, either straight and doubled-edged (*ξίφος*), or curved and single-edged, and were made of bronze or iron. Scabbards might be of metal, wood, or leather, and depended high on the left side by means of a strap, which passed over the right shoulder. The spear consisted of a shaft made of ash, a point made of iron or bronze, and a pointed metal butt, which gave balance to the weapon, and also enabled it to be stuck in the ground when necessary.

The armour worn by the hoplite of historic times is undoubtedly descended in its main features from that described in the Homeric poems. Indeed, beyond the fact that Homeric armour must have been much clumsier than historic armour, the only point of difference hitherto generally recognised is that the Homeric hero wore, in addition to all the panoply of the historic hoplite, also a *μίτρα*, *i.e.*, a leather girdle strengthened with metal plates, large in the middle, and gradually diminishing towards the sides. But moved by the fact that the cuirass was certainly unknown to the Mycenæan civilisation, Reichel, in a treatise,¹ which has convinced Dr. Leaf,² has recently argued that the armour of the Homeric hero did not include a cuirass. His argument briefly is that the small, Argolic shield did not come into use until about B.C. 700. Before that time the only shield was the huge shield, reaching from neck to knee, which is described by Homer, and is pictured on Mycenæan gems. With such a shield as the latter, a *θώραξ* could be of no use whatever, but only an encumbrance. It was only when the small buckler came in that there was any need for a cuirass. Where a *θώραξ* is mentioned in Homer, it is

¹ *Ueber Homerische Waffen*. Wien, 1894.

² *Classical Review*, IX. i. 55, Feb. 1895.

either used in the sense of armour generally, just as the verb *θωρήσσειν* means to arm, not specially to put on a cuirass; or else the passage is an interpolation—many such passages are already condemned by critics on other grounds, many lines in which the *θώρηξ* is mentioned can be removed without detriment, indeed with advantage to the context. The breastplate is never mentioned in the *Odyssey* or the *Doloneia*; and a hero's armour is repeatedly described as consisting of helmet, shield, and spears, the cuirass not being mentioned. Reichel's view has so much to commend it that attention has been called to it here; but it may be noted that if the shield made the cuirass superfluous, it would also make the *μίτρα* unnecessary; and that, if the Homeric hero wore no cuirass, there seems to be no reason why he should always be described as putting his greaves on first.

The citizen-soldiers of Greece wore no uniform, and there was ample scope, within the limits of the equipment, which has been already described, for the varieties of individual taste. The Spartan troops alone presented some appearance of uniformity, with their red tunics, egg-shaped helmets, and tall shields. The light-armed soldier dispensed with armour, and fought with light spears or slings; peltasts carried a light shield, sword, and javelin.

Except in Thessaly and Bœotia, cavalry was an arm of the service long or always neglected in Greece. At the battle of Plataeæ there were over 38,000 hoplites, but not a single horse-soldier. By the time of Pericles, the Athenians had formed a body of 1000 yeomanry. Sparta did not bring herself to form a troop of cavalry until B.C. 424, and then it was only a body of 400, which proved of little use. It was not until the time of Philip and Alexander that cavalry played an important part in Greek warfare. Philip took some pains to breed good horses, and imported some 20,000 Scythian mares, small but sturdy animals, to improve the Macedonian breed. As to the equipment of Greek cavalry, the rider wore the heavy armour of the hoplite, save that he discarded the huge shield. The horses were not shod; spurs were worn; stirrups were unknown, and consequently either the horse had to be taught to sink down, or the rider had to be helped on, or he used his lance as a pole and jumped on. Light-armed cavalry were first used in Macedonian times. The war-chariots of the Mycenæan period and the Homeric age were unknown in historic times.

The citizen-soldiers of Greece, with the exception of the Spartans, had no regular drill. In Athens, for instance, all the

training which the citizen got was his service between the ages of eighteen and twenty in the ephēbi. After that he got no practice, either in time of peace, however long, nor in time of war. In some states an attempt was made to remedy the defects of this system by maintaining a small standing army of citizens;¹ but Philip of Macedonia alone provided for the regular training of his militia.

In Sparta, on the other hand, where the citizen's first duty was to be a warrior, and where alone, as Xenophon said, the citizens studied the art of war as craftsmen, there was a system of regular drill, of which the following is a brief description.

The individual warrior was trained to make the quarter turns to right and left, and the face-about (half-turn)² in the same way. Several warriors, standing side by side, form a rank; standing one behind another, a file; several files side by side form a squad. If, out of a single file of twenty-four men standing behind one another, it was desired to make two files of twelve men each, then numbers 1 to 12 (counting from the leader of the file) remained in their places, while number 13 (followed by the rest of the file) marched up till he came to the left-hand side of number 1. So, too, if it was necessary to make four files of six men each, numbers 1 to 6 retained their position, while number 7 (who was followed by the next five men, and was called a *pempadarch*) marched up to the left hand of number 1; simultaneously, number 13 (followed by five men) marched up to the left hand of number 6; and so on with the other two sections. The result of this movement, called *παραγωγή*, was, of course, to extend the breadth of the front from one man to two or four, as the case might be. The *παραγωγή* could be executed either with or without halting the men.

The squad was also taught to wheel a quarter circle (*ἀναστροφή*), a half (*περισπασμός*), three-quarters (*ἐκπερισπασμός*), and a full circle (*ἐπικατάσταςις*). The squad turned on the leader of the file to the extreme right or to the extreme left of the front, as the case might be.

The unit of the Spartan military system was the *λόχος*, the members of which were mess-mates.³ Four *lochi* formed a *τάξις*. The *lochi* might stand one behind another, or side by

¹ *Χίλιοι λογάδες* in Argos (Thuc. v. 67).

² A quarter turn to the right is (*κλίσις*) *ἐπὶ δόρυ*; to the left, *ἐπ' ἀσπίδα*; a half-turn (face-about), *μεταβολή*. A rank, *ζυγόν*; a file, *στίχος* or *λόχος*; file leader, *πρωτιστάτης*. Front, *μέτωπον*; breadth of front, *μήκος*; depth, *βάθος*. Single file, *ἐφ' ἑνός*. Wheel, *ἐπιστροφή*.

³ *Σύσκηνοι*.

side. To make the latter formation out of the former, all that was necessary was for the second lochos to march up to the left of the first, the third to the left of the second, and the fourth to the left of the third.¹ If, in so doing, each lochos marched in single file, the front of the taxis would consist of four men. But each lochos might march with two abreast or four men abreast, and then the front of the taxis would be eight or sixteen men wide, as the case might be.

Line-formation² was that in which the front was much greater than the depth. Many companies might be drawn up side by side, and not more than eight men deep, which seems to have been the usual depth of the phalanx in the fifth and fourth centuries B.C.

Marching order,³ on the other hand, had a greater depth and much narrower front. Probably Greek soldiers usually marched two abreast.⁴ To pass from marching order (column) to line,⁵ or from line to column, there were various methods which need not here be particularly described; for instance, if the enemy appeared ahead of a marching column, the leading sections halted, and the others marched up, the second to the left of the first, the third to the left of the second, and so on; or, if the enemy appeared on the left, then the leading lochos of each taxis halted, and the other three lochi marched up to the left of the leading lochos; all the taxeis then made a quarter turn to the left, and thus the whole force faced the enemy—the taxis, which on the march had brought up the rear, now forming the left wing of the phalanx. So much for infantry and their manœuvres; now for cavalry drill.

The little we know of this subject is limited almost entirely to what Xenophon says of the Athenian cavalry. The basis of cavalry, as of infantry tactics, was the file. Several files formed in Athens a *φυλή*, elsewhere an *ἔλγ*. The usual formation of the phylê was rectangular, either with the same number of horses in front as in depth, or twice as many. When several phylæ stood in line, an interval was left between one phylê and the next, equal to the length of the front of each phylê. This was necessary, in order to allow room for wheeling. A continuous front,⁶ i.e., one in which no interval was left between one phylê and the next, was only used in attacking, and was formed either by one phylê closing up to the next, or by the

¹ Ἐς ἀσπίδα παράγειν, τὰς τάξεις κατὰ λόχους ποιεῖσθαι.

² Ἐπὶ φάλαγγος.

³ Ἐπὶ κέρως, κατὰ κέρας.

⁴ Ἐπὶ δύο.

⁵ Ἐκ κέρατος εἰς φάλαγγα καταστήσαι.

⁶ Ἐπὶ φάλαγγος, ἐπὶ μετώπου.

hinder halves of each *lochos* riding up into the interval between their own *phylê* and the next to the left.

The evolutions to which, in the time of Polybius, the individual trooper was trained, were the turns to left¹ and right, the face-about, and wheeling. Marching order varied according to the nature of the ground. On broad plains the various divisions rode side by side, on wide roads *phylê* followed *phylê*, and, if circumstances required, the front might be still further diminished. On a march it was common for the men to walk part of the distance to save the horses. Pack-horses and change-horses followed the column. The little reconnoitring that was done was performed by the *πρόδρομοι*.

Commands² were transmitted by word of mouth from the commanding officer to inferior officers, and by them to the rank and file, both cavalry and infantry. The use of the trumpet was not extensive. It served as the signal for attack, alarm, and recall.³ For greater distances pre-arranged signals of various kinds might be employed.⁴ "Colours," standards, were unknown.

CHAPTER II

ARMY ORGANISATION

FROM the time of Draco (according to the *Ἀθηναίων πολιτεία*) Athenians who enjoyed the privilege of the franchise were required to serve their country as heavy-armed soldiers. From the time of Solon members of the first three property classes were called on to serve as hoplites, while the *Thetes* were required for other service. An Athenian's liability to military service began with his eighteenth year, and ended with his fifty-ninth. On the completion of his seventeenth year he attained his legal majority, and was entered on the registry of his father's deme⁵ as a full citizen. At the beginning (probably) of the civil year, all Athenians of the first three property classes who had attained their majority in the previous year, were enrolled as *ephebi*. Their names were engraved together on a bronze pillar in front of the *bouleutêrion*, in the time of Aristotle (in former times on wooden tablets). They were marched round

¹ Ἐφ' ἡνίαν.

³ Alarm, τὸ πολεμικόν (Thuc. vi. 69); recall, τὸ ἀνακλητικόν (Ibid. v. 10).

⁴ E.g., Thuc. i. 63.

² Παραγγέλματα.

⁵ Ληξιαρχικὸν γραμματεῖον.

the temples, down to the Peiræus, and there half of them were sent to garrison Munychia, half Aktê (the southern peninsula of the Peiræus). Their morals and comfort were looked after by a Cosmêtês and ten Sophronistæ, elected annually. The manner in which the latter were elected is interesting. The fathers of the ephēbi met together, according to their tribes, and, after taking an oath, nominated from each tribe three men, over forty years of age, whom they considered to be best qualified to have the care of young men. From these nominees the ecclesia chose, by vote, one for each tribe. The Cosmêtês also was chosen by vote of the ecclesia, but the ecclesia's choice in his case was not restricted to the nominees of the tribes. The Cosmêtês was charged with the general supervision of all the youths, the Sophronistæ with the ephēbi of their respective tribes only. Each ephēbos received an allowance from the state of four obols a day, which was paid over to the Sophronistes of his tribe. The Sophronistes, out of this, provided the joint-mess, for the ephēbi of each tribe messed together. For the military education of the young citizens the state provided two trainers to instruct them in gymnastics, and four professors to teach them the use of the bow, the javelin, the hoplite's weapons, and the catapult respectively. How many ephēbi each year produced we do not know. There is some evidence, however, to indicate that for the year 334-333 the number was probably about a thousand, for which six instructors do not seem many. The ephēbi also received instruction in company-drill,¹ such as was described in the last chapter.

This course of instruction continued for one year. At the end of that year an ecclesia was held in the theatre; the young men went through their drill in the presence of the collected citizens, received each a spear and shield from the state, and were then transferred for another year to other garrisons. During this year they were no longer under the care of the trainers and masters-of-arms, but patrolled the frontiers and country generally, in company with the *περίπολοι*. The peripoli were light-armed mercenaries who formed the permanent garrisons of the Athenian fortresses in time of peace, and who also performed police duties. The ephēbi, therefore—who doubtless called themselves “men”—also spoke of themselves as peripoli, until at last the term became ambiguous.

At some time or other, perhaps when they received their lance and shield, but probably when first they were enrolled

¹ Τὰ περὶ τὰς τάξεις (*Ath. Pol.* 42).

and marched round the temples, the ephebi took an oath of fidelity to their country. Their dress during these two years consisted of chiton, chlamys, and hat. They complained that their various masters dogged them, and thrashed them, and knocked them about; but, on the other hand, stone-records show that they formed all sorts of jovial clubs with fancy names, and that the intimacies and associations thus formed were not always allowed to drop in later life (*supra*, p. 313).

It has already been stated that the names of the ephebi for the year were engraved together on a bronze stêlê. On that stêlê they remained as long as their owners were liable to military service, *i.e.*, forty-two years; and as a fresh pillar was put up each year for the ephebi of that year, and not removed until the end of forty-two years, there were altogether forty-two pillars; and these forty-two pillars gave together the names of all citizens who could be called out for military service. When war was declared, a decree of the senate and people was passed, either calling out all citizens of a certain age (*i.e.*, all the names on certain stelæ), or else merely mentioning the number of men required, and leaving it to the strategi to select their men, in which case the strategi might take some but not all the citizens whose names were on one stêlê, and who were consequently of the same age. Naturally, men from fifty to sixty years of age were only called out in cases of extremity, when a levy *en masse*¹ was necessary. Senators, and probably other officials, were excused from military service during their years of office.

The Athenian infantry was made up of ten companies, each of which consisted of the men from one and the same tribe, and was consequently itself sometimes called a phylê, though that is properly the name for a body of cavalry, whilst a company of foot is called a τάξις. The taxis was subdivided into a number of λόχοι, each commanded by a λοχαγός; but the strength of a lochos and the relation which it bore to the contingents from each deme—for they too were recognised divisions within the taxis—are points not certainly known. The taxis itself was originally under the direct command of a strategos, as long as the strategi were subordinate to the polemarch; but when the strategi came to be the supreme military authorities, the command of each taxis was, after B.C. 390, handed over to a taxiarch, whom the demos elected by vote from the tribe whose taxis he was to command. The lochagi were appointed by the taxiarch.

¹ Πανδημεί.

The hoplite provided his own armour, but received pay from the state, usually (in the Peloponnesian war) at the rate of two obols a day.¹ The man who carried the hoplite's shield and provisions also received pay from the state. In both cases the pay was intended only to cover the cost of food; there was no commissariat department in the Athenian army. When the citizens were called out, the strategi or taxiarchs appointed a rendezvous, to which the contingents from each deme marched, bringing with them in their knapsacks² provisions (salt, meal, garlic, and onions) for three days as a rule, or longer if the taxiarchs ordered. Afterwards the commander of the force had to take care always to encamp in the neighbourhood of some place at which his men could buy provisions for themselves out of the pay provided by the state. If the camp was far from the market, there was a danger of its being attacked by the enemy whilst the men had gone off to buy food for the day.

The Thetes were only called on to serve as hoplites in extremity. On the other hand, in the fifth century, a body of 1500 archers was formed from this class, but this was probably an exceptional measure.³ Athens depended for her light-armed troops on mercenaries or on her allies. Three thousand Metics, however, were called on in the Peloponnesian war to serve as hoplites.⁴

A force of cavalry was not raised in Athens until after the Persian wars; at first it numbered 300 men, then 1200, and in the Peloponnesian war 1000, which continued to be its nominal force to the time of Xenophon. Naturally, the cavalry were drawn from among the richest men of the state; but there is no evidence to show that service in the corps was compulsory on members of the first property class. Apparently, ten officials, called *καταλογεῖς*, were chosen by vote of the ecclesia, and they drew up a list of citizens qualified to serve as knights; but if any man put upon this list chose to say he could not afford to serve, or was not well enough, he was excused as a matter of course. It was only when he had tacitly agreed to serve in the cavalry that he could be prosecuted and disfranchised for failing to do so. But though no compulsion was used in the first instance, everything was done to make this branch of the service as attractive as possible, by affording the knights opportunities of showing off themselves and their trappings in public

¹ Thuc. v. 47, four Attic obols; iii. 17, a drachma.

² *Γόλιος* (Ar. *Ach.* 1097).

³ Cf. Thuc. ii. 13, 23; iv. 29; v. 84; vi. 43, with what he says of B.C. 424 in iv. 94.

⁴ Thuc. ii. 13, 31; iii. 16; iv. 90.

processions. Further, the state paid for the knight's outfit, and contributed a drachma a day for the keep of the horse; but, although the senate frequently inspected the knights, to see if their horses were in good condition, there is nothing to show that the cavalry were frequently drilled. Finally, the knights from each tribe formed a separate troop, called a *φυλή*, and were commanded by a phylarch elected from that tribe; while all the troops were under the command of two hipparchs chosen from the whole body of citizens.

Originally the polemarch was the commander-in-chief of all the Athenian forces; then the ten strategi, who at first were elected one from each tribe, and afterwards all ten from the whole body of citizens. In the time of Aristotle the ecclesia appointed one strategus to take command of the hoplites called upon to serve outside of Attica; another to command the hoplites within the borders, if there should be war; two to take charge of the garrisons in Munychia and Aktê, and to defend the Piræus; a fifth to superintend the fleet; while the remaining five were left free to meet contingencies. In the field the strategi had power to imprison any man who was insubordinate, or to drum him out of the army, or to fine him—but it was not the custom to fine him. Discipline was probably not very strict; the strategos was subject to an *epicheirotonia* every prytany, when the question was put to the ecclesia whether he had discharged his duties properly. Men charged with failing to present themselves when called out, or with having deserted subsequently, or with having shown cowardice, were tried at the end of a campaign by a court composed of men who had served along with them.

As the organisation of the Spartan army has been described in Book VI. chap. iii., it is only necessary here to note that, whereas in other states it was the duty and privilege of full citizens alone to serve their country as heavy-armed soldiers, in Sparta the *Periœci* as well as the *Spartiatæ* were armed as hoplites; and whereas in other states citizens were only soldiers in time of war, and were only liable to military service during certain years of their life, in Sparta the sole object of the citizen's education was to make a soldier of him; peace did not relieve him from his military duties, nor any age exempt him, when once he had become a warrior, from liability to service.

As regards the mobilisation of the Spartan army, it rested with the ephors to call out the levies.¹ In each *μόρα* the

¹ *Φρουρὰν φαίνειν.*

Spartans of a certain year or years were called out, until the requisite number of troops were forthcoming. The duty of summoning the Pericæci to appear at the appointed rendezvous, was intrusted to some of the so-called "knights" who formed the bodyguard of the kings. The *xenagi* communicated to the allies how large a number of the troops which the terms of their alliance bound them to supply would be required.

As to mercenaries, from the beginning of the sixth century B.C. at least, Greeks took service under foreign potentates as mercenaries: thus the brother of Alcæus served with distinction under Nebuchadnezzar; and in the Persian war some Arcadians offered their service to Xerxes. But before the Peloponnesian war, it was not usual for Greek states to hire mercenaries. During that war large numbers of light-armed troops from northern and western Greece, Cretan archers, and Rhodian slingers found employment as mercenaries. There was, however, no great demand in Greece at this time for hired hoplites, as the citizen soldiers of each state furnished a sufficient supply. What little demand there was was met by the Arcadians, who from of old had been in the habit, like the modern inhabitants of another mountainous country, Switzerland, of looking to this as a regular profession.

Meantime the numbers of Greeks employed by foreign states had increased enormously, and Greek mercenaries were to be found by thousands in the service of Persia, Egypt, and Carthage. The famous Ten Thousand of Xenophon were mercenaries hired by Cyrus; and at Issus, 30,000 Greeks fought under Darius against Alexander. Thus the employment of mercenaries was developed into a systematic business: Cyrus, for instance, was brought into communication with ten men who knew where to go to find mercenaries—Corinth and Tænarum were good marts for this kind of ware—and made his terms with them. They probably got together the number of men they had engaged to collect, partly by direct dealing, partly by paying other agents a commission. More than half of Cyrus' ten thousand mercenaries were Arcadians or Achæans by birth.

This state of things abroad could not fail to react on Greece itself. Thus, for instance, the remnants of the Ten Thousand were engaged by the Spartan Agesilaus, in 394 B.C.; Persian gold was used by Conon to hire mercenaries to fight for Athens; and in 383 the Spartan allies were allowed to contribute, instead of men, money, which doubtless went to hire paid troops. By the time of the Sacred war (356–346), the system was so firmly established in Greece, that the Phocians could hire 20,000 mer-

cenaries; and finally, the fight fought for Greek liberty against Philip was carried on all through mainly by means of mercenaries.

There was another way in which Greece was affected by this system: Dionysius I. (401-367) took large numbers of these troops into his permanent service, kept them in a high state of efficiency, and practically formed a standing army out of them. The example thus set by him was followed in Greece by Jason of Pheræ (379-370), who, by the offer of enormously high pay, got together a body of fine troops, whom he drilled into a powerful army devoted to his person.

CHAPTER III

THE ARMY IN THE FIELD

A CAMPAIGN in ancient Greece was a very different thing from a campaign in modern times: the armies were so much smaller—14,000 was an exceptionally large force—and the distances which the army had to traverse were so insignificant: a couple of marches would frequently suffice to bring the men within sight of the enemy. This latter fact explains why the order given to the troops, when called out, to bring with them three days' provisions, was usually a sufficient solution of the commissariat problem, and not such an inadequate measure as at first sight appears. And further, not only were the distances short, but the strategy was of the simplest, and the duration of the campaign usually of the shortest: the two armies started out, marched till they met, had a fight, and went home. Marching was attended with but little difficulty: the country to be crossed was well cultivated; there were roads and bridges to use; it was not customary to attack an army on the march, and therefore measures to guard against such an attack were almost unknown; it was unusual even to send reconnoitring parties ahead. The regular troops were followed by a huge baggage train, for every hoplite had at least one man to carry his weapons and knapsack. There were waggons and beasts of burden to carry provisions; there were sutlers and camp-followers of all descriptions; there were the wounded, and there might be prisoners and spoil. The Spartans alone seem to have endeavoured to maintain some sort of order¹ in this following.

The ordinary marching order was two by two in a long, thin column. If by any chance the enemy did threaten an attack, a

¹ By means of the ἀρχοντες τοῦ σκευοφορικῆς.

hollow square¹ was formed ; the baggage, &c., was placed in the centre ; the hoplites formed the four sides. The leading side was drawn up eight deep ;² the rear files of the square counter-marched so as to bring the file-leaders, picked warriors, to the outside. The cavalry operated outside the square, on whichever side was threatened, and were assisted, if necessary, by the most active hoplites, who ran forward to help them to drive off the enemy.³ If the attack became serious, it was impossible for the square to continue to march : it had to halt ; and if it became necessary to cross a bridge or go through a defile, the conversion of the square into a column, and the reconversion of the column into a square, were attended with such difficulty and confusion as afforded the enemy a most favourable opportunity for attack.

If the army could not reach a village or town, in which to spend the night, it pitched its tents, or made its huts, in some position having natural defences, such as a hill or stream. The Spartans alone had anything like a systematic mode of constructing a camp. It was usually circular in form ; each *μόρα* had its own post, and all the *μόραι* were placed together ; each *μόρα* had its own place where it piled arms (except the lances, without which no Spartan might be seen in camp), and where every member of the *μόρα*, unless his duties took him elsewhere, must remain. Here, too, the members of the *μόρα* were exercised first thing in the morning, after which the polemarch gave the order for the mid-day meal, and for changing the sentries who guarded the weapons, and the outposts, who were stationed where they could get the most commanding views of the surrounding country. In the afternoon, before the principal meal of the day, there were more exercises, then a sacrifice, and finally the men were dismissed to the place of arms, there to spend the night, sheltered by no tent or hut.

The battles of the Peloponnesian war⁴ were conflicts between masses of heavy-armed soldiers drawn up eight deep, and flung on one another : there were no tactics. One army took up its position on or commanding a plain, and waited for the other, which encamped within a mile or half a mile of the first. The two forces then drew up in battle array about 200 or 250 yards apart ; the pæan was sung ; the armies advanced until they were within about 180 yards of each other, the trumpets were

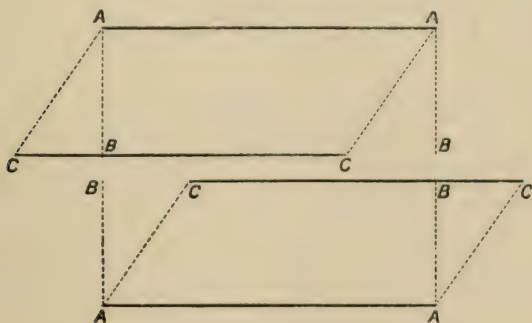
¹ Πηλαιοιον.

² Ἐπὶ φάλαγγος.

³ Hoplites used in this way were called *ἐκδρομοί*. For the hollow square, see Thuc. iv. 125 ; vi. 67 ; vii. 78.

⁴ The following are the battles in Thucydides : i. 62 ; ii. 79 ; iii. 98, 108 ; iv. 32, 42, 92 ; v. 67 ; vi. 67 ; vii. 6.

sounded, the war-cry raised, and the charge began. As a rule, the Greeks charged at the double, and consequently fell into more or less disorder before they reached the foe. The Spartans, on the other hand, with more confidence and self-restraint, advanced slowly, and in good order. There was in all the battles of the Peloponnesian war a uniformity, which at first is surprising, and then is interesting, as exemplifying the operation of a general law. The right wing of each army overthrew the enemy's left; the victorious wings returned from the pursuit, and engaged with each other; and the one that was in the least disorder won. This decided the battle. This uniformity in the course of events is due, not merely to the reason that similar causes produce similar effects, but to the fact that in all these battles there was one cause uniformly, and indeed necessarily, present. That cause lay ultimately in the fact that the hoplite carried a shield. The shield protected his left side, but not his right. Consequently the right wing was the most exposed position in the line of battle, the most dangerous, and the most honourable, and that which was assigned to the best troops. Further, the hoplite, who, when the signal to charge was given, at first advanced with his face and the front of his body towards the foe, gradually, in his desire to protect himself with his shield, made a quarter turn to the right. Thus he advanced no longer with his face and front, but his left side to the foe; and instead of moving on a line at right angles to his original base, he advanced at an angle of forty-five degrees or so. This will be plain from the following figure:—



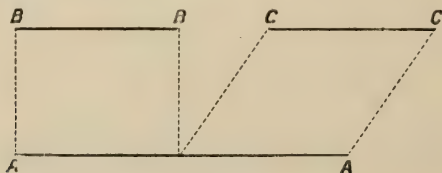
The continuous lines AA, represent the front of each army at the moment when the order to charge is given; the dotted

lines AB, represent the course which each would have taken (but, as a matter of fact, never did take), if the hoplites had continually advanced face forwards. The dotted lines AC, give the course which the armies actually did follow; and the continuous lines CC, give the positions actually occupied by the two bodies when within striking distance. It will be seen that the inevitable outcome of the desire of the hoplite to protect himself with his shield was that, when the two armies came to blows, the right wing of each extended far beyond the left wing of the other, outflanked it, and being further composed of better troops, naturally defeated it.¹

To pursue and annihilate a defeated enemy was an idea that had not occurred to the Greeks, any more than it had occurred to them to strike at the line of communication between the enemy and his base, and by cutting him off from his supplies to compel him to surrender. The conditions of Greek warfare were too simple for such strategy; the maintenance of a line of communication was of little importance to an army which did not obtain its supplies from its base; and as for pursuing an enemy and annihilating him, heavy-armed soldiers could not do it. Cavalry, indeed, might have been employed for the purpose, but the object of Greek fighting was not to annihilate the enemy, or put him *hors-de-combat*, but to compel him to acknowledge his defeat, which he did by asking to be allowed to bury his dead. After that the victors erected a trophy composed of the weapons of the fallen foes, and then went home.

In spite of the fact that at Sphacteria and under Iphicrates light-armed troops had been shown to be able, in combination with hoplites, to defeat even Spartans, the tradition that battles could only be fought and won by heavy-armed troops was so

¹ The first man to make the quarter turn to the right was the man to the extreme right of the right wing, because his right side had no protection. If all the other men followed his example, the result was as described above; but if only a certain number did so, the result was (as, e.g., in the battle of Mantinea, B.C. 418) that there was a gap in the battle front by the time it reached the enemy. Thus:—



strong that generals continued to neglect the capabilities, both of light-armed troops and of cavalry.

Epaminondas, at the battles of Leuctra (379) and Mantinea (362), rose above the idea that the whole duty of a general was, when he came in sight of the enemy on a fair field, to tell his men to charge. He reasoned out some really scientific tactics. Hitherto, although in battles there had been a general engagement indeed all along the line, each wing had in point of fact fought an independent battle with the troops opposed to it: there had been no organic connection between the operations of one part of the line and another. Epaminondas, however, thought out a plan of battle in which each wing had its peculiar function to perform, and by the performance of which victory was to be secured. The enemy would pursue the traditional plan of placing its best troops on its own right wing; Epaminondas, therefore, departed from the traditional arrangement, and placed his best men on his left wing. If he could defeat the enemy's right wing and best troops, the battle would be practically decided, if only the enemy's left did not prove victorious and come to the aid of its right. To prevent this, Epaminondas abstained from using his own right wing for offensive purposes: it did not consist of his best men, and could not be counted on with certainty to defeat the troops opposed to it, nor was it necessary for Epaminondas' purpose that it should defeat them. All it was required to do was to hold the enemy's left in check, by standing ready and threatening to strike at any moment. Holding the enemy's left down in this manner, Epaminondas was free to pound away at the enemy's right wing, which he did in a new and improved manner, by attacking, not in line but with a column.¹ As the enemy were drawn up in the traditional phalanx of eight men deep, while Epaminondas' attacking column was fifty men deep, when he directed his column into the centre of the enemy's right wing he burst it at once. The battle of Leuctra was fought on the same tactics, save that, as the enemy's right wing was protected on the flank by a phalanx of cavalry, Epaminondas used a column (*embolos*) of light-armed troops and cavalry to burst the cavalry phalanx, as well as an embolos of hoplites to break the Spartans' right; while to hold the enemy's left more safely in check, he used his cavalry to threaten it with a flank attack if it tried to advance.

The next great improvement in tactics came from Macedonia; but it does not fall to be considered here.

¹ "Εμβολος.

CHAPTER IV

SIEGE WARFARE AND FORTIFICATIONS

BEFORE the fourth century B.C., siege warfare was in a very rudimentary stage of development amongst the Greeks. It was not usually one of the objects of a campaign to gain possession of the enemy's city. If such an extremity had to be resorted to, the customary procedure was first to try what treachery would do, or, if that should prove fruitless, to attempt to surprise the place. If the attempt failed, then the assailants had to consider whether it was worth while to blockade the place: this was a plan the success of which was dubious, and the cost certain to be great. For instance, in 439, Samos resisted for nine months, and the siege cost 1200 talents; Potidæa held out three years (432-429), and 2000 talents were expended in reducing it.¹ The method of investing a town was circumvallation: a wall was built all round the town, just out of reach of the inhabitants' arrows. The structure of the wall depended on circumstances. If the assailants calculated on little resistance, a simple stockade might suffice, or a wooden wall; if these were insufficient, a brick wall would become necessary; and at the siege of Platæa two parallel brick walls were built, sixteen feet apart, which were armed with battlements, while the space between the walls was roofed over, and at every tenth battlement were erected rectangular towers, having two doors, through which the sentries could pass as they made their rounds along the top of the roof. If the blockade was not sufficiently strict, or if the work of famine was too slow, then it might become necessary to force an entrance into the town. That the use of some kind of engine for this purpose was known in Greece as early as the time of the Persian war, is apparent from the statement of Herodotus that the Athenians were called upon by the Spartans to effect an irruption into the Persian camp at Platæa. It is, however, equally clear that the use of siege engines was not widely spread in Greece before the Peloponnesian war, for the Spartans, professional warriors though they were, had to ask the Athenians to capture Ithomê for them in the third Messenian war (463-

¹ Thuc. i. 117; ii. 70. For other lengthy blockades, see Thuc. i. 101 (Thasos), and iii. 1, 27 (Mytilene).

461). Even during the Peloponnesian war, probably the only siege engine used was the battering-ram, a heavy beam pointed and shod with iron, and either driven on rollers against the wall, or else suspended somehow and swung against it, whilst the men working it were protected from the enemy's darts by wattled screens.¹ To meet this attack, the besieged had heaps of heavy stones on the walls, with which they endeavoured to break the ram.² Other contrivances there were which the besiegers might employ, but which cannot be called engines, *e.g.*, undermining the walls, setting fire to them, or constructing a mound from the wall of circumvallation to the city wall, and so obtaining a road into the town.

Thus it will be seen that the siege apparatus of the fifth century was not very extensive.³ With the fourth century, however, a new state of things came in: the old engines were improved, new ones were invented, and a systematic theory of attack was developed. These were lessons learned in Sicily by Dionysius I., from his foes, the Carthaginians, in B.C. 409, applied by him at the siege of Motye in 397, and used in Greece by Philip in his attack upon Perinthus, in 340. The battering-ram was strengthened and greatly increased in size; the wattled screens, which protected the men who worked the ram, now gave place to a solidly constructed roof,⁴ or *testudo*, capable of sheltering a hundred men. The tedious process of raising a mound to the level of the city wall, to afford an ingress for the assailants, was superseded by the construction of movable towers as high as the wall, and having drawbridges. Finally, the invention of siege artillery belongs to this period: the catapult of the *Athen. Politeia*, c. 42, was unknown in the Peloponnesian war,⁵ and is first mentioned, in the time of Philip, in an inscription of B.C. 355.⁶

The course of an assault with these new appliances was now as follows:—The six-storeyed towers,⁷ crowded with archers, slingers, and catapults, and overtopping the city wall, were first brought into operation. The fire from them was designed to render the portion of the wall selected for attack untenable, while at the same time, under cover of it, the men who worked the ram were enabled to bring it within striking distance. While the latter were engaged in effecting a breach, the drawbridges were let down from the towers (which by this time

¹ Γέφυρα.

² Xen. *Hell.* II. iv. 27.

³ In spite of the fact that Athens had a μηχανοποιός (Xen. *Hell.* II. iv. 27).

⁴ Χελώνη.

⁵ Thuc. vii. 43, 1.

⁶ C. I. A. ii. 61.

⁷ Πύργοι.

had been brought close up to the wall), and the occupants of the tower poured into the town, or threatened to do so, and thus diverted the enemy from the ram.

With regard to artillery, the endeavour to project heavier missiles and to greater distances than was possible with the ordinary weapons, led, in the first instance, simply to enlarging and strengthening the long-bow into something of the nature of a cross-bow.¹ This probably was the catapult, in the art of discharging which the young Athenian was instructed. It was far inferior to the engines devised somewhat later; for they got their force from torsion—hence their Latin name, *tormenta*—whereas its was derived from the elasticity of a bent body. In point of fact, it was but a strong hand-bow fastened on to a wooden frame, in which there was a groove or pipe to contain and direct the arrow. The wooden frame had a base which could be pressed upon the breast, in order that the requisite amount of force might be brought to bear on the string, and there was an arrangement for holding the string, when pulled back, until the moment came for letting it go. When this machine was superseded by the more powerful *tormenta* is not quite clear. At any rate, the inscriptions of the fourth century distinguish between catapults which discharge stones and those which discharge arrows.² But the employment of *tormenta* was not common until a period later than any that we have to deal with here.³

For the protection of the borders of a state, the earliest and simplest device was to choose a place where the road went through a narrow defile, and to block it by building a wall straight across it. This, as it was the simplest, so it was the least effective device, for the position might be turned, if the enemy discovered a path over the mountains. A superior method was to erect watch-towers on mountain heights commanding a wide view of the country and roads, and to arrange these towers so that signals might be made from one to another—a systematic mode of defence which actual remains show to have been employed in various parts of Greece.

The fortification of towns cannot here be described with the

¹ Γαστραφέτης, the σκόρπιος of *C. I. A.* ii. 807.

² Καταπάλται λιθοβόλοι and ὀξυβελεῖς.

³ The Attic inscriptions relative to catapults are: *C. I. A.* ii. 250, 316, 471, 720, 733, 807, 808. Droysen thinks the catapults of No. 807 (B.C. 330) cannot be γαστραφέται. Bauer, on the other hand, places the transition from the γαστραφέτης to the *tormentum* about B.C. 306, on the strength of No. 733. In any case, however, stones as well as arrows could be projected by the γαστραφέτης.

illustrations from actual remains, and the plans which such a description would require. Suffice it to say that the fortification of Greek towns proceeded on three principles. The first was to select a natural eminence if possible, and in the line of fortification to follow as closely as possible the lines prescribed by nature. The second was to control the entrance to the city gates by flanking the approaches for a considerable distance. Both these principles are already acted upon in the fortifications of the Mycenæan period. The third was to flank the walls by projecting towers, so as to keep up a cross-fire on any enemy who succeeded in getting up to the walls.

For the defence of the city thus fortified various measures were taken. To each phylê, or other division of the citizens, the duty of manning a certain section of the walls on alarm of danger was assigned. The market-place, or the theatre, or other open spaces and large buildings were the rendezvous for the citizen-soldiers dwelling in the neighbouring quarters of the town, when the approach of the foe was notified by the spies posted by day on the nearest hills,¹ or by beacons at night.² All the city gates were closed save one, and that was kept under strict guard, and not allowed to be opened after night-fall. Within the city, walls were built across the streets, trenches dug, and the houses next the city wall were fortified. Sentries and patrols were appointed to keep watch on the walls and go the round of them. A watchword and countersign³ were arranged, and frequently changed. The commander-in-chief either went the rounds, or, at night, displayed from time to time a lantern at a given spot, to which signal all the sentries had to reply by elevating their lanterns.

If lines of circumvallation were commenced by the enemy, sorties were made or a cross-wall was run out from the city, at right angles to the line of circumvallation continued. If an assault in form was made upon the town, mines or trenches were dug outside the walls for the siege-engines to tumble into. Where the assailants succeeded in bringing up wheeled siege-towers, the defenders elevated the city wall by superimposing on it wooden towers. The ram might be smashed by stones dropped on it, or its head might be caught in a noose, and broken off by an upward jerk from the top of the wall. Should these pre-

¹ Ἡμεροσκόποι or σκοποί (Herod. vii. 183, 192, 219; Thuc. viii. 100, 103; Xen. *Hell.* i. 2; vii. 25).

² In the Peloponnesian wars, torches waved about indicated the approach of enemies, πυρσοὶ πολέμιοι; held still, the approach of friends, πυρσοὶ φίλοι.

³ Σύνθημα and παρὰσύνθημα.

cautions fail, and the ram threaten to effect a breach, the defenders might build a semicircular wall behind the threatened spot, and, in front of the semicircular wall, a ditch. If heaps of earth were observed behind the assailants' lines, and were seen daily to grow larger, the inference was that mines were being made. These might be met by counter-mines, or, parallel to the town wall, trenches might be dug, into some part of which the mine could not fail to debouch; the trench was then either filled with brushwood, which was fired when the enemy broke into the trench, or, if there was a stream at hand, it might be turned into the trench, and thus flood the enemy's mine. The whereabouts of a mine could be ascertained by placing on the ground a shield or a metal basin, hollow side downwards. If the enemy were working in their mine, the shield or basin, when it came to be placed over the mine, would ring with the noise of their excavations.¹ Finally, the most effective measure of defence was to make an energetic sortie by night, overpower the few outposts of the enemy, and set fire to the wooden siege-train, the towers, the rams, and the covered ways, thus in a single night undoing the labour of months.

CHAPTER V

THE TRIREME

THE external appearance of the ancient trireme is fairly well known to us from the pictures on ancient monuments and coins (Fig. 34). The internal structure is still matter of conjecture. The conjectures on the subject have been many, but they may be divided into two classes, according to their starting-point. We may take as our starting-point the mediæval galley, which undoubtedly was evolved from the ancient trireme; or we may start from the Greek texts and inscriptions which bear on the matter. The former method is now pretty generally abandoned, for its results, which, if correct, ought to harmonise with the ancient evidence, are, as a matter of fact, irreconcilable with it; and this is due, not to any error in the working of the method, but to the fact that the method itself is faulty. It is faulty, because in one important point the conditions of navigation

¹ Herod. iv. 200. Cf. De Marbot's *Memoirs*, p. 57 (E. T.), "His aide-de-camp, laying his ear on a drum placed upon the ground, was able, by this common military artifice, to hear the sound of distant musketry."

were not the same for the ancient trireme and the mediæval galley. The ancient navigator considered it essential, when he put into land, to draw his vessel up on shore. The trireme must therefore have been of very light construction. The mediæval galley, however, was not run on shore in this way, and consequently came to have a greater draught and a roomier hold than was possible for the trireme. Thus the roomier hold of the galley made it possible to employ two or more men to an oar; whereas we have explicit evidence that in the trireme there was never more than one man to an oar. We must, then, fall back on the other conjectures, which start from literary and inscriptional evidence. Of these, that of B. Graser (*De Veterum Re Navali*, Berlin, 1864; and *Philologus*, Suppl., Bd. III. ii.) is at once the most simple and systematic.¹

If the mediæval galley was evolved out of the ancient trireme, the trireme, in its turn, had been evolved out of the Homeric ship. It will therefore be well to start from Homer. The Homeric ship, like the trireme, used both oars and sails. The mast could be raised and lowered by means of stays, back and fore, which also served to support it when erect. The sail, which was white in colour and square in shape, was attached to a yard, and was managed by sheets. The steering-gear consisted of a couple of paddles, one attached to each side of the vessel. There was one deck at the stern, on which the helmsman stood, and another at the bows. The rest of the boat was open. The seats or thwarts (ἑνγά), like those of a modern rowing-boat, ran across the boat from one side to another, and served, not only as seats for the rowers, but also to give support to the sides of the vessel. The boat must have been 10 or 12 feet broad amidships, for each seat held two oarsmen, one pulling on stroke side, and the other on bow side; and between the two rowers there was room for a gangway running from the stern deck to that at the prow. The seats were parallel to and equidistant from each other, and thus the oarsmen, as they sat one behind another, in single file, formed two long rows, one on each side of the boat, and separated from one another by the gangway, which ran the length of the boat. Here, then, we have the type of that kind of vessel which was designated in Greek by words composed of a numeral stem and the termination *-opos*, in which the termination indicates that

¹ I have also drawn on Cartault, *La Trière Athénienne*, and the articles *Seewesen* and *Navis* in Baumeister and Smith's Dictionaries of Antiquities respectively.

there was only one bank of oars on each side of the vessel, and the numeral gives the number of oars, *e.g.*, τριακόντορος, πεντηκόντορος. A triaconter would, of course, contain only fifteen benches, or ζυγά, as each accommodated both a bow-side and a stroke-side oar; the penteconter would have twenty-five benches. Taking the distance (*interscalmium*) from one thole-pin (σκαλμός) to the next to have been, as Vitruvius says (i. 2), 2 cubits, *i.e.*, 3 feet, we find that the space required for the oarsmen (ἐγκωπον) in a triaconter, with its 15 thwarts, would be 45 feet, while the total length, with the fore and aft decks, would be about 55 feet (the length of a modern racing-eight is 56 feet). The total length of a penteconter would be, on the same scale, 90 feet. Even longer boats—with fifty benches and a hundred oars—were constructed, but their extra length and weight must have neutralised the extra motive power. Then it occurred to some unknown genius, that by deepening the hold a little, and by seating an oarsman between the feet of each man in the existing row of oarsmen¹ (whom we will henceforth call ζυγίται, because they sat on the ζυγά), a second bank of oars (who, as sitting in the hold, θάλαμος, were called θαλαμίται or θαλάμακες) could easily be accommodated, and the motive power doubled, with no increase in the length, and very little in the weight of the boat. A vessel having two such banks of oars was called a bireme, διήρης (the termination -ήρης implying that the boat had more than one bank of oars; and the numeral stems, δι-, τρι-, ἑκακαιδεκ-, or τεσσαρακοντ-, indicating the number of such banks). The essential point to notice in the bireme is how little its dimensions would differ from those of a penteconter. We will take each of the three dimensions—height, length, and breadth—and begin with the height. The thalamite, as we have said, sat between the feet of the zygite behind him (Figs. 35 and 36); but he can scarcely have sat on the zygite's stretcher, as then he would have got a blow on the back of his head every time the zygite swang forward.

¹ Everything depends on this. As space has only three dimensions, you must put the thalamite either (1) in front, or (2) to one side, or (3) underneath the zygite. (1) is Graser's arrangement, according to which the thalamite was between the feet of the zygite. If (2) is adopted, so that when the thalamite and zygite sat upright, the vertical straight lines drawn through their bodies were parallel, the boat becomes too wide and too heavy to be drawn up on shore every day. If (3) is adopted, so that the thalamite was underneath the zygite, and their upright bodies were in the same vertical straight line, then the boat becomes so high as to be top-heavy, and you are led to assume that the thalamites and zygites were in separate galleries, which is shown by Ar. *Frogs* 1106 to be false.

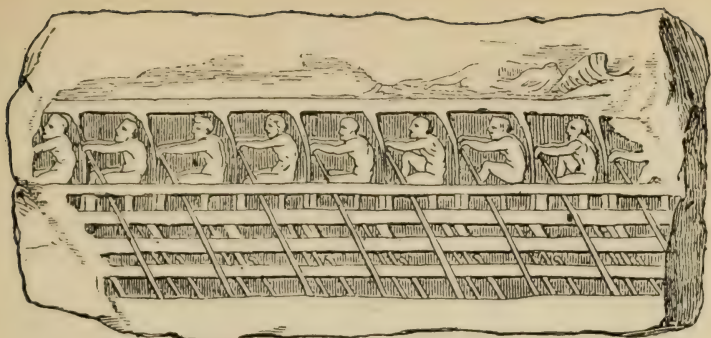


FIG. 34.—TRIEME. (FROM A RELIEF AT ATHENS.)

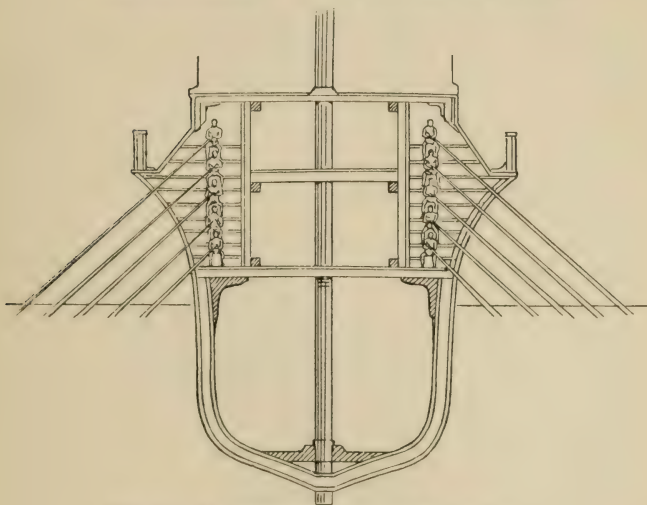
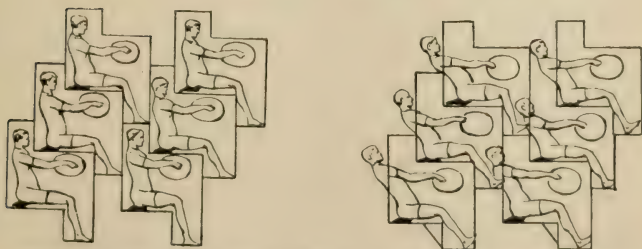


FIG. 35.—A PENTERES ACCORDING TO GRASER.



FIGS. 36A, 36B.—SIDE VIEW OF ROWERS ACCORDING TO GRASER.

As a matter of fact, it is certain (from *Ar. Ran.* 1074) that his chin was rather higher than the zygite's seat. We may therefore calculate that the thalamite's seat was two feet lower than the zygite's; and if the thalamite's seat was three feet above the water-line, the zygite's was five feet above the water-line; so the height of the bireme would be only two feet greater than that of the penteconter. Now for the length of a bireme, having the same number of zygites as the penteconter had. The length of the two vessels would be the same. The key to this is to be found in the fact that both, though not ocean-going ships, were seafaring vessels, heavier than river boats, and that in heavy boats most of the work is done behind the rowlock; thus the oarsman practically does not swing forward with his body, he only straightens his arms, but he swings far back. Now the space between the thole of one zygite and that of the next was three feet; but the thalamite could not have sat exactly in the middle, for then once more, in spite of his seat being two feet lower than the zygite's, he would have got a blow on his head every time the boat rolled. His seat must therefore have been two feet nearer to the stern than that of the zygite behind him. This would bring his face within a foot of the zygite in front of him (Fig. 36A), but as he did not want to swing forward, that would not matter; he could swing well back between the open knees of the zygite behind (Fig. 36B). Finally, as to the breadth of the bireme: as the thalamite sat between the feet of the zygite, it might be thought that there would be no need to increase the breadth of the boat. But that is not so; the zygite, being two feet higher above the water-line than the thalamite, needed a longer oar. Now, if an oar is to be properly balanced, the in-board portion must be one-third of the whole length of the oar; therefore the in-board portion of the zygite's oar was longer than the in-board portion of the thalamite's oar (Fig. 35). Therefore the thole of the zygite must have been further away from the zygite than the thalamite's was from the thalamite. But thalamite and zygite sat in the same vertical plane (Fig. 35), the former being between the latter's knees. Therefore the sides of the boat must have expanded as they rose, and the higher they were carried, the broader the boat must have become at the top.

It should now be clear that the rowers' benches could not, in a bireme, run from one side of the boat to the other, as they had done in the penteconter, for then the gangway would have been impassable. One end of each zygite's bench was, as before, let into the side of the boat, the other was carried by an upright

piece of timber rising from the hold (Fig. 35). As the zygite's benches were (like their tholes) three feet apart, so were these uprights. Running obliquely from the foot of one upright to the head of the next was another piece of timber, which did for the thalamite's seat what the upright did for the zygite's. These seats were removable, and were only inserted at times when the ship was being fitted out for sea.

As to the disposition of the rowers in a trireme, little need now be said. After the invention of the bireme, it must have soon occurred to some one that, by superposing another row of benches (*θρᾶροι*) above the zygites, a still greater improvement might be effected. This was done, a bank of *θραῖται* was added, each thranite having a zygite between his knees. The sides of the vessel were carried two feet higher, expanding, of course, still wider as they rose, and the trireme was made a little higher, a little broader across the top, but no longer, because the *interscalmium* remained three feet as before.

The number, like the arrangement, of the rowers is conjectural. The conjecture is as follows: a boat's greatest breadth is amidships, and the breadth continually decreases as you go either fore or aft, until in either direction there comes a point where the boat is too narrow to accommodate an oarsman. But, since the breadth of a boat also decreases the lower you go in the hold, until it reaches its vanishing point at the keel, the point at which an oarsman could no longer be accommodated would be reached by the file of thalamites sooner than by the file of zygites, and by the zygites sooner than by the thranites. That is to say, in the bows the last thalamite would be between the knees of the last zygite, and the last zygite between the knees of the last thranite. At the other end of the boat, the first thranite would have no zygite between his knees, and the first zygite would have no thalamite between his knees; hence, as the lexicographers say, the man nearest to the stern would be a thranite, the next nearest a zygite, and the thalamite would be the furthest away. Thus the file of thranites would have two more men than the file of zygites, and the zygites two more than the thalamites; and, as there was a file of thranites at each side of the boat, there would be in all four more thranites than zygites, and in the same way four more zygites than thalamites. Now, preserved on stone records, we have inventories of the naval arsenals at Athens, from which it appears that the maximum number of thranite oars allowed to any one ship is 62, of zygites, 58, of thalamites, 54. The inference is that these are the numbers of the rowers, giving a

total of 174. Hence, with an *interscalmium* of 3 feet for each man in the file of 31 thranites, the ἔγκωπον was 94 feet. To get the total length of the trireme, we must allow for the space between the first thranite and the stern, viz., 14 feet, and for the space between the last thranite and the bows, viz., 11 feet. These spaces were called παρεξειρεσίαι; in the one at the bows was an elevated forecastle, in the stern a quarter-deck.

To get the oar into the water was ἐμβάλλειν (*Frogs* 206); to get it out, ἐξαίρειν τὰς κώπας (Poll. i. 116); to feather or clear the water, τὰς κώπας ἀναφέρειν (Thuc. ii. 84); to straighten the arms and shoot out the hands, προβάλλειν τῷ χεῖρει καὶ ἐκτείνειν (*Frogs* 201, which also shows that the ancient oarsman did not swing forward with his body); "easy" is ὦ παῦε, παῦε; "row!" (as opposed to paddling) is ἔρειδε; "put it on!" ἄρῶν or ῥυπαπαῖ; "silence in the boat," σιώπα.

We have now to add that over the heads of the thranites was a deck (Fig. 34), supported partly by the uprights already mentioned into which the rowers' benches were let, and partly by corresponding uprights (prolongations of the ship's ribs) rising from the gunwale. A vessel decked in this way was an ἐστεγασμένον πλοῖον, and the deck not only covered the thranites' heads, but also formed the roof of the passage which ran from stem to stern, between the stroke side and the bow side files of oarsmen (Fig. 35).

The files of thalamites and zygitēs who were in the hold, and worked their oars through port-holes, were of course protected by the ship's sides from the enemy's missiles. But the thranites, who worked their oars over the gunwale, were exposed to the enemy's fire from the waist upwards (Fig. 34). To afford them protection, the πάροδος was invented: this was a gangway running along the vessel's side, to which it was bracketed, and projecting from it about three feet (Fig. 35). This gangway, of course, was no protection itself; it only afforded a passage, about on a level with the thranites' seats, outside the vessel. But rising from its outer edge were stout upright bulwarks, which did give the required protection. A trireme having a parodus was cataphract (Fig. 35); having none, aphract (Fig. 34).

The trireme had two masts with square sails, rarely used.

CHAPTER VI

NAVAL WARFARE

ACCORDING to Thucydides (i. 113), the Corinthians were the first to construct men-of-war on different lines from merchantmen, and to build triremes, *i.e.*, warships, with three banks of oars, one above another. In the sixth century, the fleets of the Asiatic Greeks, of Polycrates of Samos, of the Æginetans, and the Athenians, were still mainly composed of boats worked by fifty oarsmen in a single tier; but the warship of the fifth century, and the time of the Persian wars, was the trireme. Ships with four and five banks of oars appeared first in the Syracusan fleet of Dionysios I. (399). The use of these huge ships, however, did not spread to Athens until B.C. 330.

The only navy whose growth can be traced with any accuracy is that of Athens. In the war with Ægina she had fifty ships. Themistocles' naval policy brought up the number at first to a hundred, which was gradually increased, until, by the time of the Persian war, it was two hundred. At the beginning of the Peloponnesian war, Athens had three hundred triremes. This was the zenith of her naval power, for though, in the middle of the fourth century, she again had the largest fleet in the Greek world (in B.C. 325 she had 360 triremes, fifty four-bankers, and seven five-bankers), it was in such a state of inefficiency that it could protect neither the commerce, the colonies, nor even the coasts of Attica.

For some conception of the harbours, dockyards, and arsenals of ancient Greece, we depend mainly on what we can learn about the harbours of Athens, *viz.*, the great basin of the Peiræus, the smaller one of Zea, and the still smaller Munychia—all three close together, and enclosed in the same circuit of fortifications, and connected with Athens by the "Long Walls," which were drawn in two parallel lines straight from Athens to the harbour. The natural entrances to the harbours of the Peiræus and Munychia were reduced in width by the construction of huge breakwaters, which narrowed the passage to fifty-five yards and forty yards respectively. The natural entrance to Zea is a narrow channel, and both sides of this were protected by the general circuit of the harbour fortifications, the wall of which ran from the Peiræus breakwater, all

round the coast of Aktê, down one side of the channel leading into Zea, was resumed on the opposite side, and followed it and the line of the coast, until it reached Munychia, shortly after which it turned inland till it joined the Long Walls. The entrance to Zea was also reduced in width by the fact that, at the inner end of the channel, the harbour wall was continued into the sea by projecting towers.

The harbours, having their entrances thus protected by breakwaters, and the land behind them defended by the harbour wall, left their shores free for the erection of ship-sheds,¹ or rather boat-houses, for the trireme approached much more nearly in size a modern river boat than an ocean-going, or even seafaring ship. In each boat-house was the hull of one trireme, placed on a slip, so that it could be launched at once at any moment. The wooden fittings, benches, masts, oars, &c., were also kept in the boat-house, though not in the boat; the hanging tackle, sails, ropes, &c., were stored in the *σκευοθήκη*, or arsenal. Boat-houses were an essential part of a dockyard, because the triremes were only sent to sea for active service; and if they were left lying in the water at other times, they soon became leaky and unseaworthy. The life of a trireme kept perpetually in the water was not much longer than two years (Thuc. vii. 12), whereas, if properly stored in a ship-shed, and protected from sun and rain, it was capable, it is said, of service for eighty years.

As the ships were hauled up, and kept idle in the ship-sheds until the moment they were wanted for active service, it was essential to have some systematic arrangement for fitting them out, and despatching them when required. At Athens this was effected by the trierarchic system: the richer citizens were liable to be called upon to act as trierarchs. When it was necessary to fit out ships, one of the strategi made a selection from among them, calling upon as many of them as might be necessary to act as trierarchs. It was then the duty of these trierarchs to go to the superintendents of the harbour,² from whom they received (by lot) a hull and its tackle, both wooden and hanging. The hull was launched from its shed, taken round to the Munychia breakwater, and there it was fitted up in the presence of the *boulê* and a board of ten *ἀποστολείς* (elected *ad hoc*), whose business, as their name implies, was to superintend the fitting out and

¹ *Νεώσοικοι*. Harbours are *νεώρια*; docks for building, *ναυπήγια*.

² *Ἐπιμεληταὶ τῶν νεωρίων*.

despatch of the fleet. At the same time a crew¹ had to be got together, and as the complement for each trireme averaged about 200 men (about 170 oarsmen, 10 armed marines,² and petty-officers³ besides); and since for the despatch of a fleet of 250 triremes, such as was sent to sea in B.C. 428, for instance, about 50,000 men would be required, it was impossible to man the navy with Athenian citizens exclusively. Consequently, though the marines were drawn from the class of Thetes, and some of the oarsmen might be citizens, the bulk of the crew consisted of Metics, slaves, and hired oarsmen.⁴ It was the duty of the strategus to collect the sailors required, and the state paid them (through the trierarchs) at the rate of three obols a day usually.⁵ But towards the end of the Peloponnesian war, and throughout the fourth century, the pay was reduced to two obols, and the strategi frequently failed to provide sufficient oarsmen. When at last the ship was manned and fitted out to the satisfaction of the ἀποστολείς, it was despatched to join the fleet under the command of the trierarch, who, of course, took his orders from the strategus.

We may now attempt to estimate the extent of the burden thus thrown on the trierarch. Although the state probably provided, besides the hull, the wooden fittings and the hanging tackle, we may surmise that a good many other things were required to equip the boat at all points, and the cost thereof fell on the trierarch. Again, though the state probably paid the petty-officers, yet custom seems to have required the trierarch to give extra pay, both to them and to the θρανῖται, who rowed on the top bench. Then, the trierarch was bound by law to restore his trireme at the end of the expedition, in as good condition as he received it, save so far as it was damaged by the acts of the gods or the state's enemies. Thus, the legal and inevitable expenses of a trierarch must have been great, and to them we must add the losses caused in the fourth century by the unpunctuality with which the state (through the trierarch) paid the crew, and by the fact that the state frequently did not provide sufficient men to man the boat.

This method of providing for the despatch of a fleet cannot be said to have been a good one. The burden on the individual trierarch was great, so great that, after the Sicilian expedition, it had to be divided between two syntrierarchs, and after B.C. 358,

¹ Πλήρωμα.

² Ἐπιβάται.

³ Ὑπηρεσία.

⁴ Thuc. i. 121, 143; iii. 16.

⁵ Thuc. vi. 31. At Potidæa and in the Sicilian expedition it was raised to a drachma.

between a still larger number of (5, 6, 7, or even 16) *συντελείς*. Worse, the burden was unfairly distributed (until the reforms of Demosthenes, B.C. 340), for the poorer members of the class liable to it had to pay as much as the richer. But not only was it unfair, it was a dilatory and inefficient method of fitting out a fleet. In the fifth century, indeed, the trierarch was appointed, and his ship assigned to him beforehand. But, in the fourth century, the appointment was not made till the last moment, and then might be delayed by the trierarch's attempts to prove in a law court that he was not legally liable to the service, or that he claimed to be exempted.

In addition to the warships, there were transports for the conveyance of stores, troops, and horses,¹ and the progress of such a squadron was not rapid. The boats were mostly rowed; the sails were only occasionally set. At night the ships were beached; in the day the crews landed even to take their meals, and the approach of a storm was a sign to make for the shore. The average speed of a single ship may have been about five English miles an hour.

In the earliest form of sea-fight, the ships grappled together, and the armed men on board fought. The sailors were only concerned to bring the ships alongside each other, and the engagement was in effect simply a land fight on sea: it was not a naval engagement. It was probably the Athenians who first discovered that the ship itself might be used as a weapon of attack, by which the enemy's vessels might be put *hors-de-combat*. Certainly it was they who brought the tactics of this form of attack to perfection, for the manœuvres required to perform it were such as could only be executed by well-trained crews. These manœuvres were two: the *διέκπλους* and the *περίπλους*. The former consisted in rowing full speed up to the enemy's vessel, then smartly pulling in the oars, and with the beak breaking off all the oars on that side of the enemy's vessel which the attacking ship's beak grazed. The other manœuvre consisted in rowing round and round the enemy until a favourable opportunity was offered for ramming her in the side or stern. Ramming the bows in the space where there were no oars² was a mode of attack which was first effectually employed by the Syracusans,³ and which Athenian ships were too lightly built to execute.

¹ Πλοῖα σιταγωγά, τριήρεις στρατιωτίδες, and ἱππηγοί. The last carried thirty horses each (Thuc. vi. 43).

² The *παρεξειρεσία*.

³ Thuc. vii. 34, 36.

Either of these manœuvres was performed by a single ship, independent of its companions. Combined operations, performed by the co-operation of all the ships in the fleet, were almost unknown. A fleet, superior in numerical strength, but inferior in seamanship, might, if within reach of land, endeavour to drive the enemy's fleet on shore, or, if this was out of the question, might draw up in a circle, with sterns inside and bows projecting outwards, like the spokes of a wheel. If the latter formation was adopted, the method of attack was for the enemy's boats to row round and round, one after another, and by the threat of attacking, to throw the circle into such confusion that an opportunity for the *periplus* or *diekplus* was afforded. Another form of defensive tactics in which the vessels afforded one another support, was to draw up the fleet in two lines, so arranged that the ships in one line were posted so as to cover the intervals between the ships in the other line, and thus the *diekplus* was made impossible. But these tactics were only good as long as there was no fighting. As soon as the ships engaged, the fight was ship against ship, and combined operations were out of the question.

Finally, there was no more thought of annihilating a shattered enemy on sea than on land. The object of a naval, as of a land engagement, was to make the enemy acknowledge their defeat, by asking leave to pick up their dead, and to commemorate that defeat by the erection of a trophy.

BOOK IX

THE THEATRE

CHAPTER I

THE ORIGIN OF THE DRAMA

DRAMATIC performances in ancient Athens were but a part of the festivals, celebrated at certain seasons of the year, in honour of Dionysus; and the origin of the drama is to be looked for in some feature of the worship of the god. There were in that worship several strains of different character, and probably of different origin; but when the drama was at the height of its development, the predominant phase of Dionysus was his character as the god of wine, and consequently, it is in this feature of his worship that the origin of the drama has usually been sought. Thus, the choruses out of which the drama undoubtedly was developed, are identified with the dithyramb, or choral hymn in honour of Dionysus, to which Arion, about 600 B.C., gave literary form and a place in literature. These choruses were sung at the festival of the Lenæa, to celebrate the gathering of the grapes, with rejoicings similar to those of a harvest-home. The worshippers of the god expressed their sympathy with both the joys and the sufferings of the god, hence comedy on the one hand and tragedy on the other. Comedy derived its name from the κῶμος, or band of vintage revellers; tragedy was called the "goat-song" (τραγῳδία), because a goat was, as the Parian Marble testifies, the prize awarded to the victorious singers.

There are, however, some difficulties in the way of this theory. It fails to account for the fact that, in the satyric drama, the chorus were dressed as goats, and were called goats (τράγοι). Yet the theory which is to account for the name τραγῳδία ought also to explain why the satyric chorus dressed as goats—the more so, because Aristotle expressly says in the

Poetics, that tragedy was developed out of the satyric drama. Again, the idea that tragedy derived its mournful cast from the fact that it was the song in which the worshippers sympathetically described the sufferings of their god, has against it the authority of Aristotle, according to whom tragedy was not solemn originally, but satyric, and was developed ἐκ μικρῶν μύθων καὶ λέξεως γελοίας. In the same way, although comedy was undoubtedly the song of the κῶμος, that song was not concerned with the triumphs of the god, but, according to Aristotle, began ἀπὸ τῶν ἐξαρχόντων τὰ φαλλικά—a different thing. Further, one might inquire why the original choruses, whether sung at the Lenæa or at the country Dionysia, should have been in the nature of a harvest (or vintage) home, seeing that the grapes were gathered some months before either festival. And there is a difficulty also about deriving the tragic chorus from the literary dithyramb of Arion, partly because τραγικοί χόροι (Herod. v. 67) were in the field quite as early, at any rate in Sicily, as Arion, and partly because Aristotle says that tragedy originated ἀπὸ τῶν ἐξαρχόντων τὸν διθύραμβον, and the difference between Arion's literary dithyramb and the primitive dithyramb, *e.g.*, as sung by Archilochus, was that the primitive form had an ἐξάρχων (a solo singer), and the literary form had not, but consisted solely of strophes and antistrophes sung by a chorus.

These, then, are the things about which we must speak, for at present we have only raised difficulties in connection with them. To begin with, the finished artistic dithyramb of Arion was performed in courts and cities; the primitive dithyramb, in which the leader sang a solo and the chorus sang a refrain, was left to the unrefined and unprogressive rustics. Next, it is universally agreed that the drama did not originate in Athens, but in the country: it was originally performed at the country Dionysia. Thespis took his plays round the villages of Attica before he found an audience in Athens; and the strongest argument in antiquity in favour of the false derivation of comedy from κώμη was the admitted fact of the country origin of dramatic performances. Now, life is always more primitive and more old-fashioned in the country than in towns; it is in the country that the student of folk-lore looks to find traces of ancient customs and lingering superstitions. If, then, there were in the cult of Dionysus elements of greater antiquity than his worship as the wine-god, it is amongst the ruder and more backward rustic population that we should naturally expect to find them. But there certainly were elements in the worship

of Dionysus older than his cult as the god of wine, for in the time of Homer there was a Dionysus, but he was not a wine-god. Further, we have already seen that the time at which the country Dionysia and the Lenæa were celebrated, viz., about the winter solstice, was not a particularly appropriate time for the celebration of the vintage and the gathering of the grapes; and as festivals and rejoicings at this period of the year were held by many other European peoples who did not grow the vine, the probability is that amongst the Greeks also the rejoicings at the winter solstice were not originally connected with the vintage or with Dionysus as the god of wine. Hence the tragic choruses, which were a portion of these festivities, need not originally have had to do with the wine-god, or with his sufferings at the hands of Lyncurgus, or his triumphs over Pentheus.

The next thing we have to notice is that at the winter solstice festivals of other European peoples the most important ceremony is the appearance of mummers dressed up as bears, boars, wolves, bulls, goats, &c. In Eastern Europe the Christian Church suffered these masquerades to continue, and they still are the great festivals of the moujik. In Western Europe the Church endeavoured, not altogether successfully, to suppress them; the *Indiculus Superstitionum* (tit. xxiv.) forbids them, and St. Firmin denounced those who performed them "on Christmas and other days;" but the *Julbock*, the Yule-buck or bull-calf of Scandinavia, and many other similar survivals amongst Teutons, Celts, and Slavs, testify to the universal prevalence of these ceremonies in former times. It is, then, evident that the worshippers of Dionysus who celebrated the winter solstice by masquerading as goats were doing the same thing, and acting under the influence of the same belief, as the other European peoples just mentioned. The basis of this custom of masquerading at Yule-tide has been shown by Mannhardt to be the belief in the existence of a spirit of vegetation, who makes the crops to grow. This spirit slumbers during the winter, but with the turning of the year comes the time to wake him, and that was the object of the festivals at the winter solstice. But this spirit is supposed to manifest himself in the shape of many various animals, especially in the shape of a goat. Now it is a principle of savage logic—a principle which still receives the honour of being refuted as a fallacy in works on logic—that the cause resembles its effect, that like produces like; hence, if you want an animal to fall into your trap, it is an excellent plan to dress up as the animal in question and fall into the trap.

This is the fundamental principle of the buffalo-dance of the Red Indians, the kangaroo-dances of the Australian aborigines, and the bear-dances of various peoples, including the early Greeks. In the same way primitive man, requiring the presence of the spirit of vegetation and fertility, dresses up in the form of that animal in which the spirit usually manifests himself. Here, then, we have the explanation of the fact that the country worshippers of Dionysus masqueraded as goats; hence they were called not only satyrs, but *τράγοι*; hence their choruses were called *τραγικοὶ χοροί*, their song the goat-song, *τραγωδία*; and hence the actual goat, in which the spirit of vegetation was supposed to be incorporated, was given as a prize, just as at Rome (see Plutarch, *Roman Questions*, 97) the head of the horse, in which the same spirit was supposed to reside, was given as a prize to bring good luck and a good harvest to the victor.

The drama, then, had its origin, not in any literary form of lyric poetry, such as the dithyramb of Arion, but in the folk-songs sung by the country people, who, at the turning of the year, worshipped Dionysus rather as the spirit of vegetation than as the god of wine. The earliest acting, amongst the Greeks as amongst other European peoples, was that of the masqueraders who appeared at the festival of the winter solstice. But amongst the Greeks alone was this masquerading developed into drama by slow degrees; amongst them alone did these mummers' masks attain to be "*les deux masques*" of tragedy and comedy. If we are to frame conjectures as to the cause by which this primitive European masquerading was in Greece turned on to this new line of development, we must probably ascribe it to the anthropomorphic tendency of the Greek mind. To the other Europeans the spirit of vegetation appeared only in animal form; to the Greeks, Dionysus presented himself in the bodily shape of man. In that shape he had adventures such as are alluded to in Homer, and recounted in one of the Homeric hymns. In that shape, too, one of his worshippers, with the aid of a mask, could represent him at his festival, the Dionysia; and thus the new god of wine, who was henceforth to be identified with the familiar spirit of vegetation, could be presented to the eyes of the faithful, even as Pisistratus successfully showed the Thracian garland-seller Phylê to the Athenians as their patron goddess Athênê. But when once the *ἐξάρχων* had performed the part of Dionysus, acting became possible in the place of mere masquerading; and as early as 600 B.C. we find that in Sicyon the hero Adrastus had usurped the place of

the god Dionysus. But though acting had now been decisively differentiated from mumming, this "lyric tragedy," as it is sometimes called, had not become literary: tragedy was at this time, as Aristotle says, *αὐτοσχεδιαστική*, i.e., it was still in the folk-song stage, and the lines probably had about as much literary merit (the *λέξις* was *γελοία*) as those declaimed by the mummers who once, in England, used to perform at Yule-tide "St. George and the Dragon."

Meanwhile, at Megara comedy had been developed out of other ceremonies, forming part of the worship of the spirit of vegetation and fertility, which are indicated in Aristotle's account of the origin of comedy. It was introduced into Attica by Susarion in B.C. 578, at a time when there was as yet no actor; and the *ἐξάρχων* let off coarse and scurrilous impromptus, while the chorus sang traditional folk-songs, of which Aristophanes (*Ach.* 261), in his parody of the procession at the country Dionysia, may give us some idea. The scurrility of comedy did not commend itself to Pisistratus—tyrants have no sense of humour and dread ridicule—and comedy received no recognition or support from the state until the palmy days of democracy under Pericles.

But Susarion's visit to Icaria not only sowed the seeds of comedy in Attica, it may be surmised to have exercised an influence on tragedy, for it was by a native of Icaria that the next step in the development of tragedy was taken: Thespis (about B.C. 536) introduced an actor into tragedy, and thus made dialogue a possibility. Probably the *ἐξάρχων* still continued to be the central figure and the most important person, for the Greek word for actor—*ὑποκριτής*, "answerer"—seems to imply that the actor's business at first was confined to answering occasionally when addressed, and to playing up generally to the *ἐξάρχων*, the leading man. But even this folk-drama, this rustic performance by two men on a cart—"dicitur et plaustris vexisse poemata Thespis"—was so successful at the country Dionysia, that after a time the performers ventured to appear in the market-place of Athens on the occasion of the Lenæa—the festival which took place a month after the country Dionysia, and was to the town what the country festival was to the villages. The new form of entertainment met with the approval of the Pisistratidæ, and was taken under their patronage. To encourage it, a prize was offered for competition between three choruses and their leading men, and the drama thus became state established at Athens.

In all probability, however, the entertainment did not be-

come a drama in the full sense of the word until Æschylus—whose earliest plays were performed with a single actor in the dancing-ring or ὀρχήστρα of the Athenian market-place—ventured to introduce a second actor. But still the leader of the chorus, though no longer indispensable for either dialogue or dramatic action, continued to be an important character in the plays of Æschylus. The introduction of a third actor, however, by Sophocles, some few years before the death of Æschylus, drove the chorus farther into the background, and the Attic drama became fully developed. Even then, however, there were many points of difference between an ancient and a modern theatrical performance; and as it is important not to be misled in our judgment of the former by ideas associated with the latter, it will be advisable briefly to enumerate some of the leading points of difference, before entering into the further details contained in the following chapters.

As we have already seen, the Greek drama was in its origin, and till its end continued to be, a religious function, a part of the worship and festival of Dionysus, whereas the modern drama—even if it did spring from the mediæval mystery plays, and not from the May-games, in which the king and queen of the May and others were the leading characters impersonated—soon and effectually divested itself of all traces of its religious origin.

The next point of difference is that, whereas modern theatres are open practically all the year round, at Athens performances, being part of the Dionysia, only took place at the feasts of Dionysus, *i.e.*, twice, or at the most three times a year. Thus, not only did the drama as a religious function enjoy greater importance at Athens than in a modern country, but even as an entertainment its rarity caused it to be estimated more highly than it is in countries where dramatic performances are a matter of course and of daily occurrence.

The third point of difference will now be intelligible. It is that whereas a modern performance is a matter of a couple of hours, at Athens the performances began at daybreak and continued all day. Several authors competed with each other for the prize, and each tragic poet produced several plays: hence the length of the performances. But to sit out such long performances would have been impossible, if they had been matters of daily occurrence.

The three points of difference which have been mentioned will suffice to show that theatre-going was a very different affair at Athens from what it is in London. We have next

to consider three other differences, which are more important, because they must have exercised considerable influence on the development of the drama. They are that in Athens the drama was (1) state established; (2) open—eventually—free; and (3) attended by the whole body of citizens. The cost of providing plays was undertaken by the state, and the state had a monopoly—private enterprise did not compete with the state in the production of plays. It can scarcely be doubted that this system accounts to some extent for the superiority of the Greek drama to modern playwriting. A modern theatre is a business speculation; it is an enterprise undertaken in order to make money; consequently the plays supplied are those which will draw the largest audiences, and the standard of merit is found in the taste of the majority: but the majority have no taste; the good judges of anything must always be in a minority. Hence in London not only does the number of music-halls steadily increase from year to year, not only are theatres converted into music-halls, but plays themselves are rapidly becoming converted into “variety” entertainments, and the “legitimate drama” can only be made to pay so far as it is occasionally made an excuse for a “spectacular” entertainment. At Athens things were different. The state paid for the production of the drama, and supplied free tickets to citizens who could not afford to pay for themselves. The taint of business and money-making was not upon the dramatic art, nor had the dramatist to consider what would gratify the greatest number. There was no need to play to the gallery, or to write down to the level of the lowest understanding. Again, the size of the audience—the Dionysiac theatre at Athens may have held 30,000 people—must have had a healthy influence on the drama. The praise of a clique is fatal to the development of an artist who mistakes his clique for the world, and its praise for the approval of unbiassed judges. Now a modern theatre is small enough to be filled by the enthusiasm and the plaudits of a section of the population insignificant in proportion to the whole. But the likes and dislikes of a clique would be incapable of attracting even attention in a vast audience of 30,000 persons, much less could they be mistaken for the judgment of the whole body.

The excellence of the Greek drama is sometimes accounted for on the ground that the Athenians were more highly endowed with the critical faculty, and were more appreciative judges of art than any modern people. This may be so, but there are evidently other facts which also deserve to be taken

into account. Thus at Athens, where the plays to be performed were selected by the archon, they were chosen not by, but for the people; whereas, in modern times, they are chosen by the public, inasmuch as a play that does not pay is speedily taken off, and only those plays that "draw" are allowed to run. Thus, there is nothing in modern times to prevent the drama falling just as low as the popular taste demands; but at Athens a line was drawn by the archon, who could prevent inferior plays from being put before the public. Again, when the great period of the Attic drama was over, a test of merit and a standard of taste was still maintained by the custom which ordained that the dramatic contests should begin by the performance of a tragedy by one of the three great tragedians. But there remains a still more important fact to consider in this connection. It is that admission to the Dionysiac theatre was a political right; the theatre was open to the whole citizen population, but not to slaves. Slaves were excluded from the constitution and from the theatre. Now the unskilled labour of Athens was slave labour. Hence at Athens unskilled labour had no vote in politics, and no voice in art. In a modern free state unskilled labour has a vote, even a decisive vote, in politics; and, wherever an art is exploited for commercial purposes, the unskilled labourer must come to have a voice, even a decisive voice, in that art, for it is by hitting the taste of "the million," *i.e.*, of the least critical class in the community, that fortunes are to be made. The law of the survival of the fittest works inexorably. In a democracy, as elsewhere, that form of art survives which is fittest—only "the fittest" is not the highest. It is that form of art which the democracy is fit for. In fact, we find something at work analogous to Gresham's law: as bad coin, when bad and good circulate together, inevitably drives out the good, so good art, in these circumstances, tends to be driven out by bad. This may be because art, when it becomes a money-making business, enters the domain of political economy, and becomes subject to the law of supply and demand; but it is also in part due to the fact that whilst it is only by studying good art that the taste can be raised, good art gives no pleasure to the uncultivated taste, and is therefore naturally neglected in favour of inferior art by those who are only seeking amusement, and have none but themselves to please. At Athens, however, even if the supply of dramatic art had been regulated to meet the demands of the least critical portion of the public, its downward progress would have been arrested at an earlier stage than it can be in

modern free states. As a matter of fact, however, as we have seen, the public did not choose what plays it would see. The drama was not a commercial speculation; dramatic performances were so infrequent that the citizen with no taste had to be content to see a good play rather than none at all. At any rate, it was a religious duty to go; and, finally, the performance on the same day of several plays by several authors, in competition for the dramatic prize, afforded both material and motive for comparing and criticising the various poets.

Having noticed some of the differences between the conditions determining the production of ancient and modern plays, we have now in conclusion to notice some differences in the performances themselves. The orchestra of a modern theatre occupies a narrow space between the pit-stalls and the stage. The orchestra of a Greek theatre was circular in shape, and comprised the space allotted to the pit-stalls and pit of a modern theatre. The audience sat not in hanging galleries, but in ascending tiers of seats scooped out of a hillside. There was no roof to the theatre: all was open to the daylight, and nothing similar to the effects obtained by means of gas and the electric light was known to the Greeks. The scenery—when there came to be some—was probably of the simplest kind, representing the exterior of a temple or house, with just enough detail to indicate what was intended, but not enough to distract the eye from the actors. The stage—if stage there was—formed a tangent to the circle of the orchestra, and was very long and very narrow, so that the total effect produced by the figures of the three tragic actors, and of any supernumeraries there might be on this long strip of stage, was that of a long frieze, with its figures in bas-relief. The actors in tragedy wore masks, and were, by padding and other devices, magnified into heroic proportions, greater than human. The bright colours, scarlet and purple, of their costume made them stand out from the background. Their high-soled boots and padding made vivacity of action impossible, and their masks did not allow of that portraiture of the subtler emotions by the play of the features which is the triumph of the modern actor's art. The vast proportions of the theatre, which made it necessary thus to magnify the apparent proportions of the actor, would also entail a strain upon the voice, which probably led to a sort of intonation of the spoken parts, and accounts for the fact that it was in the lyric or operatic parts that the good actor showed his superiority. As on Shakespeare's stage, women actors were unknown. Finally, to return to the place

from which we started, the orchestra was occupied by the chorus, who not only sang, but, even in tragedy, danced, making a turn round the altar to the right during the strophe, and back again during the strophe, and standing still during the epode.

CHAPTER II

THE BUILDINGS

As the drama was evolved from the chorus of the worshippers of Dionysus, so the theatre was evolved from the place in which that chorus danced and sang—the ὀρχήστρα.¹ In the earliest times all the worshippers joined in the dance round the altar of Dionysus; but when the dances and hymns ceased to be mere improvisations, and became formal performances, prepared and rehearsed beforehand, the choir or chorus alone did the singing and dancing, whilst the other worshippers congregated around them and looked on. The bystanders naturally stood round the chorus in a circle, and, in course of time, the circle reserved for the chorus was permanently marked out and made into an orchestra. Hence, the orchestra of a Greek theatre continued down to the latest classical times to be a perfect circle, with which the stage, when it came into existence, formed a tangent, but on which the stage was not allowed to encroach (Fig. 37). The oldest orchestra in Athens was in the market-place, west of the Areopagus. It consisted of a foundation of polygonal stones, which, on the analogy of later remains, we may conjecture was covered with plaster, and was surrounded by a low wall. On this orchestra the "cyclic" or circular chorus performed in honour of Dionysus the dithyramb, out of which the drama was subsequently evolved. The first step in the evolution of the drama was taken when the author of the dithyramb (who was also the leader and instructor of the chorus) improvised some recitation in the pauses between the

¹ The evolution of the Dionysiac theatre at Athens from the orchestra, though doubted by no one, is partly conjectural. But we know for historic fact that the law of growth, by which an auditorium first was added to the orchestra, and then permanent stage buildings, manifested itself elsewhere than at Athens. We have the evidence of an inscription to prove that at Calymna there was a θέατρον, but that there were no permanent stage buildings until a private citizen erected at his own cost τὰν σκηνὴν καὶ τὸ προσκάνιον. See Mr. Merriam in the *Classical Review*, vol. v. No. 7, p. 343.

dances. The next step was taken when the leader of the chorus, instead of reciting a narrative, acted it in character, and maintained a dialogue with the chorus. He might appear first as a hero announcing his intention of undertaking some enterprise, then, after a change of costume, as the person against whom the enterprise was made, and so on. But, to change his costume, he required a tent, a *σκηνή*, and this tent was, as the name indicates, the beginning of the various buildings which subsequently took its place. The place occupied by the tent is indicated by the buildings which displaced it. It was outside, but touching the circle of the orchestra.

The introduction of acting brought in its train changes in the chorus and additions to the orchestra. When the actor stepped forth from his tent, the chorus no longer continued to surround the altar, but "formed fours," and ranged itself in a rectangular group (*τετράγωνος χορός*) with their faces towards the actor and his tent, ready to be addressed by him. They would thus have effectually blocked the view of the spectators behind them but for two precautions: high wooden platforms were erected for the spectators, who paid two obols for admission; and the actor availed himself of the table on which the offerings and victims had been cut up as a stage on which to get the necessary elevation.¹ The latter primitive device was eventually, probably speedily, cast aside in favour of a special wooden stage (which, as being in front of the tent, was called the *προσκήνιον*); and we may conjecture that at the same time the primitive tent was displaced by a wooden shed behind and forming the back of the stage. Scenery was as yet unknown. This rude, temporary wooden structure in the open market-place, without decoration, without a pretension to any scenic effects even of the simplest kind, more remote from all attempt at illusion than the stage of Shakespeare, was the stage on which some at least of Æschylus' tragedies were produced. But about B.C. 500, during a dramatic contest in which Pratinas, Æschylus, and Chœrilus were the competitors, the high wooden platforms on which the spectators were crowded collapsed. To avoid the repetition of such an accident, a place was sought in which the natural rise of the ground would provide an elevated auditorium, and a slope of this kind was found in the Dionysiac enclosure. Here an orchestra was laid down. The spectators sat on the slope which commanded a view of the orchestra, and

¹ Poll. iv. 123, ἐλεὸς δ' ἦν τράπεζα ἀρχαία ἐφ' ἣν πρὸ Θέσπιδος εἰς τις ἀναβὰς τοῖς χορευταῖς ἀπεκρίνατο.

sat either on the grass or at the most on wooden benches. The stage was probably still a temporary wooden platform with a shed at the back. On this simple stage—which differed from that erected previously in the market-place in little more than that Sophocles introduced some scenery—in this open-air fashion were performed the tragedies of Æschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides, the comedies of Eupolis, Cratinus, and Aristophanes. Finally, nearly half a century after the last of these great dramatists was dead, when the Old Comedy had given place to the New, when tragedy had travelled far from its original form in a direction which we may partly infer from the plays of Euripides and Menander, when the chorus, which was originally the whole, had ceased to be an integral part of the drama, then Lycurgus earned the gratitude of his fellow-citizens¹ by providing them with a permanent theatre, stone seats, and a hall to take refuge in if the weather was bad; but even then probably no permanent stage was erected, a wooden structure still sufficed. Beyond this point it is not necessary to trace the history of the Dionysiac theatre; and the theatre as restored by Lycurgus will only be described so far as is necessary to an understanding of the arrangements before his time. Third-century revivals of the “legitimate drama”—doubtless with new and startling effects—are of secondary interest; what one would like to know is how the plays of the great dramatists were put on the stage when first produced. It is reasonable to suppose that at Athens Lycurgus did but build in stone what previously existed in wood; and this supposition may be accepted as a working hypothesis at least, if the practice of the Athenian stage (as inferred from the surviving dramas) and the notices in the grammarians and lexicographers accord with it.

The auditorium² was divided by fourteen flights of steps into thirteen blocks, and the seats rose in concentric semicircles; and a large number of marble seats have been discovered, which are shown by the inscriptions they still bear to have been reserved seats appropriated to various priests, officials, and dignitaries; and it is interesting to observe that in the front row of the central block was the seat of the priest of Dionysus, the

¹ C. I. A. ii. 240. Mr. Haigh (*Attic Theatre*, 107 and 125) does not believe that the stone theatre as a whole belonged to the latter half of the fourth century. But on what is, primarily at least, an architect's question, I have preferred to follow Dr. Dörpfeld.

² Θέατρον is sometimes used of the auditorium, sometimes of the audience, and sometimes of the whole building, like our expression “the house.”

patron god of the festival, while elsewhere a seat was reserved for the priestess of Athênê.

The orchestra in the Dionysiac theatre, as in that at Epidaurus, was a perfect circle, encroached on neither by the auditorium nor by the stage (Fig. 37). It was on a level with the lowest step of the auditorium, and was separated from the front row of seats (Fig. 38) by an open channel of water, bridged over at the

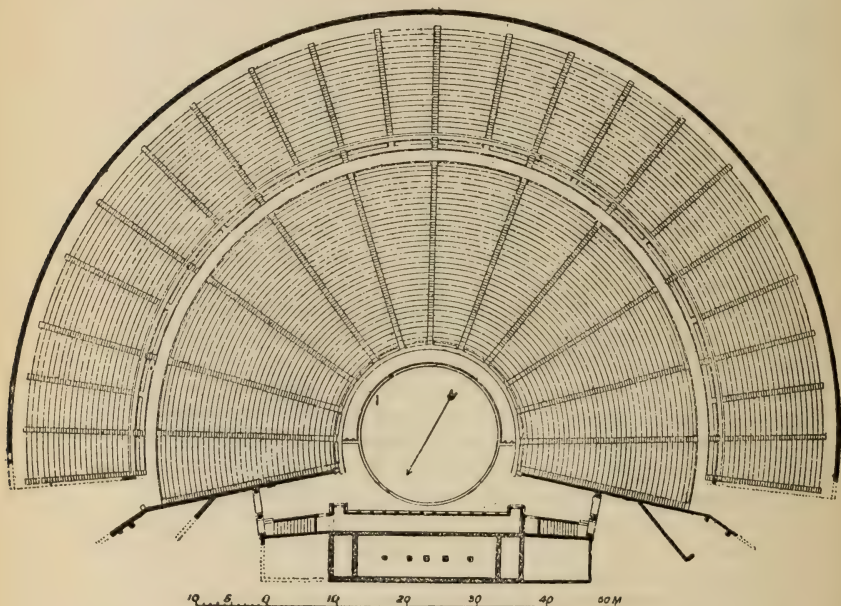


FIG. 37.—THE THEATRE AT EPIDAUROS. (From HERMANN-MÜLLER.)

foot of each of the fourteen flights of steps. No remains of a stage, or of the foundations for a stage, in the time of Lycurgus have been discovered. What has been discovered is a large room with two projections right and left, each measuring about 20 feet deep and 28 feet broad, and leaving between them a space of about 80 feet. In later times a piece has been cut off from each of these projections, and a permanent wall,¹ decorated with

¹ Dörpfeld, from whom the above facts and figures are taken, calls this wall the proscenium, and regards the proscenium as a permanent scene.

pillars, and about 10 feet high, has been built between them. In the time of Lyeurgus, however, before the projections were reduced, the wooden stage, scenery, &c., must have been erected in the space between them, which measures about 80 feet broad by 20 feet deep. But, as the wooden stage has left no traces, we must turn to Polyclitus' theatre at Epidaurus for further instruction as to the arrangement of the stage, &c. (Fig. 37). We there find a permanent stage built, which is about 10 feet deep¹ and about 95 feet broad. It does not touch the circumference of the orchestra anywhere, but at its nearest point is separated by about 1 foot. It is 12 feet high, and is approached, on each side, by a flight of steps. At the bottom of each flight is a doorway, and in the same line with this doorway, and separated

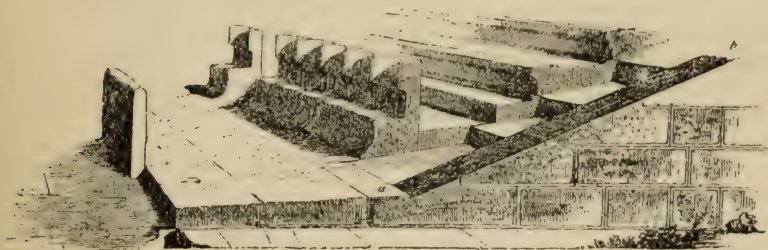


FIG. 38.—FRONT ROW OF SEATS IN THE DIONYSIAC THEATRE. (SCHREIBER, II. 6.)

from it by only a pillar, is another doorway. Through the latter, during the performance, the chorus marched into the orchestra; while, before the performance, the spectators entered the theatre by it. The former doorway was that by which the actors entered, and the passage from it, up the steps on to the stage, was called the *paraskenion*. The passage from the other door to the orchestra was called the *parodos*.² As regards direct

By *proscenium* is usually meant, in a Greek theatre, the stage itself (which is also called *σκηνή*, *ὀκρίβας*, *βῆμα*, or *λογεῖον*). *Σκηνή*, originally the tent, comes to mean the "scene" in front of the tent, and then the stage (= "the boards"), and then the whole of that part of the theatre in which the actors appear.

¹ By Dörpfeld's measurements, 2.41 mtr. (*Herm. G. A.* iii. 109).

² The two passages together might be called *αἱ κάτω πάροδοι*, in contradistinction to the entrances through the scene, which were *αἱ ἄνω πάροδοι*. See Oehmichen in *Berl. Phil. Woch.*, 1887, No. 33. In the space below,

communication between the stage and the orchestra, there are no traces of any permanent steps. Communication, then (if any), must have been by means of temporary wooden steps, probably leading down from the middle of the stage, where it is nearest the orchestra.

Thus far the traditional view, which finds in the proscenium of the Epidaurian theatre the stage on which the actors trod. But Dr. Dörpfeld rejects the traditional view,¹ on the grounds that the proscenium is too high and too narrow ever to have been used as a stage, and because, as a matter of fact, there are no steps from the proscenium to the orchestra. The proscenium is too narrow, because an actor would be in perpetual danger of falling off a stage only 8 or 9 feet wide; too high, because the coryphæus could not carry on a conversation with a man twelve feet above him; and the decorations on the front of the proscenium show that there never were steps. But if the proscenium was not the stage, then there was no stage. Therefore the actors must have performed in the orchestra, just in front of the proscenium, on which the scenery (if required) was hung. Hence, they are said by Aristotle to be ἀπὸ σκηνῆς (*Poetics*, 12), just as a ship might be ἀπὸ (off) Λήμνον.

Now, the proscenium cannot have been the back wall or scene through which the actors made some of their entrances and exits, because both Pollux (iv. 124, 126) and Vitruvius (v. 6) testify that the back wall of the stage had three doors, whereas the proscenium has only one. Further, there is an objection to the theory that the actors performed in the orchestra, to which no satisfactory reply is as yet forthcoming. The chorus, when, during the dialogue, it was drawn up in a solid body in front of the actors, would completely block the view of the occupants of the lowest row of seats (Fig. 38), and the lowest seats were those occupied by the most distinguished persons, and assigned, as a great honour (proedria), to their occupants. Nor is this objection met by Dr. Dörpfeld's rejoinders (that the cothurnus would lift the actor above the choreutæ, and that the chorus divided into semi-choruses, which stood aside and revealed the actors), for the cothurnus would only give the

the steps of the parascenia doors have been discovered, which communicate with the rooms behind the stage. Through these doors the chorus may have come from behind the scenes, when it was time for them to march along the parodos on to the orchestra.

¹ Hence, in the text is given a brief summary of the dispute as to the place of the actors. No attempt has been made to assign the various arguments to their respective authors, Prof. Jebb, Mr. Haigh, Mr. E. A. Gardner, Mr. H. Richards, and others.

spectators a view of the tragic actor's head (with occasional glimpses of his body), and the comic actor, having no cothurnus, and having a chorus of twenty-four, would be quite invisible; while, as to the semi-choruses, the chorus was divided, but rarely, and then not during dialogue. We have evidence (Anon. *de Com.*, Dindf. *Prolegom. de Com.* p. 29; *Vit. Aristoph.* *ibid.*, p. 36; Schol. *Ar. Equit.* 505) to show that the chorus stood in rectangular formation in front of the actors; and wherever the supposed semi-choruses stood, in an orchestra surrounded by spectators they must equally have blocked somebody's view. Again, if the actors, being in the orchestra, acted in front of the proscenium, then, as the latter is practically a tangent to the circle of the orchestra, the actors would at one moment be within and at another without the circle. This is improbable, partly because it is not likely that the Greeks, with their notion of limit, would have allowed the actors to encroach on the circle sacred to the cyclic dances, and partly because the orchestra seems to have been surrounded by a wall (Fig. 38), over which it would have been awkward for an actor to be perpetually climbing (in cothurni).

But the theory that the actors performed in the orchestra is only an inference, a mere inference. It is not an inference from a great body of evidence or a large number of facts; it is an inference from one premiss, and one premiss only. That premiss is that the proscenium at Epidaurus (and elsewhere) "cannot" have been a stage. What, then, is the evidence for that premiss? There is no evidence for it; there is simply the opinion—entitled to all respect—expressed by Dr. Dörpfeld, that the proscenium is too high, and too narrow to have ever been a stage. There is no evidence for this solitary premiss, but there is evidence against it—definite and explicit evidence. Vitruvius (v. 7) gives a description which is unanimously admitted to be the description of such a proscenium as actually exists at Epidaurus and elsewhere, and he says explicitly that the actors performed on (not in front of) that proscenium. He is speaking of the performances of Greek plays in Greek theatres, performances which he had doubtless witnessed many times. We have, therefore, the testimony of an eye-witness, that about A.D. 20, the actors performed on, and not in front of, the proscenium. In fine, at that time, at any rate, the proscenium was a stage. It is expressly called by Vitruvius a *λογεῖον*. Its function was to raise the actors. But now, there are a number of ancient proscenia still existing, which range in date from the time of Vitruvius to the fourth century B.C. At

Eretria, for instance, not only has the proscenium been discovered, but the doors of the dressing-room opening on to it, as they should, if it is the stage. And, to place the matter beyond possibility of doubt, an inscription has recently been found in the theatre of Delos, which identifies the proscenium of that theatre with the *λογεῖον*. It follows, therefore, that, throughout the first four centuries B.C., the actors performed on an elevated stage, on the proscenium, which is identified, beyond doubt, with the *λογεῖον*, the actors' speaking-place. So much for the evidence of the proscenia themselves. But further, there are a number of vases, belonging to the first three centuries B.C., and coming from lower Italy, bearing representations of theatrical performances, in which a raised stage is depicted, and the actors are represented as being on the stage (Figs. 39 and 40). To say that these vases do not represent the Greek type of theatre is to beg the question: they come from Magna Græcia, they represent the performances given to a people Greek in their habits, and the stages depicted bear in some cases, on their front walls, the same kind of decorations as occur on the front walls of proscenia which are admittedly Greek.

To these two parallel lines of evidence, drawn from the monuments themselves and from the vases, a third remains to be added, strong enough in itself to prove the existence of a raised stage. This is the literary evidence. It consists of a series of passages (Hesych., Suid. and Phot. *s.v.* ὄκριβας, Scholl. ad. Ar. *Eq.* 149, 505; *Ran.* 181, 297; *Pax* 234, 727; *Lys.* 321; Dindf. Proll. de Comm. pp. 21, 29, 36; Dübner Proll. de Com., p. 20; Plut. *Dem.* 34; *Thes.* 16; Phrynichus, p. 163, Lobeck; Poll. iv. 123; Horace, *A.P.* 279), in which the writers say, or clearly imply, that the acting-place was distinct from the orchestra, and raised above the level of the orchestra. Most of these writers lived when Greek plays were performed in Greek theatres, and those who did not, derived their tradition from those who did. This line of evidence, which stretches back to the third century B.C., may be, with great probability, continued into the fourth, for Aristotle, in the *Poetics*, repeatedly (13.6, 16.1, 24.4, 24.8) uses the phrase, ἐπὶ τῆς σκηνῆς, in which *σκηνή* can scarcely mean the orchestra, or any part of it, and ἐπὶ naturally means "on," and implies elevation. In this case the phrase ἀπὸ σκηνῆς, which occurs twice in the *Poetics*, will resemble our expressions, "speaking from a platform," or "from the stage."

There remains the question of the steps by which communication, when necessary, was effected between the stage and the



FIG. 39.—RAISED STAGE.
(Scene on a Vase from Nola—Schreiber, III. 3.)

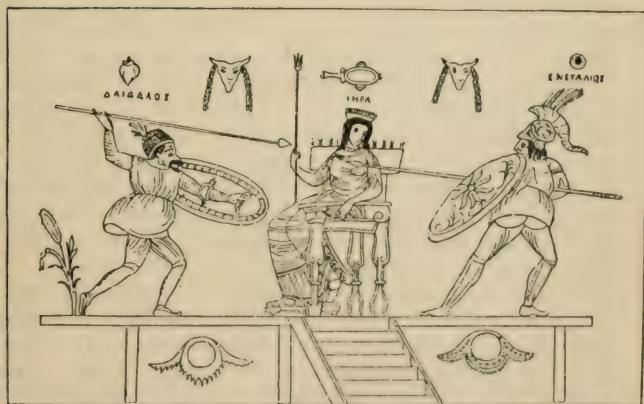


FIG. 40.—STEPS FROM RAISED STAGE TO ORCHESTRA.
(Scene on a Vase from Bari, British Museum, 1433—Schreiber, V. 13.)

orchestra. Some of the existing proscenia are admitted to have had no permanent steps, because steps would have concealed the permanent decorations on the front of the proscenia. Others, again, have been recently discovered, *e.g.*, at Tralles and Magnesia (though these are late and peculiar in construction), which have a double flight of steps, leading up from the orchestra to the proscenium; and Dr. Dörpfeld admits, that one of these was a stage ten feet high, on which the actors performed. The evidence of the vases is of the same nature: some of the stages are represented as having steps (Fig. 40), others as having none (Fig. 39). The literary evidence also tends in the same direction. Two writers (Poll. iv. 127; Athenæus, *de Mach.* p. 29) compare the stage steps to scaling-ladders, which seems to indicate that the stage steps were temporary, and easily removed. The inference from all three classes of evidence then is, that, where there were no permanent steps, wooden steps were employed in those plays which required them. The objection that the temporary steps would conceal (temporarily) the decorations of the proscenium has little weight. The argument that the wooden steps would stretch a long way into the orchestra depends for its value on how much room the chorus wanted for its performances in the orchestra, and we are ignorant on that point. But the existence of permanent steps at Tralles and Magnesia (to say nothing of Megalopolis) shows that it was not impossible for temporary steps to be used elsewhere. Finally, it has been suggested that the stage steps referred to by Pollux and Athenæus were not steps from the stage to the orchestra, but such as the Pædagogue, in *Phæn.* 190, sets for Antigone to mount from the street to the palace roof. But, even if these steps resembled scaling-ladders, so also may the steps from the stage to the orchestra. It is, however, more likely that Athenæus, seeking to make clear to his readers the nature of the military ladder, would refer to something comparatively familiar, such as the steps from stage to orchestra, than to something so extremely rare, as a ladder carried by a tragic actor.

There is evidence, then, to show that, during the first four centuries B.C., there was a raised stage having communication, permanent or temporary, with the orchestra. On the other hand, the solitary premiss on which the opposite view is based—Dr. Dörpfeld's opinion that a stage twelve feet high is an impossibility—has been somewhat weakened by Dr. Dörpfeld's admission that one such stage exists as a fact. But if the stage of the Greek theatre was a raised stage during the

first four centuries, the presumption is that it was a raised stage in the fifth century B.C. also. And this presumption is materially strengthened by the fact that the writers referred to in the last paragraph but one believed that the stage of the fifth century was an elevated stage.

To these writers we may now add the testimony of Plato (*Symp.* 194A), who speaks of a tragic poet as ἀναβαίνοντος ἐπὶ ὀκρίβαντα μετὰ τῶν ὑποκριτῶν. That the ὀκρίβας was something raised is universally admitted. That it was the θυμέλη (altar) is a modern conjecture, supported by no testimony, ancient or otherwise. But the Lexicon of Timæus identifies it with the λογεῖον, and the inscription in the theatre of Delos identifies the λογεῖον with the proscenium. Further, the verb ἀναβαίνειν, used by Plato, is the word used by Aristophanes of an actor making his appearance on the stage, as the opposite, καταβαίνειν, is used in the sense of "exit" (*Eq.* 148; *Vespæ*, 1342 and 1514;¹ *Ach.* 732; *Eccl.* 1152); and these verbs, literally meaning to ascend and descend respectively, could not have acquired the meanings of "come on" and "exit," unless the actor had, originally, at any rate, had to ascend an elevation, in order to become and remain visible to the spectators, and to descend, in order to disappear. If, as has been objected, the actor only remained on the elevation whilst speaking, the verbs would only have acquired the meaning of "speaking" and "ceasing to speak," not "enter" and "exit."

As for the evidence of the theatres themselves, it is generally agreed that there is no stone proscenium dating from the fifth century, and that the proscenia (if any) of that age must have been made of wood. Now, as wood perishes so easily, the absence of wooden proscenia from the remains would be no argument against their having once existed. But, as a matter of fact, at Sicyon, traces of an earlier wooden proscenium have been discovered beneath the foundations of the later proscenium, and at Megalopolis also similar traces have been found.

We may, then, reasonably suppose that there was an elevated wooden stage in the theatres of the fifth century B.C. It does not, however, follow from this that the wooden stage was of exactly the same height as the stone proscenia. Such evidence as we have points the other way. Pollux says that, before

¹ *Vesp.* 1514:—καταβατέον may mean *descendendum est in certamen*, but is more naturally taken in its literal sense.

Thespis, it was on a dresser (ἐλᾶός) that the actor mounted; Horace, in his line "dicitur et plaustri vexisse poemata Thespis," seems to allude to a tradition that Thespis acted on a waggon; and his statement that Æschylus "*modicis instravit pulpita tignis*," implies that the stage of Æschylus was lower than that of subsequent tragedians. Now, whatever the sources of these traditions—that of Pollux has been supposed to be a comedy burlesquing the origins of tragedy, a hypothesis which fails, however, to account for the other two traditions—they do harmonise with the history of tragedy as known to us. In the beginning, the chorus was everything; tragedy was an affair between the chorus and its leader. Then an actor was introduced, then a second, then a third; and the chorus' concern in the action of the play was proportionately diminished at each step, until, in the plays of Euripides, the chorus is an encumbrance, destructive of dramatic illusion, which he cannot suppress, but does try to ignore. Parallel with this process in the internal development of the drama, we have a similar development of the stage, which, as being the acting-place, increases in importance with the increasing importance of the actors. When there was no actor, there was no stage, but a dresser or waggon. The single actor performed on a stage of "*modicis tignis*," which allowed of easy and ready communication between actor and chorus; and the plays of Euripides, which require the chorus to be ignored as far as possible, were performed on a stage so high that the spectator, to see the actors, must overlook the choreutæ.

As yet, nothing has been said of the evidence to be drawn from individual plays themselves, or particular passages in those plays; the reason is that the evidence is not, and from the nature of the case cannot be, conclusive. Let it be granted that the action of a play requires, at certain points, contact between the actors and the choreutæ: it does not therefore follow that there was no stage, and that the actors were always in the orchestra. That hypothesis would indeed account for the facts of the case; but the facts are equally well explained by the assumption that the stage was low, and communication easy. However, for the sake of completeness, let us inquire whether there is anything in the practice of the Athenian stage, as indicated in the extant plays of the period, which is inconsistent, even with a stage ten feet deep and twelve feet above the orchestra. In the first place, we have the cases in which the chorus undoubtedly did come on by the stage and descend into the orchestra; or ascend from the orchestra, and make their

exit by either the central door in the scene, or by one of the side exits.¹ The entrance or exit of the chorus by the central door, and the steps opposite it, which led to the orchestra, causes no difficulty; and on a stage fifty feet long, a chorus of fourteen or fifteen people could have had no difficulty in filing out by a side exit. Indeed, it is obvious that, if they stood in a row, even half the length of the stage would suffice to accommodate them all, and yet leave room for the actors. If, therefore, it is necessary to believe, that in the *Suppliant Women* of Euripides the chorus did actually embrace the knees of Æthra (l. 8), there would certainly be room on the stage for the whole of the chorus; as also, in the *Orestes*, round the bed of the hero, especially if half the chorus were on one side of Æthra or Orestes, and half on the other. In fine, we may conclude that, as regards tragedy, a stage the size of that at Epidaurus was amply large enough to accommodate the chorus on the comparatively rare occasions when it was necessary for the chorus to appear upon the stage. These occasions we have carefully to distinguish from the passages in which the leader of the chorus takes a part in the dialogue of the play. Where the leader of the chorus stood, then, is matter for conjecture: hardly in the orchestra, for not only would he be too far below and too far away from the actors, but he would have to turn his back on most, if not all, of the audience. Whether he stood on the steps which led from the orchestra to the stage, or on the stage itself, there is nothing to show. But the latter position in a theatre as large and as open as were Greek theatres, was obviously recommended by the necessity under which actors lay of turning their faces to the audience, and not sideways, in order that their voices might travel to the whole of the spectators as they sat on the hillside.

We next have to consider how far a stage only ten feet deep could accommodate a comic chorus of twenty-four persons, and afford space for the lively part which the comic chorus takes in the action of the play. There is a well-known passage in the *Knights* of Aristophanes,² which reads as though the chorus chased and buffeted Cleon on the stage; another in the *Acharnians*,³ where one-half of the chorus seems to struggle on the stage with the other half; and either passage is enough to indicate that a ten-foot stage would be inadequate for the action

¹ *E.g.*, Æsch. *Eum.* 185; *Cho.* 10; *Pers.* 1068; cf. 1076; Eur. *Hcl.* 327-385, 315-527; other instances are quoted in Herm. *G. A.* iii. 126, but admit of explanation.

² 247 παῖε παῖε τὸν πανοῦργον, κ.τ.λ.

³ 563 ff.

required. But a closer examination of the passages referred to will show that it is not necessary to assume that the chorus ascended the stage. In the *Acharnians*, the struggle between the two halves of the chorus took place in the orchestra, and was a struggle on one side to mount the stage, and on the other to prevent the ascent. In the *Knights*, there is a clear indication¹ that it was by the pair of conspirators, Demosthenes and the sausage-seller, that Cleon was buffeted, while the chorus in the orchestra below only contributed threatening gestures and cries.²

Finally, there are passages in which the actors seem to have been in the orchestra, and not on the stage. Such are the passage in the *Frogs* (297), already referred to; or that in the *Peace* (905), where Trygæus apparently delivers Theoria into the hands of the Prytanis as he sat in his reserved seat. On the one hand, it is quite possible to maintain³ that the action here was only make-believe, and was not actually carried out. On the other hand, it would undoubtedly add much to the humour of the scene, if, for instance, in the *Frogs*, Dionysus did really rush up to his own priest; and it was not impossible or difficult for a comic actor, in sock not buskin, to descend into the orchestra.

It seems, then, that the evidence of the plays is not incompatible with the assumption, even of a "Vitruvian stage;" but this fact is not conclusive, because the plays are also reconcilable with the assumption that the acting-place was on a level with the orchestra. The evident pains, however, which are taken to prevent the chorus in the *Knights*, *Acharnians*, and *Wasps* from actually coming to blows with the actors, seem to indicate that in Aristophanes' time, at any rate, communication

¹ 257 ὡς ὑπ' ἀνδρῶν τύπτομαι ξυνωμοστῶν.

² The other passages, which seem (but fail) to show the chorus in motion on the stage, are: Ar. *Av.* 353-400, where the chorus only threaten the stage, and do not actually get on to it; *Vesp.* 403-458, where again the wasps try to swarm the stage, but only try; *Pax*, 426-550, a difficult passage, resolved by 224, which shows that the cave was lower than the stage, i.e., in the orchestra, and that therefore the chorus do not mount the stage; *Lys.* 266-326, 476-483, 539-547, 1242, which are all equally reconcilable with the supposition that the chorus remained in the orchestra. As for Ar. *Ach.* 325, *Eq.* 490, these passages only show that the chorus, or the leader, was near—not on—the stage. As regards tragedy, in Eur. *Hel.* 1627, and Soph. *O. C.* 856, the leader alone need be on the stage; in *Æsch. Sept.* 95, and *Supp.* 222, the chorus need only approach, not mount, the stage; in *Æsch. P. V.*, it seems to me that at 129 the chorus enter the orchestra, and at 279 approach the stage.

³ As has been done: Arnoldt, *Chorparteien* 56; Wecklein, *Phil. Rundschau*, 1884, No. 37.

was not altogether easy ; and this harmonises with the theory that the wooden stage, which in the beginning was low, gradually increased in height, until at the end of the fifth century it may have been as high as the Vitruvian stage.

Nor is the evidence of the plays more conclusive as regards stage machinery and appliances, for stage effects which could not be produced on a mere temporary wooden proscenium, may be explained as well on the hypothesis that they, like Shakespeare's scenery, were left to the imagination of the spectators, as on the theory that there was no stage at all.

Finally, Dr. Dörpfeld's idea that a proscenium, twelve feet high and nine feet wide, was too high and too narrow to be a stage, even if it were correct—and all the evidence, as we have seen, is against it—would not apply to the fifth century B.C., for the wooden proscenia may, for anything we know, have been as low and as wide as you please. And, this being so, there is no reason to infer, either that the actors performed in the orchestra, or that a platform (*θυμέλη*) was erected (as some writers have supposed) to bring the chorus almost on to a level with the stage.

CHAPTER III

SCENERY

WITH what amount of scenic illusion the three great tragedians put their plays upon the stage is a most interesting question. To begin with, most of the plays of Æschylus can have had no scenery whatever. Some were played in the open market-place ; and even when the orchestra was transferred, about B.C. 500, to the Lenæum, scenery was not forthwith introduced. The introduction of scene-painting was, according to Aristotle, due to Sophocles ; and, therefore, if it took place during the life of Æschylus at all, can only have occurred in the last ten years of his life. Sophocles' earliest drama dates B.C. 469, Æschylus' last play, B.C. 458. The ancient building, to which the chorus in the *Persæ* (produced, B.C. 472) allude,¹ must thus have existed solely in the eye of the beholder, and the same was probably the case with the temple in the *Seven against Thebes* (produced, B.C. 467). The

¹ 140 τὸδ' ἐνεχόμενοι στέγος ἀρχαῖον, and the χρυσεοστόλους δόμους of 159, were put on the stage at no other cost than that of the poet's imagination.

date of the *Prometheus Bound* is unknown, but it is plainly impossible to maintain¹ that within ten years of the introduction of scene painting a play ended with a tremendous scenic spectacle, in which the rock of Prometheus split, to the accompaniment of (stage) thunder and lightning, and Prometheus himself disappeared before the eyes of the spectators. Indeed, we may go further, and say that, not even the dullest of antiquaries could be excused for imagining that, at the beginning of the play, Prometheus was realistically hammered with stage nails on to a stage rock. The fact that Hephæstus carefully explains, in set words, that he is now about to nail Prometheus to this inhuman rock, is itself plain proof that he was going to leave the proceeding to the imagination of the audience—else, why explain so carefully? We know that Shakespeare was spared the limelight, and that is precisely the reason why we are fortunate enough to possess the lines—

“How sweet the moonlight sleeps upon this bank. . . .
Look how the floor of heaven
Is thick inlaid with patines of bright gold.”²

Shakespeare could not have written up the lime-light in that way. So, too, when Æschylus³ described the thunder and lightning which were to overwhelm Prometheus, and the chasm which was to engulf Prometheus, and the rock on which he was bound, he was writing as a poet, not as the composer of the “puff preliminary.” But why confine ourselves, in drawing inferences, to a single passage in the play? If the passage just alluded to may be legitimately used to illustrate the stage of Æschylus, why not also that⁴ in which he describes an earth-

¹ As is done in Hermann *G. A.* iii. 113, n. 3, on the strength of *P. V.* 1018 (quoted below). ² *Merchant of Venice*, v. 1.

³ *P. V.* 1018:—

Πρώτα μὲν γὰρ ὀκρίδα
Φάραγγα βροντῇ καὶ κεραυνία φλογὶ
Πατὴρ σπαράξει τήνδε, καὶ κρύψει δέμας
Τὸ σὸν, πετραία δ' ἀγκάλῃ σε βαστάσει.

⁴ *P. V.* 1080:—

Καὶ μὴν ἔργῳ κοῦκ ἔτι μυθῷ
Χθὼν σεσάλευται
Βροχία δ' ἡχώ παραμυκᾶται
Βροντῆς, ἔλικες δ' ἐκλάμπουσι
Στεροπῆς ζάπυροι, στρόμβοι δὲ κόνιν
Εἰλίσσουσι, σκιρτᾷ δ' ἀνέμων
Πνεύματα πάντων, εἰς ἄλληλα
Στάσιν ἀντίπνουν ἀποδεικνύμενα
Συντετάρακται δ' αἰθὴρ πόντης.

quake? If it be replied that the reason for not taking this passage as a literal description of stage effects actually produced in the time of Æschylus, is that they were then impossible, and if the bounds of possibility are to be regarded as the sole limits which the Three recognised in staging their plays, it will follow that the opening scene of the *Ajax* of Sophocles was staged with—real sheep! They were plenty in Athens. There would be the victims offered on the θυμέλη; and, if further proof is necessary, we may refer to a passage, which antiquaries have not yet utilised, in which a real sheep was brought on the Athenian stage by Aristophanes (*Peace*, 1020).

But if we prefer to hold that the Lenæum and the Lyceum (London) were conducted on different principles, we shall believe that the dramatists who required their audience to imagine that it was the dead of night, when it was really broad day,¹ were also capable of describing storms,² destructions of cities,³ &c., which they left to the imagination of the audience, and not to the ἀρχιτεκτων of the theatre, to realise. We shall believe that the poet, who left the lightning to be supplied by the spectators, left also the thunder, and that the machine for producing stage-thunder⁴ was the invention of a later age. We shall take it as a general rule that a set description of a possible (or impossible) stage effect was intended by the dramatist as a deliberate substitute for a set piece. We must, consequently, decline to admit that, in the *Suppliant Women*⁵ of Euripides, Evadne actually threw herself from a rock, or even had any stage-rock to throw herself from. In the theatres with permanent stone stages, which Pollux and Vitruvius knew in later times, the back of the stage was doubtless built in two or three storeys, and, doubtless, also, in post-classical revivals of the *Agamemnon*, the appearance of the watchman on the *distegia*⁶ was an unrivalled attraction.⁷ But in the time of Æschylus, we

¹ *E.g.*, Eur. *El.* 54; Ar. *Nub.* 2.

² Soph. *O. C.* 1502.

³ Eur. *Troad.* 1320.

⁴ *Ibid.* 1015, 1045, 1069.

⁵ Poll. iv. 130, βροντεῖον. If we may trust the writer de *Comed.* (ed. Dübner), xx. 28, χειροτινάκτω πυρί, stage-lightning, was also invented. Whether it was produced by means of torches, as Muhl suggests, or otherwise, as Lohde, is of little interest. Stage-lightning in an open-air theatre will hardly be considered as a worthy or likely part of the scenic effects at the command of Æschylus or Sophocles.

⁶ Poll. iv. 129, ἡ δὲ διστεγία ποτὲ μὲν ἐν οἴκῳ βασιλεῖω διῆρες δωμάτιον, οἶον ἀφ' οὗ ἐν Φονίσσαις ἡ Ἀντιγόνη βλέπει τὸν στρατόν—Pollux refers to *Phæn.* 89—ποτὲ δὲ καὶ κέραμος ἀφ' οὗ βάλλονσι τῷ κεράμῳ—to Eur. *Or.* 1567.

⁷ The same considerations apply to Vitruv. v. 6, 8; Poll. iv. 129, ἐν δὲ κωμῳδίᾳ ἀπὸ τῆς διστεγίας πορνοβοσκοί τι κατοπτέουσιν, κ. τ. λ., and Ar. *Lys.* 864, 874, 883; *Eccl.* 877, 884, 924, 930, 961; *Vesp.* 379, 387, 396.

may be sure that the stage itself was regarded, by the courtesy of the spectators, as a palace-roof, that Zeus and his court of attendant deities appeared, in the *Psychostasia* of Æschylus, on the ordinary stage, and that the *θεολογείον* in the flies, which Pollux mentions,¹ was post-classical.

The *περίακτοι*, which belong to post-classical times, cannot be ascribed, on any evidence, to the age of the three great tragedians, and they evidently presuppose something stronger than a wooden stage, for they were huge prisms, revolving on a pivot, having on each side a different scene. One was placed at each side of the stage, where the side scenes of a modern stage are, and they were turned round, to indicate a change of scene. On the other hand, trap-doors (*ἀναπίεσματα*) were quite practicable in the wooden stage of Æschylus, and may have been used in the *Persæ*, though in that play the ghost of Darius might be supposed to have ascended by the *χαρώνιοι κλίμακες*, if we knew exactly what they were.

As for the chariots in the *Prometheus*,² the *Agamemnon*,³ and various plays of Euripides,⁴ which some antiquaries have maintained were brought on the stage, we cannot but reflect that their chariot wheels would drive somewhat heavily up the stairs which led to the stage, and the real horses we must class with the real sheep of the *Ajax*.⁵

Finally, there was no curtain in the Greek theatre; and, therefore, at the end of the play, the actors must have walked off, and if supposed at the beginning to be "discovered," must have walked on before the eyes of the beholders.

That scene painting was introduced by Sophocles, we have the authority of Aristotle to show. That a scene was really used on the ancient stage is perhaps more satisfactorily guaranteed by the great care the ancient playwrights took never to

¹ Poll. iv. 130, ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ θεολογείου ὄντος ὑπὲρ τὴν σκηνὴν ἐν ὕψει ἐπιφαίνονται θεοί, ὡς ὁ Ζεὺς καὶ οἱ περὶ αὐτὸν ἐν ψυχαστασίᾳ.

² 284.

³ 782.

⁴ *Trö.* 568 and 774; *El.* 998, 1135; *Iph. Aul.* 610.

⁵ A. Müller (*Herm. G. A.* iii. 134, n. 1) agrees with Wecklein (*Phil. Anz.* xiii. 441), that "there is nothing against the appearance of horses and chariots on the *λογεῖον*," and regards Æsch. *Eum.* 405, πῶλοις ἀκμαίοις τόνδ' ἐπιζεύξασ' ὄχον, as "decisive." But the same method of argument will require us to believe, that in the *P. V.*, Oceanus appeared on a pantomime griffin, and the words—

τὸν πτερυγκῇ τόνδ' οἰωνὸν
γνώμη στομίῳν ἄτερ εὐθύων,

will be an apology for the property-man's having omitted to provide it with reins.

change it. When scenery is quite unknown, there is no reason why the playwright should not change the scene with the greatest frequency, as is done by Shakespeare. But the case is different when scenery is in its infancy. The difficulty of changing the scene may be so great as practically to make a change of scene impossible. It has frequently been stated that *περίακτοι* were used on the classical Greek stage to effect a change of scenery, as regards the side wings, and that a curtain could be raised in front of the stage, or at least of the scene, to conceal the process of change from the audience. There is, however, as has already been said, no evidence to show, or reason to make it likely, that there was anything in the nature of side wings, or of a curtain, in the time of the great tragedians. It is, therefore, of interest to observe that the only instances in Greek drama in which a change of scene is intended by the playwright, are the *Eumenides* of Æschylus, and the *Ajax*, an early play of Sophocles. After the time of this last play, no change of scene was attempted, and about this time scene painting was introduced. It may, then, not be unreasonable to infer a causal connection between the two. Be this as it may, there is no doubt that the introduction of scene painting was followed by the introduction of other stage effects. In enumerating these, we shall confine ourselves to such stage devices as can be shown, by contemporary evidence, to have been used on the classical stage.

The first machine that we have to mention is the *ἐκκύκλημα*. We probably have to represent this to ourselves as a sort of trolley, that is, as a few boards nailed together, and mounted on wheels. It was big enough, perhaps, for two or three people to stand on, or for a chair to be placed upon it. The evidence for the use of this machine in classical times is to be found in two passages of Aristophanes—*Thesm.* 95 f., and *Ach.* 408 f.—while the name and the description rest on the authority of Pollux iv. 128, and various scholiasts. The way in which it might be used is illustrated by the passages in Aristophanes. In the first passage referred to, Euripides and Mnesilochus are represented as paying a visit to Agathon. They arrive at the house at the moment when Agathon is about to come out. "Hush!" says Euripides. "What is it?" says Mnesilochus. "Agathon is coming out."—"Agathon?"—"Yes! there he is being wheeled out." And then Agathon is wheeled on to the stage, accompanied by the chorus. In the scene which follows, Mnesilochus is dressed up as a woman by Agathon, who has apparently brought the necessary properties with him on the

ἐκκύκλημα. The passage in the *Acharnians* is of precisely the same nature : Dicæopolis calls on Euripides, in order to borrow a dramatic costume from him. On a modern stage, after Dicæopolis had announced his intention of calling on Euripides, the curtain would fall, there would be a change of scene, and the next scene would represent the interior of Euripides' house ; Dicæopolis would then come on from without, and the request for a costume, together with the apparelling of Dicæopolis, would be represented as taking place in the interior of Euripides' house. But the order of things is different in the *Acharnians*. There, after Dicæopolis has announced his intention of calling on Euripides, the scene remains unchanged : Dicæopolis knocks at the door of a house, assumed to be that of Euripides, and requests Euripides to come out to him. At first, Euripides declines ; but afterwards he says he will allow himself to be wheeled out. And then follows a scene which would naturally take place in the house, but actually occurs outside the house. The only conclusion which it is possible to draw from this is, that the eccyclema was employed to obviate the necessity of a change of scene. What took place on the eccyclema was conventionally regarded as happening in an interior. The scene was not changed, but the appearance of the ἐκκύκλημα was an indication to the audience that they were to imagine that a change of scene had taken place ; and when the machine was pulled off, the spectators knew that the scene was again supposed to change. How far the appearance of the ἐκκύκλημα helped the imagination of the spectators is matter for conjecture. In the *Thesmophoriazussæ*, a bed is mentioned, and the appearance of a bed would be quite enough to notify the audience that the interior of a house was supposed to be before them. It seems, further, in accordance with the primitive nature of this contrivance, that, beyond the presence on the ἐκκύκλημα of a few articles of furniture, such as would serve to characterise an interior, no attempt would be made to present a real room to the eyes of the spectator. Exactly the same reticence with regard to the furniture is observed on vase-paintings which represent interiors.

The use of the ἐκκύκλημα cannot be supposed to have been confined to comedy. We may be sure that in the two passages just discussed, Aristophanes was parodying something in tragedy, and as in both cases Euripides appears, we may feel that there is a reasonable presumption that it is the use made of the eccyclema by Euripides that Aristophanes is parodying. As a matter of fact, it is in the *Hippolytus*, the play which is

represented by Aristophanes as having provoked the women of Athens to the measures which he describes them as meditating in the *Thesmophoriazusæ*, that we find a case in which the ἐκκύκλημα may well have been employed. The scene of the *Hippolytus* is laid in the neighbourhood of a temple of Artemis and the palace of Theseus; and there, in the open air, the action of the play takes place for the first 800 lines. The action of the play, then, is shifted to the interior of the palace, but it is clear from the dialogue that no change is, or could be, made in the scenery. Theseus bids the servants open the doors, in order that he may see the dead body of his wife, and with this intimation that the interior of the palace is supposed to be before them, the spectators had to be content. At the same time, however, the corpse, extended on a couch, is wheeled on to the stage on the ἐκκύκλημα. Whether the ἐκκύκλημα was pushed on to the stage through the door of the palace, or from the side of the stage, it is certain that it could not be very large; it could not be deeper than the stage itself, and the Greek stage was probably narrow from front to back. In the *Hercules Furens* of Euripides, we have another instance of the use of the ἐκκύκλημα in the same way: for the first thousand lines the action of the play takes place in the open air, then shifts to the interior of the palace, as was intimated to the audience by an exclamation from the chorus, who call attention to the opening of the doors of the palace. The ἐκκύκλημα is wheeled on, and upon it are Hercules, and the corpses of his wife and children. In the *Ajax* of Sophocles, we may have another instance. The scene is at first the exterior of Ajax' tent. In line 344, the chorus call on Tecmessa to open the tent, in order that they may see Ajax; and the words with which she intimates, "I comply, and, lo! behold him," were the signal for the appearance of the ἐκκύκλημα with Ajax upon it. A scene follows, which is evidently conceived as taking place in the interior of the tent, and is terminated by the words in which Ajax bids Tecmessa close the tent (l. 595). To these instances of the use of the eccyclema, we may add the *Electra* of Sophocles (1458 f.), which resembles them. The instances of its use in the plays of Æschylus are by no means so conclusive. It is, as we have already said, far from certain that any of Æschylus' plays had scenery of any description, and it is certain, so far as certainty can be attained in these matters, that it was only quite the latest of his plays that could have been mounted with scenery. The date of the introduction of the ἐκκύκλημα on the stage is uncertain. It may be accidental and

unmeaning that it is Euripides' use of this machine that Aristophanes parodies ; on the other hand, it is not impossible that it was Euripides who introduced the ἐκκύκλημα. The idea of the ἐκκύκλημα is so primitive and simple, or seems so to us—it was, we must repeat, but a few boards nailed together, and set upon wheels—that it may have been hit upon before the invention of scenery ; while, on the other hand, there was so much make-believe in a play of Æschylus, that the machine would have been almost superfluous. But, as we can reach no decisive consideration from *a priori* reasoning, we must consult the plays themselves. The famous scene in the *Agamemnon*, where Clytemestra describes how she has murdered her husband, has long been quoted as the stock example of the use of the ἐκκύκλημα. No change of scene is supposed by commentators, or implied by the poet, as taking place ; but it is supposed by writers on antiquities that the bodies of Agamemnon and Cassandra were wheeled on to the stage, and that Cassandra vented her triumph and her insults over the bodies. In support of this view, expressions are pointed to, in which Clytemestra speaks as though the bodies were before her. But such expressions prove nothing. Clytemestra, for the information of the chorus, is acting the whole scene of the murder over again, and behaves as though the bodies were before her, but it is only “as though.” And what seems to be conclusive on the point, is that, not only is there no intimation given to the audience that the bodies are being brought on to the stage, but the chorus all through speak and behave as though Clytemestra were merely telling them about it, and they never let fall any remark which can lead to the idea that they themselves saw the bodies, or were supposed by Clytemestra to see them. Nor, again, in the *Choephoroi*, is there anything to compel us to assume that the ἐκκύκλημα was used. When Clytemestra and Ægisthus have been killed by Orestes behind the scenes, after the declamation of an ode by the chorus, Orestes comes out of the palace, or perhaps rather appears at the door of the palace, and calls the chorus to behold the corpses. But all the needs of the situation would be fully met if the corpses were left to the imagination of the spectators. It is necessary, for the action of the play, that the chorus should be supposed to see the corpses ; and it is not in the least necessary for the understanding of the play that the audience should see them.

Finally, in this connection, we come to the *Eumenides*. The play opens with a speech of the Pythia, who comes out

of the temple, and describes the sight she has seen in the temple—Orestes, surrounded by the sleeping Erinyes. She goes off, and there follows a dialogue between Apollo and Orestes, in which Apollo alludes to the presence of the Erinyes. From this it has been inferred that, after the exit of the Pythia, an ἐκκύκλημα was wheeled on to the stage, and on it Apollo, Orestes, and the sleeping Erinyes. But, in the first place, it seems extravagant to imagine an ἐκκύκλημα so huge as would be necessary for a group of this extent; and, in the next place, there is nothing in the words of the play to necessitate the assumption that the chorus was wheeled on to the stage in this way. After the exit of the Pythia, Apollo and Orestes undoubtedly walked, and were not wheeled, on to the stage. The flight of Orestes has already begun; and Apollo's reference to the Erinyes, as though they were still around Orestes, would be quite clear enough to the audience, if accompanied by a gesture to the door of the temple, from which he and Orestes have just come. Further, we have to remember that the ἐκκύκλημα, where it is undoubtedly used, as in the *Ajax*, and the plays of Euripides referred to, was used because the action of the play necessitated a change of scene, and the resources of the Athenian stage did not admit of a change of scenery. This reflection, which is another presumption in favour of supposing that the use of the ἐκκύκλημα was introduced later than scenery, and was later than the time of Æschylus, taken in conjunction with the probability that scenery was not used by Æschylus, makes the use of the ἐκκύκλημα in the *Eumenides* most unlikely. As we have already said, scenery was first used by Sophocles, and, therefore, can only have been used by Æschylus in his later plays, and may very well have never been used by him. Again, as long as no scenery exists, it is easy for the playwright to get his audience to imagine a change of scene; but when a piece of scenery is actually before the eyes of the spectators, the playwright is debarred from asking the audience to imagine that a totally different scene is before them. The ἐκκύκλημα was invented as a way out of this *impasse*. And it is the only way out that we have any reason to believe was used by the Three. Now, in the *Eumenides* there is, later in the play, an undoubted change of scene, and a change which quite as undoubtedly could not have been indicated by the use of the ἐκκύκλημα. This fact renders it probable that not even in this, the latest of his plays, did Æschylus employ scenery; and if no scenery, then no ἐκκύκλημα.

The only other machine which can be ascribed to the

classical Greek stage is that on which the *deus ex machina* made his appearance or disappearance. He was lifted from or let down on to the stage by ropes, which, in the clear daylight, must have been very visible to the spectators, and the device is to be regarded as extremely rude and primitive, when compared with the skill with which, in a modern pantomime, a similar illusion is made to deceive the senses of the spectators. The use of this device in classical times is guaranteed by a passage of Plato, and by the parodies of it, which appear in comedy. As instances of parody, the reader will at once call to mind the *κρεμάθρα*, in which, in the *Clouds*, Socrates is made to levitate, and the Beetle, on which, in the *Peace*, Trygæus is made to soar to Olympus. In a fragment of the *Dædaleis* of Aristophanes, we have also an address to the man in charge of the machinery, by which one of the characters is to be raised aloft, as we also have in the *Peace*, 174. Alexis also, another comedian, ridicules the use of the *machina* on which the *deus* was made to appear. How the *κρεμάθρα* was raised and lowered we do not exactly know. When, as in later times, there was a permanent stone stage, with a balcony running along over the top of the scene, the machine could, of course, easily be worked from the balcony; but in classical times, when there was only a wooden stage, and when we have no evidence to show that there could have been any such balcony, we shall probably not be far wrong in assuming that the god was raised and lowered by means of a tall crane behind the scene.

Thus we see that the amount of scenic illusion which the three great tragedians had at their disposal was exceedingly small. In the time of Æschylus, it is probable that there was no scenery at all. After his time there was a scene (but no side wings), which could not be changed during the course of a play, and which, owing to its general character—it represented the exterior of a temple and of a house, which might be any temple and any house—would serve equally well for the majority of plays put upon the classical stage. At the same time, there were plays which required a different scene, such, for instance, as the *Ajax* of Sophocles, in which the scene represented was the exterior of a tent. When the action of the play required that the scene should be shifted from the exterior to the interior of the palace, the audience were simply expected to imagine that the scene had been changed; and, as the reason why a change of scene had to be imagined at all, was that the author required on the stage certain

characters, who, from the circumstances of the case, could not be made to walk on to the stage, such characters were dragged on to the stage on the *ἐκκύκλημα*. Lastly, a crane and pulley were enough to let down a god from the sky, or to lift him over the scene.

CHAPTER IV

THE ACTORS AND THEIR COSTUMES

It is not merely consistent with the view (expressed in the last chapter) of the extreme simplicity of the stage and scenery of the Greek theatre in classical times, but a confirmation of it, that the costumes of the actors and of the chorus were elaborate and expensive. The same contrast between the bareness of the stage and the richness of the actors' dress characterised the mounting of Shakespeare's plays in Shakespeare's time. Before, however, describing the dress of the actors, we must first say something of the masks which were worn by all characters, both of tragedy and comedy, at all periods of the Greek drama. The cause in which this custom had its origin, is plainly the fact that, on the Greek stage, one actor had to play many parts in the same play, and women's parts as well as men's. The conditions which permitted it to continue, even at a time when it might have been expected to be cast aside, were the vast size of the theatre, the large number of the audience, and the great distance between the spectators and the stage.

The masks were made of linen, sometimes of cork, and must have been constructed on the principle of a helmet and visor, for they covered, not only the face, but also the head, both back and front, and were held in position by straps under the chin. A large number of masks were kept in stock by the property-man for the performance of tragedy. They were divided into four kinds, according to the class of character to be presented on the stage, viz., old men, young men, attendants, and women. Each of these four classes comprised a number of different specimens of its type. There were six different varieties of old men, eight of young men, three of attendants, and eleven of women. The masks used in the Old Comedy had to be made to suit the particular play which was to be put on the stage, as caricatures might be required, and fantastic masks would cer-

tainly be wanted. The use in tragedy of the same stock masks for different plays, by different authors, would have been impossible, had not there been a constant reproduction of the same type of character in those plays. From this point of view, it is interesting to note that, in the New Comedy, there must have been a distinct movement towards individualisation of character. There were five types of character, instead of four. Further, the change from heroic to domestic scenes is reflected in the substitution of slaves for attendants, in the appearance of two classes of women's masks instead of one, in the increase of young men's masks from eight to eleven, and in the appearance of fourteen varieties of young women. The various kinds of masks were distinguished by the different treatment of the brows, eyebrows, and hair. Each conventional variety of character had its stock mask, and was recognised by the spectators, without a programme, the moment it appeared on the stage, just as readily as the deities were recognised by their attributes—Heracles by his club, Apollo by his bow, Athena by her ægis.

In the case of tragic masks, the hair was not attached directly to the top of the mask, but to a high triangular headpiece—the *ὄγκος*—which was fastened to the top of the mask. From the *ὄγκος*, which was itself concealed by the hair, the hair fell down on both sides of the brow (Fig. 41). The object of the *ὄγκος* was to add to the height, and therefore to the majesty of the actor. It was accordingly taller in the case of the more important personages, and uniformly less for female characters. Finally, in addition to the ordinary set of masks, there were special masks, for the blind *Œdipus*, for instance; and in comedy, for the fantastic creations, such as the frogs, the wasps, the fishes, &c., of the Old Comedy.

The costume of the Greek stage, with the exception of that of the fantastic creations just mentioned, and of the *Silenus* and *satyrs* of the *Satyric drama*, was that of ordinary life. For comedy this is plain, both from the nature of the scenes enacted, and from passages in comedy itself, and is universally admitted. In tragedy, however, the fact is obscured by the statements of the grammarians, who have elaborated an extraordinary wardrobe for tragic actors, out of expressions in tragedy, which are, in all probability, but poetical devices, to evade the use of commonplace names of clothing, but have been erroneously imagined by the grammarians to indicate the use of special pieces of costume peculiar to the tragic stage. It is, however, clear that, in the time of *Æschylus*, the linen *chiton*

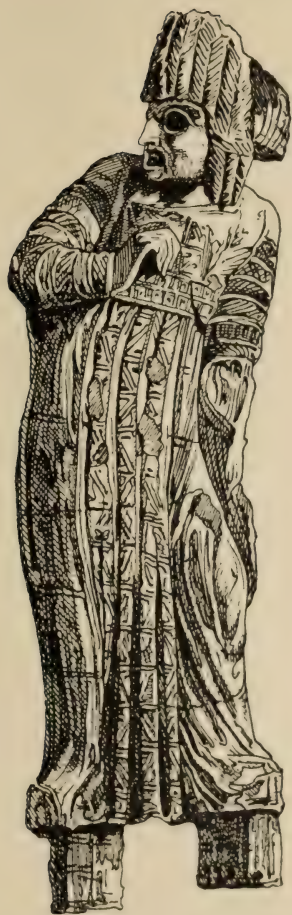


FIG. 41.—TRAGIC ACTOR. (SCHREIBER, IV. 9.)
(An ivory statuette.)

predominated.¹ From passages in Sophocles,² it is clear that the garments worn by Jocasta and Deianira were not sewn or made garments, *i.e.*, were not the Ionic chiton, but the Doric chiton, of wool, which required to be kept in their place by means of brooches. In Euripides, the linen, Ionic chiton again appears. Thus we see that tragedy reflects the changes of costume which were taking place in ordinary life: the fashion of the linen, Ionic chiton gives way before the Doric garment, which, however, does not entirely drive its rival out of the field. It is, of course, but natural that tragedy, though reflecting the costume of ordinary life, should select that costume which was most appropriate to its own purposes; and accordingly, we find that the costume of tragedy was the costume worn, not every day, but on high-days and festivals. The long chiton, reaching to the feet (Fig. 41), and, therefore, unsuitable for active exercise and daily occupations, was that in which gorgeous tragedy most appropriately came sweeping by. For precisely the same reason, the old-fashioned, majestic chiton, girt in the old-fashioned way, close beneath the armpits, was retained by priests and others with solemn functions to perform; and it is only by a violent emendation, and an improbable conjecture, that the least ground can be obtained for maintaining that tragedy borrowed its costume from the Hierophants and Daduchi of the Eleusinian mysteries. The only other differences between the costume of tragedy and that of ordinary life were those due to the endeavour to increase the apparent height and size of the actor. Thus, the actor was padded out with bolsters and cushions under his chiton; consequently an ample robe was necessary, and the width of the robe made it possible to give the actor something much more like sleeves than was the case with the ordinary Greek. These sleeves, again, were necessary to cover the wrists of the padded gloves, which the actor had to wear, in order to make his hands appear of proportionate size to the rest of his padded body. At the same time, the colours of the tragic dresses were naturally more gorgeous than those of ordinary life. Purple and gold, and brilliant white, were appropriate to the more magnificent personages, and were enhanced by the grey, green, blue, and black of mourners and suppliants, or the ragged heroes of Euripides. The gods, again, were represented with their attributes: Athenê with the ægis, Hermes with his herald's staff, Heracles with his club. Kings

¹ Cf. *Persæ*, 125; *Supp.* 111; *S. c. Th.* 1023.

² *O. T.* 1268; *Trach.* 924.

had their sceptres, and other characters their staves, which were all the more necessary, because the actor was elevated on shoes, with soles so high that they must have required as much skill to walk in as would stilts, which, indeed, they sometimes seem to have resembled. In the Satyric drama, the costume of the Silenus and satyrs requires notice. Sometimes the Sileni are represented as wearing a short chiton, reaching to the knee, made of goat-skin, and hose of the same material. Frequently, however, they are represented as covered with some shaggy material, which fits tight to the person, and covers the whole of the body, except the head, hands, and feet. The chorus of satyrs wore a light costume, consisting of a narrow girdle of goat-skin, and possibly tights, designed to produce the effect of nudity.

The costume of comedy, both of the Old and the New, was, as we have already said, that of ordinary life. The social position of each character was, therefore, at once indicated to the spectators by the costume he wore: the slave by the *ἐξωμῖς*, the countryman by his leather garments, the parasite by his raiment of grey or black. The shoes, with tall, cork soles, which were employed in tragedy (Fig. 41), were foreign to comedy. Majesty was not sought for in comedy, and the liveliness of the action of comedy made such stilt-like shoes out of the question. At the same time, scenes such as that in the *Birds* (934 f.), where the slave is made to strip, rendered it necessary for the comic actor to be clothed in a *σωμάτιον*, or suit of tights. And, further, scenes, such as that in which Dionysus and his slave, Xanthias, are scourged by Æacus, show that these tights must have been put on over the bolsters and pads—*προγαστρίδια* and *προστερνίδια*—which, as we have already seen, were worn by tragic actors, to lend dignity to their persons, and were worn by comic actors for precisely the opposite purpose, as is shown by the pictures on vases (Figs. 39 and 40). It is true that these grotesque pictures are found on vases from Lower Italy, and are mainly representations of the phlyakes, as these drolls and buffoons were called in Italy. But the use of the *σωμάτιον* and the *προστερνίδιον* is sufficiently guaranteed by the passages in Aristophanes already quoted. Finally, the use of the *σωμάτιον* in the New Comedy is proved by the numerous representations on ancient monuments, in which arms and legs are depicted as clad in the same material. The grotesque padding of the Old Comedy is, of course, dropped in a form of comedy which aimed at the faithful representation of life.

The meaning of the Greek word for actor, *ὑποκριτής*, has

been interpreted very variously, but the most plausible interpretation is still that given by Welcker, according to which the ὑποκριτής was the person who made answer to the chorus, or rather to the leader of the chorus. Dialogue is the essence of dramatic representation, as opposed to the narrative, which historically preceded the drama. The introduction of an actor was popularly ascribed in antiquity to Thespis. In any case, at this period in the development of the drama, the leader of the chorus seems to have been the protagonist, or more important actor, and the ὑποκριτής to have been the deuteragonist. Æschylus not only introduced a second actor, but, according to K. F. Hermann's conjecture, made one of the two actors the protagonist; thus, whilst reducing the extent of the chorus's part, also making the dialogue between the actors the most important element in the play. Finally, Sophocles introduced a third actor, the tritagonist; and three remained the number of actors employed in a tragedy. The number employed in comedy is not so satisfactorily established. An anonymous Greek writer on comedy says Cratinus first restricted the number to three; Aristotle contents himself with saying that the early history of comedy eluded historical research. Modern investigation shows that, with similar exceptions to those in tragedy, any of the surviving comedies of Aristophanes could, as a matter of possibility, be performed by three actors.

A first and most obvious exception, both in tragedy and in comedy, to the rule that only three actors were employed, occurs in the use of supernumeraries, to perform the part of attendants on distinguished persons, &c. A second and natural exception is afforded by such characters as Bia in the *Prometheus Bound*, and Pylades, in various pieces, who appear upon the stage, and are addressed or referred to by other characters, but have themselves no lines to say. It was, further, an easy extension of the function of such a supernumerary, to make him act on occasions, such as the end of the *Alcestis*, or the middle of the *Œdipus at Colonus*, where, in the one case Alcestis, in the other Ismene, has nothing to say, and the actor of that part was required, at the time, for other purposes. Again, in the *Alcestis* and the *Andromache*, children are required amongst the *dramatis personæ*, as also in the *Acharnians*. Further, a fourth actor would undoubtedly be required in the *Acharnians*, the *Wasps*, the *Birds*, and other comedies, and probably in the *Œdipus at Colonus*—unless, indeed, we imagine that the part of Theseus was divided amongst all three actors. Finally,

in some plays, such as the *Eumenides* and the *Lysistrata*, a second chorus was obviously required.

In the earliest period of the drama, the author himself acted, and undoubtedly acted as protagonist. There seems to be no reason to doubt the statement of Athenæus (I. 20 F), that Æschylus acted in his plays, or that Sophocles, owing to the weakness of his voice, only appeared upon the stage twice. At this period, probably, authors, when they did not themselves act, chose their actors. In later times, actors were assigned to them by lot, as is stated in a gloss, preserved in various lexicographers, which runs as follows: "The poets used to take three actors, assigned by lot, who acted their plays, and of whom the victor henceforth was taken untested." The meaning of this is, that actors who wished to take part in the tragic contest as protagonists, offered themselves to the proper authority. By the application of some test, these protagonists were reduced to the number of three, and one was assigned to each of the three competing poets. A prize was given to the protagonist who acted best; and the prize-winner henceforward was exempted from the necessity of submitting to the preliminary examination. This explanation of the gloss is confirmed by inscriptions relating to the fifth century B.C. (*C. I. A.* ii. 972), from which it appears that one and the same actor played as protagonist in all the three pieces which a poet put on to the stage. From inscriptions relating to the fourth century (*C. I. A.* ii. 973), it seems that a still further change was made, and each protagonist played in one piece of each of the three competing poets, and each poet had one of the three protagonists in one of his plays, another in another, and the third in the third.

The protagonist seems, at any rate in the time of Demosthenes,¹ to have carried the deuteragonist and tritagonist with him: whoever paid the protagonist (and it is uncertain whether, in early times, it was the state, or the author, or the choregus), the protagonist had the choice and hiring of the deuteragonist and tritagonist; and, as the object of the protagonist was to win the prize for acting, he probably claimed to divide the parts in the way which he thought most likely to secure his end.

Of a Greek play, the only portion spoken was the iambic trimeters of the dialogue; the lyric parts were sung, and iambic and trochaic tetrameters were delivered "melo-dramatically," that is to say, they were spoken to a musical accom-

¹ *De Cor.* § 262, μισθώσας σαυτὸν . . . ἐκείνοισι ὑποκριταῖς . . . ἐπιταγωνίσσεις.

paniment. This method of declamation, which was called *παρακαταλογία*, had the advantage over simple declamation, that the instrument assisted the actor in preserving the rhythm. The instrument used by preference, as blending best with the voice, was the flute. The training of the actor's voice was a matter of much importance, from the very various parts he might have to perform in the same play; and clearness of enunciation and precision of accent were imperatively demanded by the refined ear and ready mockery of an Athenian audience. The memory, too, needed cultivation, for on the ancient stage there was no prompter.

Play of feature was precluded by the mask of the actor: for this reason, and owing to native talent for the employment of gesture, on the ancient stage gesticulation was most important. Though the cumbrous dress and high-soled shoes of the tragic actor set limits to the amount of action possible for him, there seems to have been a tendency, in the actor's art, as well as in the sculptor's, to pass from the self-restraint, the *ῆθος*, and the majesty of the ideal school of Æschylus, beyond even the artistic expression of the *πάθος*, as set forth by the most pathetic of the tragedians, to the extreme of realism, which is illusion—when the actor might pay the penalty by taking a false step, measuring his tragic length upon the stage, and being ignominiously set upon his legs again by the chorodidascalus.

The dithyrambic chorus, out of which the drama is usually said to have been developed, consisted of fifty persons. The chorus of comedy consisted of twenty-four, that of tragedy, in early times, of twelve. But by what process the original dithyrambic chorus was reduced, we do not know. It is a commonly received conjecture, that the dithyrambic chorus of fifty was divided between the four pieces—three tragedies and a satyric drama—which constituted a tetralogy. But, to say nothing of the fact that we do not know how many persons the chorus in a satyric drama consisted of, fifty people cannot conveniently be divided into four equal companies; and it is not certain that the earliest tragedians did put on to the stage four pieces at a time. The number of the tragic chorus was elevated to fifteen, by Sophocles, according to late writers,¹ whose authority is not to be trusted implicitly. The internal evidence of the tragedies themselves seems to show that, in the *Persæ* and the *S. c. Th.*, Æschylus employed a chorus

¹ Suid. s. v. Σοφοκλῆς; and Vit. *Soph.* p. 177.

of twelve, while for the *Agamemnon* and *Eumenides*, it is a disputed point whether twelve or fifteen were employed: a scholiast (*Ar. Eq.* 589) says twelve, but the question at once presents itself—what did the scholiast know about it? The reasons for increasing the number from twelve to fifteen, whoever made the change, are tolerably simple: ¹ the leader of the chorus had, in addition to his duties as a choreutes, also his duties as leader and spokesman, which made it advisable for him to be able to detach himself from the chorus; at the same time, as on occasion the chorus had to divide into two halves, it was necessary that, exclusive of the leader, the chorus should consist of an equal number of choreutæ, *i.e.*, either be reduced by one choreutes, or increased by three. The latter course was preferred; two lieutenants were given to the leader to command the halves of the chorus, and the number increased to fifteen.

Whereas the dithyrambic chorus danced in a ring around the altar of Dionysus, the dramatic chorus marched in square formation, and hence was called *τετράγωνος*. The tragic chorus was arranged in three files (*στοίχοι*), each of five choreutæ, who consequently formed five ranks (*ζυγά*), as they marched three abreast. The comic chorus was composed of four files of six men each, or of six ranks as they marched four abreast. The tragic chorus usually marched into the orchestra three abreast (*κατὰ στοίχους*); as a rule, they came in from the stage left (the spectator's right), for that was conventionally regarded as the home side of the scene, and the chorus usually were natives of the place supposed to be represented by the scene. Thus, as the chorus paraded three abreast round the orchestra, one file of five was more closely exposed to the view and examination of the spectators than were the other two files, which were rather hidden by it. The choreutæ, in this file, were those who would make the best show; and, inasmuch as they were on the left of the body, they were called the *ἀριστεροστάται*, while the file next to them were the *λαυροστάται*, and the file on the right, *δεξιόσταται*. The choreutæ who led each file, and those at the end of each file, were called *κρασπεδίται*. The leader of the chorus was called *κορυφαῖος* or *χοροστάτης*, his lieutenants, *παραστάται*. They did not march in the front rank, but in the file of *ἀριστεροστάται*, the *κορυφαῖος* being in the middle of the file, one *παραστάτης* before and the other behind him. Thus, when the chorus had finished their parade round the orchestra, and taken up their place in front of the stage, with their backs

¹ O. Hense, *Der Chor des Sophokles*.

to the audience, the ἀριστεροστάται were nearest to the stage, the coryphæus was in the middle of them, and could, when he had to carry on a dialogue with the actors on the stage, advance from his place, and leave the chorus under the command of his two παραστάται. More rarely the chorus entered κατὰ ζυγά, i.e., five abreast, and still more rarely, as in the *Œdipus at Colonus*, one by one, καθ' ἓνα or σποράδην.

The coryphæus, as spokesman of the chorus, spoke the iambic trimeters assigned in MSS. and editions to the chorus, and perhaps, also, the anapæsts. The lyrical odes were usually sung by the chorus as a whole, sometimes (as Soph. *Aj.* 814) by the halves of the chorus, the ἡμιχόρια; and in many cases the ode was divided amongst the individual choreutæ, e.g., Æsch. *Ag.* 1344–1371. From the ἡμιχόρια, we have to distinguish the διχορία or ἀντιχορία, which is the term used when the chorus consisted of two groups, as in the *Lysistrata*, one of men and the other of women, or of two groups otherwise distinguished from each other.

The duties of the chorus were by no means confined to singing or declaiming; dancing was at least an equally important part of their performance. This dancing was mimetic in character, and served as a sort of commentary on the ode which was being sung. The name for this kind of dance is ὑπόρχημα, and that dancing did actually accompany tragic performances, is shown by such passages as Soph. *O. R.* 865, εἰ γὰρ αἱ τοιαῖδε πράξεις τίμιαί, τί δέι' με χορεύειν, or Æsch. *Eum.* 307, ἄγε δὴ καὶ χορὸν ἄψωμεν. The three different kinds of drama had their distinctive forms of dance—the stately ἐμμέλεια of tragedy, the obscene κόρδαξ of comedy, and the σίκιννις of satyric drama, a parody on the dance of tragedy.

CHAPTER V

THE PRODUCTION AND PERFORMANCE OF A PLAY

PLAYS were not produced every day at Athens. They were part of the worship of Dionysus, and were produced only at the festivals of the god, originally at the country Dionysia, then at the Lenæa, and finally at the Great (or urban) Dionysia. The oldest, and for some time the only one of these festivals, was the country Dionysia; and so, in the earliest period of the drama, this was the only occasion on which plays were performed.

If we may argue from the analogy of Corinth and Sicyon, the introduction into the city of this country festival would be the work of the Tyrants (the Pisistratidæ), who, at Athens, as at Corinth and Sicyon, found their chief supporters in the country, and accordingly honoured the country feast. And, as a matter of fact, the first time a play was produced in the city was in B.C. 536, during the second tyranny.¹ At this feast, called the Lenæa, held in January (thereby anticipating the country feast, which was held in February), plays were produced in the market-place, until, in B.C. 500, in consequence, it is said, of an accident to the elevated seats, the *locale* was transferred to an enclosure devoted to the service of Dionysus, and called the Lenæum. If this was the precise year of the actual occasion of the change, it seems reasonable to connect the change with other important events that preceded it. The Pisistratidæ had been expelled, the Cleisthenean constitution, with its ten tribes, framed, and lyric competitions between the tribes were instituted,² doubtless with a political object, viz., to associate the forms of the new constitution with popular amusements, to inspire the new tribes with a corporate feeling, and to make the members of the victorious tribe specially conscious and proud of their connection with one another. But, though the lyric choruses were used for this political purpose, the dramatic contests were not between tribe and tribe. "In the dramatic competitions, the rivalry was confined to the individual poets and choregi" (Haigh, *Attic Theatre*, p. 15).

Finally, the Great Dionysia were instituted, probably, about B.C. 460. It is universally admitted that the Great Dionysia was the youngest of all the feasts of Dionysus, and it seems probable that this, the most magnificent of them all, was part of the policy of magnificence which Pericles³ pursued. At this time, and with the object of adding to the magnificence of the new festival, it may be conjectured that comedy, which hitherto had been performed by volunteer choreutæ, was now, for the first time, taken into the state-established worship, and pro-

¹ 'Ἀφ' οὗ Θέσμις ὁ ποιητῆς [ἐφάνη], πρῶτος δὲ ἐδίδαξε [δρ]ᾶμα ἐν ᾧ σ[τ]αι, καὶ ἐ[ρ]έθῃ ὁ [τ]ράγος, κ. τ. λ.

² 'Ἀφ' οὗ χοροὶ πρῶτον ἡγωνίσαντο ἀνδρῶν. This refers to the lyrical contests, which, however, seem always to have gone with the other musical contest, viz., that of the dramatic choruses.

³ Mommsen, *Heortologie*, p. 61; Ribbeck, *Anfänge und Entwicklung*, p. 28, conjectures that Cimon introduced the Great Dionysia. Voigt (in Roscher's *Lexikon*, s.v. Dionysos) does not hesitate to make the institution of the feast a consequence of the great development of the drama.

vided with a chorus in the same way as tragedy.¹ The first recorded competition between comic choruses took place in B.C. 458,² at which date both comedies and tragedies were performed at the Great Dionysia.³ From this time plays were probably produced at the Great Dionysia alone, until, in B.C. 425, we find the *Acharnians* produced at the Lenæa; and, in B.C. 418, we find tragedies⁴ performed at the Lenæa. This seems to date a fresh epoch in the history of the drama. The first recorded contest of actors belongs to the year B.C. 418, and it seems reasonable to imagine that the offering of a prize for acting brought, as a consequence, the official distribution of actors among poets. With this epoch begins the custom of producing both tragedies and comedies at the Lenæa, and also at the Great Dionysia—a custom which prevailed down to Roman times.

Dramatic performances were not only religious ceremonies; they were also competitions, and as such were regulated by the state, which offered the prize competed for. A further hold over the production of the plays was afforded to the state by the fact that it provided for the cost of their production. In the time of the tyranny of Pisistratus, it was part of the tyrant's policy to encourage art, and furnish the citizens with amusements. After the expulsion of the Pisistratidæ, the main charge, which was that of hiring, instructing, and dressing the chorus, was made a *liturgy*, or tax, to which citizens who possessed more than three talents were nominated by the archon; and whose names, when they won the tripod offered by the state, were inscribed upon the tripod, and handed down to posterity. The poverty at Athens, caused by the Peloponnesian war, made this tax so burdensome that it was allowed to be divided between two choregi, each thus bearing only half the cost. From the end of the fourth century, the demos itself nominally undertook the *χορηγία*, as the duty of providing the chorus was called, and itself figured on the inscriptions as choregus; but the cost was borne, not by the people, but by some wealthy person, who was called the Agônotherêtês. The expenses which the choregus had to bear were: (1) the hire

¹ Ar. *Poet.* 5, καὶ γὰρ χορὸν κωμωδῶν ὅψέ ποτε ὁ ἀρχων ἔδωκεν, ἀλλ' ἐθελονταὶ ἦσαν.

² C. I. A. ii. 971 a.

³ As appears, both from the way in which they are mentioned in the inscription referred to, and from the fact that Aristotle, *loc. cit.*, says, ὁ ἀρχων. The king-archon managed the Lenæa, ὁ ἀρχων the Great Dionysia.

⁴ C. I. A. ii. 972, which also contains the earliest record we have of a prize for the actors.

and instruction of the chorus; (2) the hire of the flute-player who led the chorus; (3) the payment of the mute characters; (4) the dresses of the chorus and the mute characters. Who paid the actors we do not know, but from the fact that they were assigned by the state to the poet, and not to the choregus, it is inferred that the state paid them. But this can only apply to the period after B.C. 245, in which alone actors were assigned to the poet, and not to the earlier periods, when the poet was himself the protagonist, or (like Sophocles) himself chose his own actors. Finally, as regards the cost of production, it is conjectured that the scenery and properties were provided by the architecton or lessee of the theatre, who paid a certain sum to the state for the lease of the theatre, and undertook to keep the building in good repair, and in return was to receive the money paid by the spectators for admission. But this arrangement can plainly only have held good for times when there was a theatre (*i.e.*, after B.C. 500), and when admission money was paid, and not for the early period of the stage, when there was no theatre, when the performance was in the market, and there was no charge for admission. And it is to be noticed, that although the theatre was farmed out to the lessee, who recouped himself for his expenditure on scenery, &c., out of the admission money, after the time of Cleophon, the lyre-maker, the admission money itself came from the state coffers, from the theoric fund, which was devoted to paying the admission of those citizens who could not or would not pay out of their own pockets.

As the cost of producing a drama thus came, not out of the pockets of the author, but from the state revenues and the *liturgies*, it was plainly impossible that any and every person who thought himself capable of composing a play should be allowed to claim that his effusion should be put upon the stage. Any author might, indeed, apply to the archon to have his piece mounted, but only three tragedians and three comedians (or, from the beginning of the fourth century, five comedians) were actually allowed to compete. On what principle the archon, who could not have usually had a greater professional acquaintance with the drama than the Lord Chamberlain has with the ballet, chose and rejected applicants, we unfortunately do not know. There is nothing to show that he had to read, or even had the opportunity of reading, the plays of all who chose "to ask for a chorus," as the expression was at Athens. Probably, it was but few authors who ventured to aspire so high as to ask for a chorus at Athens. There were dramatic contests at many other

and smaller places in Attica—Kollytos, the Peiræus, Eleusis, Aixone, Phlya, Myrrinus—at which an untried author was more likely to get a chorus than at Athens.

Another point of the greatest difficulty is to understand who settled, and on what principle, whether each tragedian should be allowed to compete with one play, or two, or three (a trilogy), or four (a tetralogy). If we may trust the grammarians, the practice in the time of Æschylus was to put on three tragedies and a satyric drama by each of the three competing tragedians; and, according to the grammarians, this practice continued to the time of Euripides. If we prefer to confine ourselves to the testimony of inscriptions, however, we have no evidence for the performance of tetralogies. We have undoubted evidence for the performance of trilogies, in B.C. 342 (in the very next year we have dilogies), and a very fragmentary inscription of B.C. 419 (*C. I. A. ii. 972*). Tradition and inscriptions agree that each comedian was allowed to produce but one comedy. As for satyric drama, stone records as yet only testify that, after the time of the Three, dramatic contests commenced with the performance of one satyric drama, after which an old play, by one of the great tragedians, was performed, and then the new plays. From the fact that in one year (B.C. 342) trilogies are put on, and in the next dilogies, and that in all the periods into which the history of the drama can be divided, the performance of single plays can be traced (*e.g.*, the single plays of Thespis, Chœrilus, Phrynichus, and Pratinas; of Sophocles;¹ of Agathon,² in B.C. 416; of Dionysius, in B.C. 367³), it seems clear that there was no binding or permanent law or custom fixing the number of plays to be put on by each author. The number was a matter to be settled each year; and as choregi were nominated shortly after one performance, to provide for the next year's festival, it is, I suggest, at least possible that the number of plays was settled then by the persons whom it most nearly affected, *i.e.*, the choregi, who stated at the time whether they could each afford to mount one, two, or three tragedies. Thus the number of tragedies which each author put upon the stage depended on entirely non-literary considerations; and this agrees with the fact that, if any principles of composition had been involved in the performance of a trilogy,

¹ Aristid. ii. 334; Dind., Σοφοκλῆς Φιλοκλέους ἡττᾶτο ἐν Ἀθηναίοις τὸν Οἰδίπουν.

² Plato, *Symp.* 173 A, ὅτε τῇ πρώτῃ τραγωδίᾳ ἐνίκησεν Ἀγάθων.

³ Diod. Sic. xv. 74, Διονυσίου τοίνυν δεδιχαχότος Ἀθήνησι Ληναίοις τραγωδίαν.

Aristotle, in the *Poetics*, would have dealt with the influence of trilogies on the plot of a tragedy. There was, indeed, nothing, so far as we know, to prevent a poet, if he knew in time that he might put on three plays, from making them connected in plot; but the fact that Sophocles, though he wrote three plays on the subject of Œdipus and his children, did not produce them as a trilogy, and that, when the plays of Æschylus (as of Sophocles and Euripides) were revived, they were revived—as they were composed—singly, and not as trilogies, shows sufficiently that the plays of a trilogy were rarely connected with each other in plot.

When the archon had given choruses to those tragedians and comedians he thought fit, and when actors had been assigned to them, and when chorus and actors had been taught their parts, a few days before the actual contests, poets, choregi, chorus, and actors gathered together in the Odeum, for the celebration, in the presence of the public, of some festal action, the nature of which is wholly uncertain, called the Proagon. On the day of the performance, the image of Dionysus was brought out of his temple in the Lenæum, into the orchestra, and there acquired that capacity for dramatic criticism which Aristophanes recognises in the *Frogs*. The spectators, who had assembled at break of day, and had brought with them the refreshments which Aristotle observed they munched with most assiduity when the acting was poor, were, to begin with, purified by an offering of “very small pigs” (Harpocration). Then the selection of the judges, who were to decide on the merits of the play, was proceeded with. The members of the *boulê*, in conjunction with the choregi, had, on some previous occasion, chosen out of each tribe the names of twice as many judges as there were events to be decided, and placed them, under their seals, in urns, each tribe having an urn to itself. On the day of the performance, these urns, which had been in the keeping of the treasurer, were produced. The archon drew at random one name from each, and the ten persons thus chosen, representing the ten tribes, were called upon to judge the first event. At the conclusion of the performance, each wrote his award on a separate tablet; then five of them were again chosen by lot, and their awards were then employed to decide the contest.¹ When the ten judges had been selected, the order in which the competing poets should put their plays before them was decided by lot, and the first poet, having been

¹ Hermann-Müller, pp. 369-372.

summoned by the herald, appeared, with his chorus and his choragus, in the orchestra, and offered a libation to Dionysus. The play then began, and the audience (which certainly included women), even when it had not paid for the two-obol tickets by which admission was procured at the doors, proceeded to express its satisfaction or dissatisfaction with what was set before it. They were not sparing in their applause (*κρότος*), and where a modern audience cries *encore*, the Greek cried *αὔθις*.¹ Still less were they sparing of their disapprobation, which found expression in stamping, and a sort of clucking, a peculiar noise (*κλωσμός*) made with the mouth, Harpocration says.² Doubtless, the backers of each choregus constituted an efficient claque; but with three claques operating in opposition to each other, there must have been at times a confusing competition between *κρότος* and *κλωσμός*; but whether the services of the *ράβδουχοι*, whose office it was to keep order, were called into requisition does not appear. As the performance went on for the whole day, the spectators (who, in the earlier period of the history of the drama, did have time to breakfast before going to the theatre, but as the contests increased in length, had to come at break of day), in spite of the cushions which some brought with them, got fidgety,³ and others hungry. It was, therefore, not impolitic for an author, who came late in the day, to take care that nuts and figs should be distributed from the stage among the audience during his play.⁴ At the conclusion of the performance, the chorus again entered the orchestra, and offered a second libation to Dionysus.⁵ Immediately after the last day of the festival, an ecclesia was held in the theatre,⁶ votes of thanks were proposed,⁷ and any complaints that arose out of

¹ Xen. *Com.* 9, 4, ἅμα μὲν ἐκρότουν, ἅμα δὲ ἐβόων · αὔθις.

² Κλωσμὸν ἐλεγον τὸν γιγνόμενον ἐν τοῖς στόμασι ψόφον ᾧ πρὸς τὰς ἐκβολὰς ἐχρῶντο.

³ Theophr. *Char.* 11, καὶ ὅταν σιωπήσῃ τὸ θέατρον, ἀνακύβας ἐρυγεῖν, ἵνα τοὺς θαυμένους ποιήσῃ μεταστραφῆναι. Ar. *Av.* 790, εἴ τε πατροκλείδης τις ὑμῶν τυγχάνει χεῖρητιῶν, οὐκ ἂν ἐξίδισεν ἐς θοιμάτιον, ἀλλ' ἀνέπτματο, κάμποπαρδὼν κάναπνεύσας αὔθις αὐ κατέπτματο.

⁴ Ar. *Plut.* 797, οὐ γὰρ πρεπῶδές ἐστιν τῷ διδασκάλῳ ἰσχάδια καὶ τρωγάλια τοῖς θεωμένοις προβαλόντ' ἐπὶ τούτοις εἶτ' ἀναγκάζειν γελᾶν, and *Vesp.* 58, and Schol. *ad. loc.*

⁵ Philochor. *ap. Ath.* xiii. 583 E.

⁶ Dem. *Mid.* §§ 9, 10; Æsch. *de Fals. Leg.* § 61; *C. I. A.* ii. 114, 307, 420.

⁷ *E.g.*, *C. I. A.* ii. 114 B; v. 5, ἐπιγράψαι καὶ τὸ ψήφισμα, καθ' ὃ ἐστεφανώθη ἡ βουλή ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου ἐν τῇ ἐν Διονύσου ἐκκλησίᾳ δόξασα καλῶς ἐπιμεμελησθαι τῆς εὐκοσμίας περὶ τὴν ἑορτὴν τοῦ Διονύσου, B.C. 343.

the proceedings were heard. The names of the poets and choregi, the pieces and protagonists, and the results of the contest, seem to have been put upon official record by the archon; but when this practice began, we do not know. In the third century B.C., interest in the history of the drama was keen enough to have these records (as far, apparently, as they could be recovered) engraved on a stone,¹ and deposited in the Dionysiac enclosure. But these researches seem to have left room for further investigation. Aristotle found it necessary to investigate the subject for himself, and wrote a work on these *Didascalie*, as they were called. In his research, he was aided by the inscriptions which the victorious choregi caused to be engraved on some permanent monument. These inscriptions, in the fifth century, contain, first, the name of the choregus, then of the poet, and, finally (by way of date), that of the archon. Next, we have the inscriptions engraved on monuments erected by the state. These are of three kinds: (1) those recording the names of the victorious choregi and poets, in all the contests at a particular festival; (2) others, probably later, entering into the full particulars of some one contest at a certain festival, and giving, *e.g.*, in the case of the tragic contest, not only the date (archon's name), and the names of the poets, but also the titles of the plays performed, and the names of the actors who played in them; (3) lists of poets and actors, with the number of prizes they had won during their lives.

The *Didascalie*, which are to be found in the hypotheses prefixed to Greek plays, cannot have been drawn from any superior sources to these inscriptions; and these inscriptions were not themselves engraved before the middle of the third century, except the choregic inscriptions, which did not contain the names of the plays. It is by no means certain that the authors of these inscriptions had before them all the official records from the time of Æschylus; it is not known that in the time of Æschylus the official record contained anything more than, say, the names of the victorious choregus and poet. We do know that various learned men, such as Heraclides Ponticus, Callimachus, Eratosthenes, Aristophanes of Byzantium, and Karystius of Pergamum, found the subject obscure enough to require much investigation. Consequently, when we find a grammarian professing to tell us the names of the four

¹ *E.g.*, *C. I. A.* ii. 972 (right col.), 973, relating to B.C. 418, 340 respectively.

plays which Æschylus put upon the stage, in B.C. 472,¹ we may perhaps believe that, in that year, Æschylus won the tragic prize; but we may entertain a suspicion that the names of the plays then performed are an inference of the grammarian's, or of his authority, whether that authority was Aristotle's *Didascalie*, or a stone record of the third century B.C.

¹ ἐπὶ Μένωνος τραγωδῶν Αἰσχύλος ἐνίκα Φινεῖ, Πέρσαις, Γλαύκῳ Προμηθεῖ.

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